

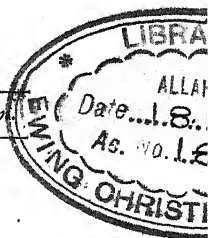
THE POPULAR  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHARLES KNIGHT.

VOLUME IV.

FROM THE COMMONWEALTH TO THE REIGN OF WILLIAM  
AND MARY.

*First American Edition*



NEW YORK:  
JOHN WURTELE LOVELL  
1878.





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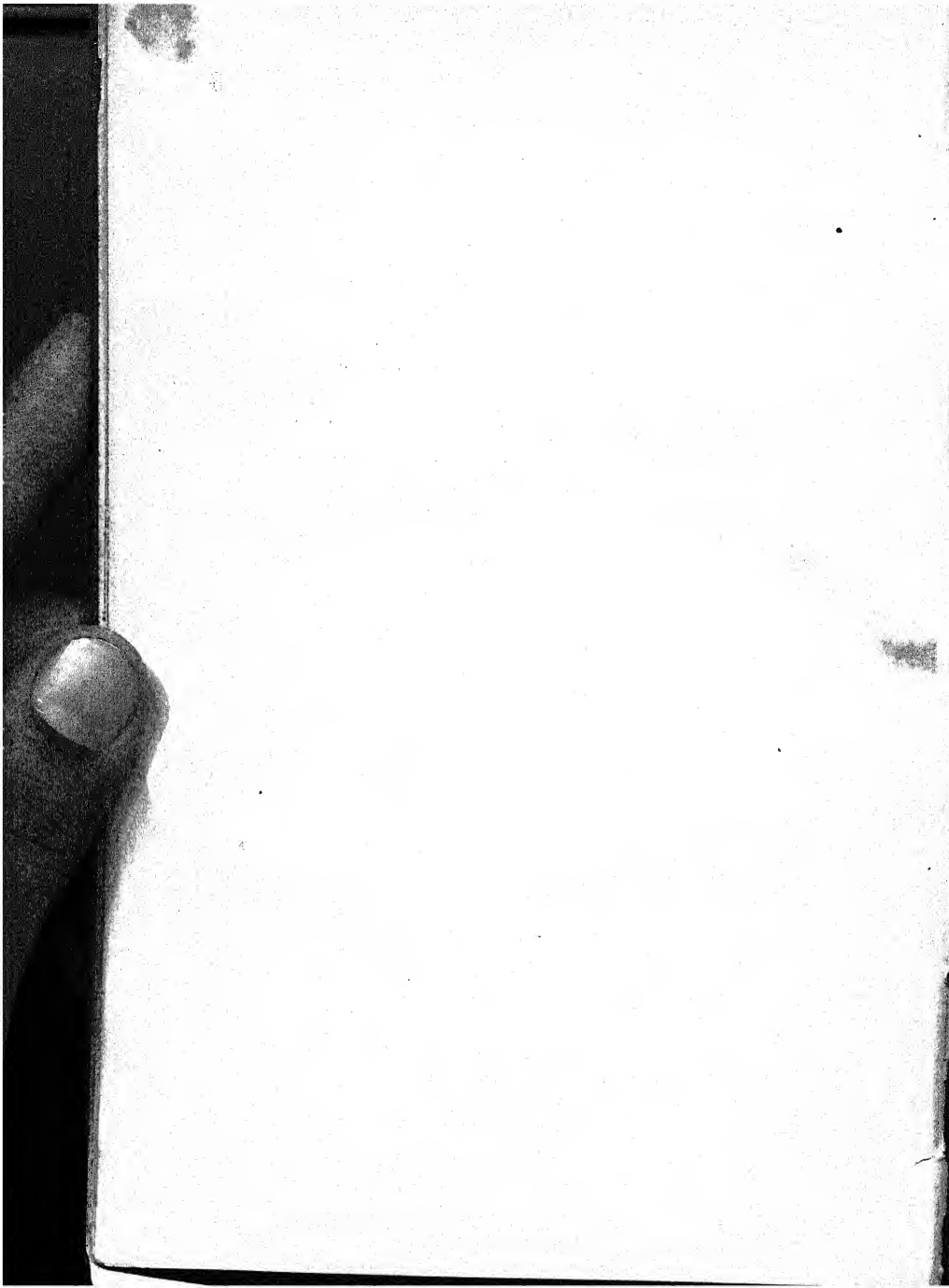
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# POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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THE Parliament and people of England felt that Cromwell had saved the Commonwealth. He had done more than maintain a form of government. He had stopped the triumphant return to unlimited power of a prince who, once seated at Whitehall by military superiority, would have swept away every vestige of the liberty and security that had been won since 1640. The greater part of Europe was fast passing into complete despotism; and the state vessel of England would have been borne along helplessly into that shoreless sea. The enemies of Cromwell—the enthusiastic royalists and the theoretic republicans—saw, with dread and hatred, that by the natural course of events, the victorious General would become the virtual head of the Commonwealth. He probably could not suppress the same conviction in his own breast. Ludlow thus writes of Cromwell's return to London after the battle of Worcester: "The General, after this action, which he called the crowning victory, took upon him a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends; neither must it be omitted, that instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honour as himself and the standing army, he frowned upon them, and the very next day after the fight dismissed and sent them home, well knowing, that a useful and experienced militia was more likely to ob-

struct than to second him in his ambitious designs. Being on his way to London, many of the Members of Parliament, attended by the City, and great numbers of persons of all orders and conditions, went some miles out of the town to meet him, which tended not a little to heighten the spirit of this haughty gentleman. \* \* \* In a word, so much was he elevated with that success, that Mr. Hugh Peters, as he since told me, took so much notice of it, as to say in confidence to a friend upon the road in his return from Worcester, that Cromwell would make himself king.\* Again and again Ludlow dwells upon the expression used by Cromwell in his letter to the Parliament, as if it were a foreshadowing of his own "crowning." Later writers accept it in the same sense. Cromwell's real phrase is this: "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts: it is, for aught I know, a *crowning mercy*." To one who was as familiar with Scripture phraseology as Ludlow was, it seems extraordinary that he should attach any more recondite sense to this epithet than that of a *perfecting* mercy or victory. "Thou *crownest* the year with thy goodness" is the same as "Thou *completest* the year with thy goodness."

The authority of the Commonwealth being supreme in every quarter—England tranquil; Ireland subdued; Scotland incapable of attempting any further enterprise of a royalist character; the Channel Islands now garrisoned by a parliamentary force;—the reduction of the army was a natural policy. The Militia had been disbanded; but the great body of men in arms, who had so largely influenced the course of military and civil events, were still all-powerful. The regular army was reduced to twenty-five thousand men. The General made no opposition to a measure which in some degree arose from a jealous apprehension of his power. He was now most strenuous for the advancement of two great measures—an Act of Amnesty, and a Law for the Election of future Parliaments. These subjects had been often discussed, and as often laid aside. Upon Cromwell's return to London, he urged both measures forward with his wonted energy. They were just and salutary measures; yet evil motives were ascribed to him by the republicans. "He grew," says Ludlow, "most familiar with those whom he used to show most aversion to; endeavouring to oblige the royal party, by procuring for them more favourable conditions than consisted with the justice of the Parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the spirits of many people."† The Law

\* "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 365, and vol. ii. p. 447.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 447.

for the Election of future Parliaments was passed, by the House voting that it would not continue its sittings beyond the 3rd of November, 1654. Even this half measure was only carried by a small majority. It became manifest that the Parliament did not rest on very secure foundations. The old question of a Settlement of the Nation was very forcibly revived in many minds. How difficult a question it was may be collected from Whitelocke's report of a Conference held at Speaker Lenthall's house, by request of Cromwell. We do not attempt to abridge this account, which has been termed "dramaturgic"—"of a date posterior the Restoration"—but which, at any rate, shows us how these solid puritanical statesmen conducted their business:—

"Upon the defeat at Worcester, Cromwell desired a meeting with divers members of Parliament, and some chief officers of the army, at the Speaker's house. And a great many being there, he proposed to them, That now the old king being dead, and his son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation. And in order thereunto, had requested this meeting; that they together might consider and advise what was fit to be done, and to be presented to the Parliament.

'SPEAKER. My Lord, this company were very ready to attend your Excellence, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

'HARRISON. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded is, To advise as to a settlement both our Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and so, that the mercies which the Lord hath given unto us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question.

'WHITELOCKE. It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved! Yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons, as I see here, should be fruitless. I should humbly offer, in the first place, Whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this Settlement is desired? Whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy.

'CROMWELL. My Lord Commissioner Whitelocke hath put us upon the right point; and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider, Whether a Republic, or a mixed Monarchical Govern-

ment, will be best to be settled? And if anything Monarchical, then, in whom that power shall be placed?

‘SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. I think a mixed Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this nation. And if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late king.

‘COLONEL FLEETWOOD. I think that the question, Whether an absolute Republic, or mixed Monarchy, be best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determined.

‘LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE ST. JOHN. It will be found, that the Government of this nation, without something of Monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundations of our laws, and the liberties of the people.

‘SPEAKER. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a Government of this nation without something of Monarchy.

‘COLONEL DESBOROW. I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a Republic?

‘WHITELOCKE. The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our Law, that you will scarce have time to rectify it, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

‘COLONEL WHALLEY. I do not well understand matters of Law: but it seems to me the best way, not to have anything of Monarchical power in the settlement of our Government. And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The king’s eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son likewise is our enemy.

‘SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. But the late king’s son, the duke of Gloucester, is still among us; and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

‘WHITELOCKE. There may be a day given for the king’s eldest son, or for the duke of York, his brother, to come into the Parliament. And upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable, both to our Civil and Spiritual Liberties, a Settlement may be made with them.

‘CROMWELL. That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty! But really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, That a settlement with somewhat of Monarchical power in it would be very effectual.’ ”

Whether in this Conference the Grandees, as they were called, believed that when Cromwell expressed his thought "that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual," he was consulting only his own ambition; or whether they felt that he was propounding a principle of which most men saw the practical wisdom, although "a business of more than ordinary difficulty"—this is not so clear as some have set forth. Whitelocke himself thought that Cromwell was "fishing for men's opinions"—a sort of angling in which he was generally successful.

The foreign relations of the English Commonwealth with the other European States here demand a brief notice; especially those which led to a great naval war with the Dutch.

The privateering hostilities of prince Rupert were necessary to be met by the Republican Parliament with no common energy. The navy was in the lowest condition of inefficiency in 1648; in three years it had become a most formidable force in every sea. The Packet-boat from Dover could now sail without being "pillaged," unless it had "a convoy," as in 1649, when Evelyn writes, "We had a good passage, though chased for some hours by a pirate; but he durst not attack our frigate, and we then chased him till he got under the protection of the castle of Calais; it was a small privateer belonging to the prince of Wales." Rupert had been driven by Blake from the Irish coast. The English Channel was well guarded by an adequate force. There was a Committee for the navy, of which Vane was President; and his zealous activity showed he was a man of action as well as of speech. English squadrons were cruising wherever there was a privateering enemy who could make commerce insecure; for as yet there was no actual war with a foreign nation. When Rupert had escaped from the blockade of Kinsale, he sailed to the coast of Portugal. Blake followed him to the mouth of the Tagus. The royal freebooter had obtained favour at the Court of Lisbon, as might have been expected from a Catholic king, incensed at republican audacity. The stout-hearted Captain who represented the honour of England demanded of king John IV. that he should expel from his ports the enemies of commerce between friendly nations; or that he, Robert Blake, should be allowed to enter the harbour and assert the demands of his government. The required admittance was refused. Blake, attempting to pass the bar, was fired on by the Portuguese forts; and he immediately made reprisals upon the ships of king John. Rupert escaped to the coast of Spain; and after similar demands

and refusals from the Spanish government, Blake destroyed the greater number of the privateering fleet. France and Spain were each under very doubtful relations to England, although Spain had recognised the Commonwealth. The time had not arrived when it was necessary to make any strict alliance, or to come to a decided rupture, with either of these great powers—Spain essentially weak in the decay of national spirit; France embarrassed by intestine commotions. The relations of the Commonwealth with the United Provinces were changed by the death of the prince of Orange in 1650. Had he lived his influence would have probably excited a war with the republicans, who had put his father-in-law to death, and abolished monarchical government. There was large commercial intercourse between England and these Provinces. They were both Protestant. The Council of State of the Commonwealth conceived the ambitious project of “a more intrinsical and mutual interest of each other than has hitherto been, for the good of both.” Two ambassadors, Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland, were sent to the Hague to accomplish this alliance; which really meant that the two republics should form one nation. This scheme was decidedly unpopular, as it deserved to be. At the Hague there were many English Cavaliers with the duke of York and his sister, the widow of the prince of Orange. The Dutch populace and the English royalists joined in insults to the suite of the ambassadors. Oliver St. John and the duke of York nearly came to crossing swords in the public park. These proceedings took place before the issue of affairs in Scotland. The ambassadors were at length recalled by the Parliament. It was manifest that the rival commercial states would not long remain at peace. A war was unavoidable, when the House carried the Navigation Act, under which no vessel could enter an English port with a cargo not produced or manufactured in the country to which the vessel belonged. This Act went to destroy the Dutch carrying trade. When the royalist cause was finally overthrown by the victory of Worcester, all the smaller states of Europe manifested the greatest eagerness for the alliance of the triumphant Commonwealth. The States-General now sent ambassadors to London. They were received with all outward manifestations of respect; but the English statesmen were resolved to restore the flag of their country to that supremacy which Elizabeth had asserted, but which her successors had suffered to pass away. The Great Seal of the Commonwealth ostentatiously exhibited the defences of

"The British Sea." The salute of the English flag, the right of search, the limits of the fisheries, became the subjects of ardent contention between England and the States-General. Whilst these differences continued to be agitated in state papers; whilst the Dutch statesmen were demanding the repeal of the Navigation Act, and the English Council as strenuously refusing even a temporary suspension of that measure, so long considered the great foundation of our commercial prosperity; the fleets of Blake and the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, came to a conflict on the 19th of May, 1652. The Dutchman had come into the Downs, with a fleet of forty-two vessels. Blake thought it right to look after them, and appeared with twenty-three ships. He fired three signal guns, to summon Van Tromp to lower his flag. Tromp paid no regard to the summons, and sailed on. He suddenly turned round, and sent a broadside into Blake's flag-ship. An engagement immediately took place which lasted four hours. Van Tromp lost one ship; and when morning dawned, the gazers from the heights of Dover saw no trace of a hostile fleet. There were conflicting statements from each nation. It was a premeditated attack, said the English; he came to insult us on our own seas. Stress of weather drove our admiral to your coasts, said the Dutch; he could have destroyed your fleet if he had meant war. The United Provinces appear to have been anxious to remain at peace; although there were party-divisions amongst their rulers. The English Council was probably not indisposed for a naval war. There was an end of land victories; and the popular excitement might find in maritime successes some occupation more safe than agitations for new reforms. War was declared against the States-General on the 8th of July.

The great naval power of the Dutch was founded, as naval power must necessarily be founded, upon the extent of their commerce. The industrial spirit of the reign of Elizabeth, the maritime discoveries, the bold but imperfect attempts at colonization, created the material force and called out the national spirit, that swept the Spanish galleons from the seas over which they asserted a haughty dominion. A year or two before the Long Parliament, the commerce of England appears to have been in a languid condition. The East India company, the Turkey Company, the Merchant Adventurers, had been long contending, with doubtful success, against the inevitable encroachments of private enterprise. The interlopers, as they were called, were sometimes permitted or



connived at; and sometimes repressed by stringent proclamations. Individual energy during the palmy days of the Star-Chamber was sufficiently retarded by small monopolies, in the shape of licenses and patents. Nevertheless the trade of the country went on increasing; and the plantations of America and the West Indies furnished new commodities in exchange for English produce. King James's "Counterblast to Tobacco" was forgotten; and many a good ship was now laden with the weed once sold for its weight in silver. The Civil War necessarily interfered with some mercantile operations; but if we look to the sums which were contributed by London and other commercial cities for the exigencies of the Parliament, we may be assured that in spite of fears and animosities, of civil and religious dissensions, the aggregate exchange of the country suffered no ruinous interruption. Under the Commonwealth there was undoubtedly a revival of commercial enterprise. A writer after the Restoration, complaining of the low condition of trade at that time (1668), attributes it to the mistaken foreign policy of Cromwell: "When this late tyrant, or Protector as some call him, turned out the Long Parliament, the kingdom was arrived at the highest pitch of trade, wealth, and honour that it, in any age, ever yet knew. The trade appeared by the great sums offered then for the customs and excise, nine hundred thousand pounds a year being refused." \* There can be no doubt that upon the termination of the Civil War all industry recovered the check that it must have necessarily received. It was felt that property was secure; that a political revolution had been accomplished without any uprooting of the great principles of social order. The nation was prosperous; its rulers were proud of their triumphs and the peaceable results of their arduous contests. The Navigation Act, which was as real a manifestation of hostility to the Dutch as a declaration of war, originated in that increasing commerce which was grown powerful enough to contend with a long-established rivalry. The Dutch trade was founded upon many monopolies offensive to the English spirit of free adventure. A bold struggle was to be made for disputing their rival's possession of the carrying-trade of the world. The Navigation Act was a rude invention suited to the infancy of commerce; and it long held its influence over us, like many other political superstitions. Whether its immediate results were beneficial to the country may be doubted. The statesmen of that period and long after did not understand

\* "The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell;" reprinted in Harl. Mis. vol. vii.

that buying and selling, freighting and unloading vessels, bringing home useful or luxurious products of foreign countries to exchange with our own growth or manufacture—that these complex operations were not of national benefit merely as conducing to the enrichment of merchants, but chiefly beneficial as they supplied the necessities, or increased the enjoyments, of the great mass of the people. And yet they had glimpses of this truth. In 1649 France prohibited all trade with England. On the 23rd of August, as Whitelocke reports, the House voted, that no wines, wool, or silk, of the growth of France, should be imported into England. But upon the question whether *linen* should be prohibited, "it was resolved in the negative, in regard of the general and necessary use thereof." But the Council of State could dispense with luxuries. The French minister in London wrote to Mazarin that when he told the Council "that they could not do without our wines, they answered jocosely that men soon got accustomed to anything; and that as they had without inconvenience dispensed with a king, contrary to the general belief, so they could also dispense with our French wines."\*

In the spirit of commercial rivalry,—with sailors in both fleets that were sometimes serving in the mercantile marine, but always trained to fight, for there were sea-robbers hovering about every rich cargo,—Van Tromp and Blake were to try the mettle of their crews. In every material of naval warfare the Dutch were superior to the English. Their ships were far more numerous; their commanders were more experienced; their men better disciplined. Blake, and Deane, and Popham, and other sea-captains, were land-officers. When Cromwell writes from Ireland to the Council of State, he mentions "Colonel Blake" in one letter, and "General Blake" in another. The Dutch had a more practised body of naval tacticians, who had been educated for a special service connected with the rich commerce of their Indian and American settlements. But in the English fleet there was a devoted zeal which feared no encounter however unequal, and was indifferent to the grounds of a quarrel in the determination to uphold the national honour. In 1652, in anticipation of the Dutch war, Blake was appointed sole admiral and general of the fleet. The character which Clarendon gives of this great commander is candid and discriminating; and it shows how a resolute will, seconding nat-

\* Guizot's "Cromwell," vol. i. p. 221; quoted from the despatch in Archives des Affaires Étrangères de France.

ural talents, may triumph over the impediments of traditionary habits and imbecile routine: "Having done eminent service to the Parliament, especially at Taunton, at land, he then betook himself wholly to the sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements."\* The great men of the Civil War and of the Commonwealth were called out by the circumstances of the times. The genius of Blake, in the chases and battles of the sea, was the same creation of a strong necessity as the genius of Cromwell in his land-fights. The great admiral was made out of an idle country gentleman; the great general was made out of a plain follower of rural industries. The statesmen of the time were fashioned by the same rough teaching. Howell, who was a sagacious observer of men's actions, and whose judgment was not much obscured by his political feelings, writes thus of the men of this period: "The world stands in admiration of the capacity and docibleness of the English, that persons of ordinary breeding, extraction, and callings, should become statesmen and soldiers, commanders and councillors, both in the art of war and mysteries of state, and know the use of the compass in so short a tract of time."†

The sea-fights between the English and the Dutch in that war of two years have no great historical interest, for they originated in no higher principle than commercial rivalry. Nevertheless they abound in traits of individual heroism; and certainly, whatever have been her subsequent naval glories, England may still be

\* "Rebellion," vol. vii. p. 216.

† "Letters," vol. iv. 1655, p. 111.

proud of the fame of Blake. Never were her great admirals opposed to one more worthy than Van Tromp. Costly as this war was to the nation,—impolitic in the leaders of the republic—it revived that popular spirit of reliance on the navy which even the base humiliations of the next reign could not extinguish. The maritime glories of the Commonwealth could be referred to with honest pride when Englishmen blushed for the disgraces of the Restoration. We must tell the story very briefly. In June, 1652, Blake had a fleet of a hundred and five ships; carrying nearly four thousand guns. Van Tromp had a hundred and twenty ships. Blake's first business was to assert the bounds of the English fishery. In the seas of the north of Scotland he dispersed six hundred herring busses; capturing or sinking twelve ships of war that were protecting the fishermen's operations. Sir George Ayscough was defending the Channel. Van Tromp came out of the Texel with seventy-nine men of war and ten fire-ships, to engage with Ayscough's inferior squadron. He was becalmed, and unable to engage. He turned to the North Seas; and Blake met him between the Orkneys and Shetland. A tempest came on; the Dutch vessels were scattered and much damaged; and Van Tromp returned to Holland, pursued by Blake. The Dutch admiral was unjustly blamed for his misfortunes as if they had been faults. He resigned his command, and was succeeded by De Ruyter. This bold sailor came into the Channel with thirty vessels; and drove Ayscough into Plymouth. De Ruyter was joined by Cornelius De Witt; and, with a fleet of sixty-four sail, encountered Blake in the Downs. After a severe engagement on the 28th of September, the Dutch were driven back to their own coasts. Van Tromp was again reinstated in command; and he took the sea as winter was approaching, with a fleet of seventy-three sail. The possibility of a hostile navy appearing off the English coast at the end of November was little calculated upon. Blake had only thirty-seven ships to meet the Dutch admiral. But he resolved not to shrink from battle. The issue was a conflict off the Naze, which ended in the necessity of a retreat, with great loss, to the Thames. Van Tromp sailed up and down the Channel with a broom at his mast head, to manifest that he would sweep the seas of the proud islanders; and the States-General proclaimed England under a blockade. The Parliament was not disheartened; and they were just to the merits of their admiral. They sent him again to sea in February, 1653, with a fleet of eighty sail, having Penn and Lawson under his command.

He met the Dutch fleet, on the 18th of February, between Portland Hill and Cape La Hague. It consisted of seventy-five men of war, convoying two hundred and fifty merchantmen. The battle lasted all day, without any decided success. It was renewed on the following noon. Van Tromp made all sail for his own coasts, with Blake following him. The same running fight was maintained for two more days, with equal courage and obstinacy on both sides. It was not a decisive victory, though the Dutch lost many ships. Each government bestowed rewards upon its brave captains; and the English parliament appointed a General Thanksgiving. The broom was not again set up at the Dutch mast-head during the war between the two republics.

The large expenses of this Dutch war drove the Parliament and their Council of State to resort to very arbitrary and oppressive measures. The Act of Amnesty afforded some security to the persons of royalists, but that indemnity was not extended to their property. Search for "delinquents" was to be strictly made. Those who had been spared were now called upon to compound for the possession of their estates. Of many Cavaliers all their real and personal property was confiscated. Hundreds of others were required to pay one-third of their property's value within very limited time. Cromwell was opposed to these proceedings. He might, as some may imagine, have desired to embarrass the government of which he was contemplating the overthrow; but we must do him the justice to believe, that, speaking in the face of his contemporaries, he was not making a pretence of moderation, when he thus declared his opinion in 1654: "Poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning, to the confiscation of goods and estates, without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. I tell you the truth. And my soul, and many persons' whom I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things; and knew not which way to help them, except by our mournings, and giving our negatives when occasion served."\* The victorious General of the armies of the Commonwealth had put himself into the position of the leading reformer of the tyrannies and neglects of the rulers of the Commonwealth. He necessarily had a large body of supporters in the people generally; but his strength was in that body of men whom he had led to conquest—whom he had moulded into a conviction that he was yet to be their instrument in com-

\* Speech to the First Parliament of the Protectorate. Carlyle, vol. iii. p. 44.

pleting the national deliverance from the evils which were still to be striven against. Whilst the English and Dutch were fighting in the Channel in the autumn of 1652, a Petition was presented to the Parliament by "the Officers of my Lord-General's Army. They craved Reform of the Law; they asked for a Gospel ministry; they most especially urged a swifter progress to the Bill for a new Representation in Parliament. Upon this very expressive intimation that there was something going on which was not to be despised, the lawyers applied themselves to settle some very intricate questions as to the possession of estates, so disturbed by the late intestine commotions; and the House voted that "the Committee for regulating the Law be revived." Subsequently they appointed a Commission "to take into consideration what inconveniences there are in the Law; and how the mischiefs that grow from the delays, the changeableness, and the irregularities in law proceedings may be prevented, and the speediest way to reform the same." The demand for a Gospel ministry—a vague demand—was only met by strong laws against "atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions," and by continuing severities against Catholics and Episcopalians. The question of a new Representation went on very slowly to a solution. The undisguised hostility of Cromwell to the existing order of things seemed to make the prediction of Hugh Peters not unlikely to be realised. The nation began to feel the embarrassments occasioned by the union of the legislative and executive powers in an Assembly, not numerous enough to be the interpreters of opinion, and too numerous for salutary and consistent action. There is a well-known dialogue between Cromwell and Whitelocke which, although recorded with a little more elaboration than seems natural to the relation of an evening's talk in St. James's Park, may be received as a trustworthy notion of the state of affairs, and of the temper of the man who was destined to change the mode of government. Cromwell complains of "jarrings and animosities one against another;" he points out "the dangerous condition we are in." Whitelocke agrees with him: "My lord, I look upon our present danger as greater than ever it was in the field; and, as your Excellency truly observes, our proneness is to destroy ourselves, when our enemies could not do it." It is "the factions and ambitious designs" of the army to which he is pointing. Cromwell admits that "their insolency is very great;" but, he continues, "as for the members of Parliament, the army begins to have a strange dis-

taste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause for it. And really their pride and ambition, and self-seeking, engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of Parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters; and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them;—these things, my lord, do give too much grounds for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, and law or reason; they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power; there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them. So that, unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitances, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin.” Whitelocke somewhat defends the members of Parliament: “Too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.” Cromwell does not quite agree: “Some course must be thought on, to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.” There is a difficulty in this, as Whitelocke judges: “We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concerns from them; and how to restrain and rule them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it.” The reply is startling: “What if a man should take upon him to be King?” Whitelocke replies as if there could be no doubt that the Lord-General meant himself: “As to your own person, the title of king would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already concerning the militia, as you are General. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and, although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your Excellency, and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only.



So that I apprehend indeed less envy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good, in your being General, than would be if you had assumed the title of King." This bold declaration of Cromwell was met by what appears a singular mode in Whitelocke to propitiate a man who had such power to carry his day-dreams into realities. "What if a man should take upon him to be King," was answered by him with an expedient which he propounds with very considerable alarm. He is re-assured when the Lord-General says, "There shall be no prejudice come to you by any private discourse between us. I shall never betray my friend." The expedient is this: "I propound for your Excellency to send to the king of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him." Cromwell postponed the consideration of this expedient to a further time; and Whitelocke adds, "My Lord-General did not in words express any anger, but only by looks and carriage; and turned aside from me to other company."

During the winter and spring the great question at issue between the Parliament and the man described by Whitelocke as having kingly authority in all but the name, was the long debated question of future representation. In February it was determined that the existing Parliament should dissolve on the 3rd of November of that year. The future number of Representatives was to be four hundred, to be elected by freeholders in counties, and owners or tenants in boroughs. But this was not to be wholly a new Parliament. The members then sitting were to remain as the Representatives of the counties or boroughs for which they then sat; and it was resolved that a general Committee should pronounce upon the validity of the new returns. Against the proposal "for the perpetuating the same men in Parliament," as Cromwell afterwards described this Bill, he gave his most strenuous opposition. On the 19th of April, 1653, there was great conference of members of the House, and of officers of the Army, at Cromwell's residence of Whitehall. One party pressed the necessity of the Bill; the other desired that "they would devolve the trust over to some well-affected men, such as had an interest in the nation, and were known to be of good affection to the Commonwealth." \* "At parting," continues the same narrator of these proceedings,—Cromwell himself—"one of the chief" of the members, and "two or three more, did tell us, that they would endeavour to suspend farther proceedings about their Bill for a new Representation until they had

\* Cromwell's Speech to the "Little Parliament," Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 317.



another conference with us. And upon this we had great satisfaction." \* What the morrow brought forth is one of the strangest events in English history.

It was late at night when the conference on the 19th of April, at Cromwell's house, the Cockpit at Whitehall, was come to an end. It was understood that the discussion was to be renewed on Wednesday, the 20th. The Lord General is ready to receive the members of Parliament, he and his officers. Some few members are come; but the leaders have not made their appearance. Reports arrived that the Parliament was sitting; then, that Vane, and Algernon Sidney, and Henry Martyn, were urging the immediate passing of the Bill for their dissolution and a new Representation. Colonel Ingoldsby now came in haste, and said that there was not a moment to lose. The obnoxious Bill was about to become Law. Cromwell instantly went forth, followed by Lambert and several other officers. A detachment of soldiers was ordered to march to the House of Commons. The Lord General placed his men in the lobby, and then entered the House alone. "The Parliament sitting as usual, and being in debate upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the house, clad in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings, and sat down as he used to do, in an ordinary place." The scene which ensued has been described by Algernon Sidney, by Whitelocke, and by Ludlow. Sidney and Whitelocke were present. Ludlow was in Ireland; but he was in a position to obtain information, and he has put his details together in a very coherent narrative, little coloured by the wrath which he ever afterwards felt towards the formidable man "in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings." "He sat down and heard the debate for some time. Then calling to Major-General Harrison, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him, that he judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it. The Major-General answered, as he since told me; 'Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.' 'You say well,' replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the Bill being to be put, he said again to Major-General Harrison, 'This is the time—I must do it;' and suddenly standing up, made a speech, wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vilest

\* Cromwell's Speech to the "Little Parliament," Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 317.

reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do anything for the public good, to have espoused the corrupt interests of Presbytery, and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, accusing them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, had they not been forced to the passing of this act, which he affirmed they designed never to observe, and therefore told them, that the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy. This he spoke with so much passion and discomposure of mind, as if he had been distracted. Sir Peter Wentworth stood up to answer him, and said, That this was the first time that ever he had heard such unbecoming language given to the Parliament, and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their servant, and their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged : but as he was going on, the General stepped into the midst of the House, where continuing his distracted language, he said, 'Come, come, I will put an end to your prating;' then walking up and down the House like a madman, and kicking the ground with his feet, he cried out, 'You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament; I will put an end to your sitting; call them in, call them in.' Whereupon the serjeant attending the Parliament opened the doors, and Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley with two files of musketeers entered the House; which Sir Henry Vane observing from his place, said aloud, 'This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty.' Then Cromwell fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane; the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane.' Then looking upon one of the members, he said, 'There sits a drunkard;' and giving much reviling language to others, he commanded the mace to be taken away, saying, 'What shall we do with this bauble? here, take it away.' Having brought all into this disorder, Major-General Harrison went to the Speaker as he sat in the chair, and told him, that seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The Speaker answered, that he would not come down unless he were forced. 'Sir,' said Harrison, 'I will lend you my hand;' and thereupon putting his hand within his, the Speaker came down. Then Cromwell applied himself to the members of the House, who were in number between eighty and a hundred, and said to them, 'It's you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.'

Hereupon Alderman Allen, a member of parliament, told him, that it was not yet gone so far, but all things might be restored again; and that if the soldiers were commanded out of the House, and the mace returned, the public affairs might go on in their former course; but Cromwell having now passed the Rubicon, not only rejected his advice, but charged him with an account of some hundred thousand pounds, for which he threatened to question him, he having been long treasurer for the Army, and in a rage committed him to the custody of one of the musketeers. Alderman Allen told him, that it was well known that it had not been his fault that his account was not made up long since; that he had often tendered it to the House, and that he asked no favour from any man in that matter. Cromwell having acted this treacherous and impious part, ordered the guard to see the House cleared of all the members, and then seized upon the records that were there, and at Mr. Scobell's house. After which he went to the clerk, and snatching the Act of Dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak, and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall.\*

The Council of State, in spite of the remonstrance of Bradshaw, its President, was dismissed the same afternoon by the same strong hand. In a newspaper of the following day, *Mercurius Politicus*, appeared this semi-official paragraph: "The Lord General delivered yesterday in Parliament divers reasons wherefore a present period should be put to the sitting of this Parliament, and it was accordingly done, the Speaker and the members all departing; the ground of which proceedings will, it is probable, be shortly made public." The French minister in London, writing to his government on the 3d of May, describes this humiliating end of the famous Long Parliament. "The people," he writes, "universally rejoice, and the higher ranks (la noblesse) equally so, in the *generous* action of General Cromwell, and the fall of the Parliament, which is reviled by every mouth. There is written on the House of Parliament—

'This house is now to be let, unfurnished.' " †

The forcible expulsion of that Parliament which had become supreme through a similar unconstitutional violence, that of Colonel Pride's Purge, appears to have produced very little public excitement. Cromwell exclaimed, "We do not hear even a dog bark at

\* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 455.

† M. de Bordeaux to M. Servien, in Guizot, Appendix xxiii.

their going." The republican leaders were indignant; but they were powerless. This great change had been effected without a single drop of blood being shed. It was followed by no severities against those who were known to be most hostile to the one man who was regarded in many things as the real ruler of England. Many knew and avowed, as he himself knew, "that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." Speaker Lenthall, who was handed down from his chair, on the 20th of April, had expressed his opinion that "something of monarchy" was wanting for the government of this nation.\* Many rejoiced at this approach to an authority more direct, less vacillating and less contentious, than the supreme government by a Parliament. Even the republicans, who had a natural dread of Cromwell's ambition, acquiesced in the instant change which had been produced by his commanding will. Mrs. Hutchinson writes of her husband, who for nearly a year had been absent from his place in the House: "He was going up to attend the business of his country alone, when news met him upon the road, near London, that Cromwell had broken the Parliament. Notwithstanding, he went on, and found divers of the members there, resolved to submit to the providence of God; and to wait till He should clear their integrity, and to disprove these people who had taxed them of ambition; by sitting still, when they had friends enough in the Army, City, and country, to have disputed the matter, and probably vanquished these accusers. They thought that if they should vex the land by war among themselves, the late subdued enemies, royalists and presbyterians, would have an opportunity to prevail on their dissensions, to the ruin of both. If these should govern well, and righteously, and moderately, they should enjoy the benefit of their good government; and not envy them the honourable toil."† The republican Colonel and Independent submitted, as the majority submitted, to an usurpation which seemed not wholly unlikely to increase "good government." Suspected as Cromwell was of aspiring to monarchical power, there was nothing in his character to make the people dread that he would rule cruelly and tyrannously instead of "righteously and moderately." The government went on without the slightest interruption. "The Lord-General and his Council of Officers" issued two declarations, in which it was promised that a certain number of persons should be summoned from all parts of the kingdom—God fearing men, and

\* See *ante*, p. 15.

† "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 205.

of approved integrity,—who should have the direction of affairs. Meanwhile, a Council of State, consisting of thirteen, was appointed, —nine military men and four civilians, with Cromwell as their president. The country remained in perfect tranquillity. The four Commissioners to whom the government of Ireland had been entrusted since the death of Ireton in November, 1651, “continued to act in their places and stations as before,” Ludlow, one of them, recording their hope that all would be for the best. Blake called together the puritan captains of his fleet to consider their change of masters. He was urged by some to take part against Cromwell. “No,” was his reply, “it is not for us to mind affairs of state, but to keep foreigners from fooling us.” Amidst this general submission to what was regarded as a probable blessing, or an inevitable evil, there was sent out, on the 6th of June, a summons to serve as a Member of Parliament, addressed to each of one hundred and thirty-nine persons. These had been selected, some after consultations of ministers with their congregations, others by their known public qualifications, and all by the approval of Cromwell and his Council. Very different was this from a Representation ; but it was such an Assembly as had been proposed by Cromwell and his officers at the conferences which preceded the dissolution of April 20th. “That the government of the nation being in such condition as we saw, and things being under so much ill-sense abroad, and likely to end in confusion, we desired they would devolve the trust over to some well-affected men, such as had an interest in the nation, and were known to be of good affection to the Commonwealth. Which, we told them, was no new thing when this land was under the like hurlyburlies. And we had been labouring to get precedents to convince them of it ; and it was confessed by them it was no new thing.”\* The following is the Summons by which the members of “the Little Parliament” were called together:—

“Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary, that the peace, safety, and good government of this Commonwealth should be provided for: And in order thereunto, divers persons, fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are, by myself with the advice of my council of officers, nominated ; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: And having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of His cause, and ‘that’

\* Cromwell’s Speech, July 4. Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 346.

of the good people of this Commonwealth: I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain General and Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you, — —, being one of the persons nominated, — personally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof; Then and there to take upon you the said trust; unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a member for the county of —. And hereof you are not to fail.

“ Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June, 1653,  
“ OLIVER CROMWELL.”

VOL. IV.—3

## CHAPTER II.

Defeat of Van Tromp.—Character of the Little Parliament.—Cromwell's Address to this Assembly.—Its Provisional Constitution.—Their proceedings and tendencies.—Resignation of the Little Parliament.—Oliver inaugurated as Protector.—Social Condition of the Kingdom.

THE summons which Cromwell sent throughout the country for the assembling of a body of men that should, in some degree, though not wholly as a parliament, represent the interest of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was made public at a propitious season of national triumph. On the 4th of June, Blake and Monk had sent a despatch to Cromwell, announcing a great victory over the Dutch fleet. Monk and Dean were cruising, with a portion of the English fleet, between the North Foreland and Nieuport; Blake was on our northern coasts. Van Tromp decided to encounter the fleet thus separated from their great admiral. The engagement continued all through the day of the 2nd of June. Dean had been killed by a cannon-shot at the first broadside. Each of the fleets had been sorely crippled when night separated them. The action re-commenced on the 3rd. On that morning the sound of cannon from the north told the welcome news to Monk that the Sea-king was at hand. Blake's ships broke through the Dutch line. Van Tromp fought with desperation. His ship, the *Brederode*, was boarded by the crew of Penn's flag-ship, the *James*, after having repulsed Van Tromp's boarders. The Dutch admiral, resolved not to be a prisoner, threw a lighted match into his own powder-magazine. The explosion blew up the deck, but he himself escaped, to renew the battle in a frigate. He at last felt that he was beaten; retreated to his own coasts; and left with the triumphant English eleven vessels and thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners. The Council of State ordered a thanksgiving for the victory. Cromwell's Little Parliament met, on the 4th of July, under prosperous auspices.

The character of this Little Parliament has been studiously misrepresented. We are taught to believe, especially in histories addressed to the youthful understanding, that "the persons pitched

upon for exercising this seemingly important trust were the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics." \* Clarendon's statement, "there were among them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen," is wholly suppressed in the usual narratives. Hume's chief objection to them is a characteristic one—"They began with seeking God by prayer." The great scandal of this Assembly was that amongst them "was Praise-God Barebones, a leather-seller of Fleet Street;" as Clarendon mentions, to enable men to form a judgment of the rest. It has no great historical interest to discuss, as some have done, whether the leather-merchant was named Barebones, or Barbone. There he is, sitting by the side of Robert Blake, when Robert has no fighting on his hands; and with Francis Rouse, Provost of Eton, and sundry men, not altogether the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant, bearing the aristocratic names of Montagu, Howard, and Anthony Ashley Cooper. To Cromwell's Summons only two answered by non-attendance. Whitelocke, not at that exact time in good humour with Cromwell, expresses his surprise that "many of this Assembly being persons of fortune and knowledge" they would accept the supreme authority of the nation from such hands. The "persons of fortune and knowledge"—even the leather-seller of Fleet Street—might justly think that it became them, at a crisis when most men perceived that it would have been dangerous to summon a regular Parliament, to accept a trust which might avert the two extreme evils of military despotism or popular outrage. And so, on the 4th of July, they came to the Council-Chamber at Whitehall; and sitting in chairs round a table, the Lord-General, surrounded by his officers, made a speech to the Assembly—"full of the same obscurity, confusion, embarrassment, and absurdity, which appear in almost all Oliver's productions," says Hume: "All glowing with intelligibility, with credibility; with the splendour of genuine veracity, and heroic depth and manfulness," says one who is not scandalised, as Hume is, at Cromwell's words of rejoicing that a body of men was there come to supreme authority upon the principle of "owning God and being owned by Him." That this principle was to involve the exercise of justice and mercy to the people, according to Oliver's notion, may be collected from a passage or two in his speech, which is characteristic enough of his style of oratory. "He was an entire stranger to oratorical art, to harmony of composition, and to ele-

\* Goldsmith.



gance of language," says a great writer and orator; but he adds, "he impelled his auditors with resistless force towards the object which he wished to attain, by exciting in their minds, at every step, the impression which it was his object to produce." \* What, we ask, can the highest oratorical art effect beyond this? .

After going through a narrative of the circumstances which preceded the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and accounted for his participation in that act, Cromwell says, "Having done that we have done upon such ground of necessity as we have declared, which was not a feigned necessity but a real,—it did behove us, to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who did these things, not to grasp at the power, ourselves, or keep it in military hands, no, not for a day; but, as far as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of proper persons that might be called from the several parts of the nation. This necessity, and I hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of concluding to divest the Sword of all power in the Civil Administration,—hath been that that hath moved us to put you to the trouble of coming hither; and having done that, truly we think we cannot, with the discharge of our own conscience, but offer somewhat to you on the devolving of the burden on your shoulders. \* \* \*

"I think, coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be ill taken if we do offer somewhat as to the discharge of the trust which is now incumbent upon you. And although I seem to speak of that which may have the face and interpretation of a charge, it's a very humble one; and if he that means to be a servant to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the supreme authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty to you, we hope you will take it in good part. And truly I shall not hold you long in it; because I hope it's written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God. \* \* \*

"It's better to pray for you than to counsel you in that matter, that you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth. It's better, I say, to pray for you than counsel you; to ask wisdom from Heaven for you; which I am confident many thousands of Saints do this day, and have done, and will do, through the permission of God and His assistance. I say it's better to pray than advise; yet truly I think of another Scripture, which is very useful, though it seems to be for a common application to every man as a Chris-

\* Guizot, vol. ii. p. 16.

tian,—wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom ; and he is told what that is. That's 'from above,' we are told ; it's 'pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits ;' it's 'without partiality and without hypocrisy.' Truly my thoughts run much upon this place, that to the execution of judgment (the judgment of truth, for that's the judgment) you must have wisdom 'from above,' and that's 'pure.' That will teach you to exercise the judgment of truth ; it's 'without partiality.' Purity, impartiality, sincerity ; these are the effects of 'wisdom,' and these will help you to execute the judgment of truth. And then if God give you hearts to be 'easy to be entreated,' to be 'peaceably spirited,' to be 'full of good fruits,' bearing good fruits to the nation, to men as men, to the people of God, to all in their several stations,—*this* will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth. And I have little more to say to this. I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf, as I said ; and many others will.

"Truly, the 'judgment of truth,' it will teach you to be as just towards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer ; and it's our duty to do so. I confess I have said sometimes, foolishly it may be : I had rather miscarry to a Believer than an Unbeliever. This may seem a paradox ; but let's take heed of doing that which is evil to either ! Oh, if God fill your hearts with such a spirit as Moses had, and as Paul had,—which was not a spirit for Believers only, but for the whole people ! Moses, he could die for them ; wish himself 'blotted out of God's Book :'. Paul could wish himself 'accused for his countrymen after the flesh :' so full of affection were their spirits unto all. And truly this would help you to execute the judgment of truth, and of mercy also. \* \* \* In my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture often, forty-first of Isaiah ; where God gave me, and some of my fellows, encouragement 'as to' what He would do there and elsewhere ; which he hath performed for us. He said, 'He would plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle and the oil-tree ; and He would set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine-tree, and the box-tree together.' For what end will the Lord do all this ? That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this ;—that it is he who hath wrought all the salvations and deliverances we have received. For what end ? To see, and know, and understand together, that he hath done and wrought all this for the good of the Whole Flock. Therefore, I beseech you,

—but I think I need not,—have a care of the Whole Flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs; love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you,—I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected.”

We shall not often have occasion to introduce passages of this serious character into our text. It is necessary in this place to exhibit the sort of exhortations addressed by Cromwell to those described by Hume as “low mechanics, fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, independents,—the very dregs of fanatics;” and although the style of oratory may differ from modern usage when parliaments are addressed, it may not be regarded as wholly inappropriate and ineffectual.

The constitution of Cromwell’s Assembly was provisional. The supreme authority was devolved upon them by an instrument signed by the Lord-General and his officers, but they were to engage not to retain it beyond the 3rd of November, 1654; three months before that time they were to choose their successors; and these were not to sit longer than a year, and then to determine upon a future constitution of government. This was an arrangement not altogether consistent with the theory that Cromwell aimed at an arbitrary government in his own person; and is only explained by the assertion that he adopted a temporary expedient which he knew could not stand in the way of his own ambitious designs. Upon this principle it is held that it was “the deep policy of Cromwell to render himself the sole refuge of those who valued the laws, or the regular ecclesiastical ministry, or their own estates, all in peril from the mad enthusiasts who were in hopes to prevail” \*—that he therefore chose the mad enthusiasts, “mingling them with a sufficient proportion of a superior class whom he could direct.” A deep policy, no doubt, but also a policy of very uncertain result. When we look back upon the earnestness with which Cromwell had advocated the reform of the law; his zeal for amending the condition of the poor; his eager pleadings against the oppressions of prisoners for debt; his desires for the promotion of education,—it appears somewhat unlikely that if he meant these men to do nothing, and thus ultimately to throw the popularity of remedial measures into his hands, they should at once have applied themselves to these objects with a vigour that con-

\* Hallam, “Constitutional History,” Chap. x.

trasted with the comparative torpor of the last days of the Long Parliament. They formed Committees to examine these questions, and others of political importance, such as Union with Scotland, the division of lands in Ireland, and the financial condition of the kingdom. They did, however, some things which gave offence to two powerful classes—the clergy and the lawyers. They abolished the Court of Chancery, and they decreed by a majority of two, that tithes should be abolished. The abolition of tithes, before a maintenance by law should have been otherwise provided, was against a report of their own Committee. The more enthusiastic of the religious party had gained the ascendancy over those who despised this world's wisdom. Cromwell did not despise it; and he saw the real evils that had developed themselves in an authority of which the majority, led by Major-General Harrison, held that "the Saints shall take possession of the kingdom and keep it."† These extreme doctrines were preached in the meetings of sectaries. Two anabaptists, Feake and Powell, were most violent in urging great social changes, at which the more moderate became alarmed. The men of station and property began to regard Cromwell as the only power interposed between order and anarchy. In the next year, when he called a general Parliament, he spoke very clearly upon these dangers of the Commonwealth. He pointed to "the ranks and orders of men, whereby England had been known for hundreds of years;—a nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman—that is a good interest of the nation, and a great one. For the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? What was the purport of it but to make the tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord—which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long. The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would then have cried up property and interest fast enough." With reference to the most fanatical of the sectaries, those who believed in the approach of the Fifth Monarchy, when the Saints of Christ should alone reign in the earth, Cromwell says, "When more fullness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. The carnal divisions and contentions among Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that kingdom. But for men, on this principle, to betitle themselves, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to the people, and

\* See Ludlow, "Memoirs," p. 565.

determine of property and liberty and everything else, upon such a pretension as this is,—truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence among them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions. Cromwell, the hypocrite, or Cromwell, the fanatic, or Cromwell, the statesman and natural ruler of men—whatever we please to call him—saw that the Fifth Monarchy men, with Major-General Harrison at their head, were too strong in their enthusiasm, to make a stable government of the people a practicable thing. There were many of his adherents of the same opinion. On the 12th of December, colonel Sydenham rose in his place, and forthwith accused the majority of desiring to take away the laws of the land, and substitute a Mosaic code; of seeking to remove a regularly appointed Christian ministry; of opposing all learning and education. He proposed that they should repair in a body to the Lord-General, and resign the trust which had been committed to them. The motion was seconded by sir Charles Wolseley. The accusations were earnestly pronounced to be unjust; and the meritorious labours of the Assembly were dwelt upon. The Speaker suddenly left the chair, followed by about forty members. Leaving a number of members behind, not sufficient to constitute a House, they repaired to Whitehall, and there hastily wrote a paper resigning their authority into the hands of Cromwell. In the course of the next four days it was signed by eighty members, constituting a majority of the whole House.

The resignation of the Little Parliament is quickly followed by the event to which it was, without doubt, a pre-arranged prelude. "The perfidious Cromwell," writes Ludlow, "having forgot his most solemn professions and former vows, as well as the blood and treasure that had been spent in this contest, thought it high time to take off the mask, and resolved to sacrifice all our victories and deliverances to his pride and ambition, under colour of taking upon him the office as it were of a High Constable, in order to keep the peace of the nation, and to restrain men from cutting one another's throats."\* This honest republican does not, however, inform us that such an office was altogether unnecessary. Looking calmly back upon this great issue of a Civil War, we can scarcely doubt that a High Constable was absolutely wanted, and that if the man of due vigour had not been at hand, worse evils might have ensued than this—that on the 16th of December, 1653, Oliver Cromwell was inaugurated "Lord Protector of the Com-

\* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 471.

monwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." On that day Oliver Cromwell, then fifty-four years of age, dressed in a plain suit of black velvet, sat down on a Chair of State in the Court of Chancery, when Major-General Lambert prayed him to accept the office of Protector; and Cromwell consented "to take upon him the protection and government of these nations, in the manner expressed in the form of government." That form was an instrument of forty-two articles. It was anything but an instrument constituting the Protector a Dictator. The sovereignty was to reside in the Parliament. He was not to have the power of a negative on their laws. He had a power of making temporary ordinances until the meeting of a Parliament. A Council of State was to assist the Protector in the government. And so, "having taken the oath as directed in the close of the said instrument," writes Ludlow, "Major-General Lambert kneeling, presented him with a Sword in the scabbard, representing the Civil Sword; which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby that he would no longer rule by the military sword."\* The indignant Ludlow adds, "though like a false hypocrite, he designed nothing more."

Before this great change in the government of England, Whitelocke had set forth on an embassy for the conclusion of a treaty with Sweden. Cromwell had especially urged this mission upon the reluctant Commissioner, but at last he had prevailed.† We here notice this embassy, to point to two remarkable passages in the conversations between queen Christina and the ambassador of the English Commonwealth, which have reference to Cromwell. In an interview, before the news of the event of the 16th of December had reached Sweden, the following dialogue took place:—

"*Queen.* Much of the story of your general hath some parallel with that of my ancestor, Gustavus the First, who, from a private gentleman of a noble family, was advanced to the title of marshal of Sweden, because he had risen up and rescued his country from the bondage and oppression which the king of Denmark had put upon them, and expelled that king; and for his reward, he was at last elected king of Sweden; and I believe that your general will be king of England in conclusion.

"*Whitelocke.* Pardon me, madam, that cannot be, because England is resolved into a Commonwealth; and my general hath

\* Ludlow, "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 480.

† See vol. iii. p. 626.

already sufficient power and greatness, as general of all their forces by sea and land, which may content him.

"*Queen.* Resolve what you will, I believe he resolves to be king: and hardly can any power or greatness be called sufficient, when the nature of man is so prone (as in these days) to all ambition."

But very shortly the news reached the Swedish Court of the altered relations of the English government with foreign states; and then Christina asks these pertinent questions:—

"*Queen.* Is your new government by a protector different from what it was before as to monarchy, or is the alteration in all points?

"*Whitelocke.* The government is to be the same as formerly, by successive representatives of the people in parliament; only the protector is the head or chief magistrate of the commonwealth."

The queen is still curious upon several difficult points which arise out of her meditations upon this novel form of chief magistracy:—

"*Queen.* Why is the title protector, when the power is kingly?

"*Whitelocke.* I cannot satisfy your majesty of the reasons of this title, being at so great a distance from the inventors of it.

"*Queen.* New titles, with sovereign power, proved prejudicial to the state of Rome.

"*Whitelocke.* One of your majesty's ancestors was not permitted to keep the title of marshal of Sweden.

"*Queen.* He was afterwards king, and that will be next for your protector.

"*Whitelocke.* That will not be so consonant to our Commonwealth as it was to your crown. \* \* \*

"*Queen.* Is your protector sacred as other kings are?

"*Whitelocke.* He is not anointed and crowned; those ceremonies were not used to him.

"*Queen.* His power is the same with that of king, and why should not his title have been the same?

"*Whitelocke.* It is the power which makes the title, and not the title which makes the power; our protector thinks he hath enough of both.

"*Queen.* He is hardly a mortal man then; but he hath brought his business notably to pass, and hath done great things. I give you my hand for it, that I have a great value for him."

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Before we enter upon a narrative of the public events of the Protectorate, let us endeavour, out of very imperfect materials, to present a brief view of the social condition of the kingdom, in continuation of those "glimpses of the life of the people" which we gave at the commencement of the Civil War.\* The changes of a decade are not very marked in ordinary times. But those who had lived through the fierce struggles of this decade,—had seen the fall of the Monarchy, and of the Anglican Church; the almost utter subjection of the Cavaliers; the growing power of the Army; the triumphs of the Independents over the Presbyterians; the dissolution of the Long Parliament; and the approach once again to a monarchical form of government—these must have looked upon great vicissitudes. More than this, those who were boys when the Puritan William Prynne stood in the pillory in 1633 must have beheld an entire revolution in the domestic framework of society when the Puritan Oliver Cromwell sat in the Chair of State in 1653. Such phases of common life are rarely observed in the whirl of public events. A casual notice here and there of a letter-writer or a diarist enables us to piece together a few fragments. Such mosaic work could not be elaborated into a picture with any pretension to verisimilitude. It can scarcely aspire to any symmetrical proportion.

The rapidity with which some nations, after they have been harassed and devastated by foreign invasion or intestine wars, recover and become prosperous, mainly depends upon the fact of nations being constituted of an industrious or slothful race. But it also in no small degree depends upon their political institutions,—the amount of individual liberty, the security of property. From a comparison of all accounts we may judge that England recovered with wonderful ease from the destruction of capital, from the taxes, the confiscations of Civil War. Mrs. Hutchinson's account may be received with little qualification, that the Parliament before its dissolution "had restored the Commonwealth to such a happy, rich, and plentiful condition, as it was not so flourishing before the war; and although the taxes that were paid were great, yet the people were rich, and were able to pay them." The forfeitures of property, so calamitous to individuals, had thrown extensive estates into the hands of the middle classes, who cultivated them to greater profit than their hereditary proprietors. The war itself, calling forth a remarkable union of religious enthusiasm with sober in-

\* Vol. iii. p. 435.



dustry, gave an elevation to the pursuits of the trading classes, which made the dignity of work more appreciated by themselves and by others. There was a general desire for religious knowledge which created an aspiration for higher things than money even in the humblest mechanical pursuits. It was not a period of very unequal distribution of wealth amongst those who lived by their industry, except in the larger operations of commerce. Baxter, speaking of his parishioners at Kidderminster, says, "my people were not rich. There were among them very few beggars, because their common trade of stuff-weaving would find work for all, men, women, and children, that were able. \* \* \* \* The generality of the master-workmen lived but a little better than their journeymen, from hand to mouth, but only that they laboured not altogether so hard." Yet amongst this humble community, according to this good man, "it was a great advantage to me that my neighbours were of such a trade as allowed them time enough to read or talk of holy things. \* \* \* \* As they stand in their loom they can set a book before them." \*

Whatever might be the contrarieties of doctrine and discipline amongst the great body of Puritans, the time of scoffing and reviling them was entirely passed. There might be secret mutterings against fanatics amongst the old Cavaliers, but the great religious body was too powerful, their influence was too universal, to meet with violent resistance or open contempt. The more extreme sectaries necessarily provoked much suppressed ridicule; but the great body of the puritan Clergy were too orderly in their lives, too active in their zeal for godliness and sobriety, and in many cases had established so great a reputation for sound learning, that the most devoted Episcopalians and staunchest Royalists could not pretend to despise them, as in the times of Laud. The toleration which was imperfectly carried out by the republican Independents, but which Cromwell made the ruling principle of his ecclesiastical policy, had a tendency to mitigate some of the old feuds of the surplice and the Geneva gown. Evelyn, the most devoted of men to the past system of government, spiritual and temporal, is naturally disgusted when, on the 4th of December, 1653, "going this day to our church, I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up; I was resolved yet to stay and see what he would make of it." The mechanic inferred from his text that "now the Saints were called to destroy temporal governments;" and

\* "Life," pp. 89 and 94.

Evelyn remarks that "with such feculent stuff, so dangerous a crisis were things grown to." Cromwell rather averted the danger of the crisis, as we have seen. Evelyn is severe upon "the usurper" being feasted at the Lord Mayor's on Ash Wednesday; though he expresses no grateful sense of the change which permitted him "to hear the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor, at St. Gregory's." This true English gentleman has unconsciously given his testimony that the kingdom was not in a very wretched condition when "the usurper" began openly to take the regulation of affairs. He saw indeed, at Caversham, in 1634, lord Craven's woods being felled "by the rebels,"—the confiscation of this property having been an expiring act of the despotism of the Rump Parliament of which Oliver complained. But in this summer tour, he enjoys "the idle diversions" of Bath; "trifling and bathing with the company who frequent the place for health." He goes to Bristol, "a city emulating London, not for its large extent, but manner of building—shops, bridge, traffic, exchange, market-place"—standing "commodiously for Ireland and the Western world." He was welcomed with old hospitality at Oxford; and heard the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, preach, "perstringing [glancing upon] Episcopacy." Cromwell was Chancellor of Oxford, and Dr. Owen Vice-Chancellor; yet Evelyn heard excellent orations; and was delighted at All Souls, with "music, voices and theorbos, performed by some ingenious scholars." Some of the roaring habits of the Cavaliers were not yet banished by Puritanism; for his party's coachmen, at Spie Park, the seat of sir Edward Baynton, were made "exceeding drunk" by that "humourous old knight," who ordered all gentlemen's servants to be so treated. At Wilton House, the earl of Pembroke's, he beholds the mansion and gardens in the most beautiful order. He finds at Coventry "the streets full of great shops, clean and well-paved." In Rutlandshire he meets an exception to the general neatness of English villages: "Most of the rural parishes are built of mud, and the people living as wretchedly as in the most impoverished parts of France, which they much resemble, being idle and sluttish." In Leicestershire the gentry are "free drinkers." With these exceptions, wherever he travels he finds stately houses, fair gardens, ample parks, orderly and contented people. He sees very few evidences of the ravages of war. The country seems quiet and prosperous—not altogether a bad country to live in, though "an usurper" does rule it. And so Mr. Evelyn completes his purchase of

Sayes Court; and sets out his oval garden; and trims his holly hedge, afterwards so famous; and is not wanting for amusements even in this strict age; for "my lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Garden, now the only place of refreshment about town for persons of the best quality to be exceedingly cheated at." There are indications that some of the levities are creeping in that preceded the coming age of licentiousness: "I now observed how the women began to paint themselves."

The healthful influence upon the morals of the rural population, through the exertions and examples of the religious gentry, is well illustrated by the course of life which colonel Hutchinson pursued: "He had for about a year's time applied himself, when the parliament could dispense with his absence, to the administration of justice in the country, and to the putting in execution those wholesome laws and statutes of the land provided for the orderly regulation of the people. And it was wonderful how, in a short space, he reformed several abuses and customary neglects in that part of the country where he lived, which, being a rich fruitful vale, drew abundance of vagrant people to come and exercise the idle trade of wandering and begging. But he took such courses that there was very suddenly not a beggar left in the country; and all the poor in every town so maintained and provided for, as they never were so liberally maintained and relieved before nor since. He procured unnecessary alehouses to be put down in all the towns: and if any one that he heard of suffered any disorder or debauchery in his house, he would not suffer him to brew any more. He was a little severe against drunkenness, for which the drunkards would sometimes rail at him; but so were all the children of darkness convinced by his light, that they were in awe more of his virtue than his authority." In the instance of colonel Hutchinson, an accomplished gentleman of the Independent party, Puritanism is thus exhibited in its mildest mood. It is suppressing vagrancy and assisting honest poverty. It is putting down unnecessary alehouses, and is a little severe against drunkenness. But Puritanism as exhibited in such a man is not playing the fantastic tricks which made it odious to the great body of the people, and drove the nation into the disgusting sensuality and base self-seeking of the Restoration. Puritanism naturally offended the large remaining body who were attached to the ceremonial of the Anglican Church, when it fasted on Christmas Day, and feasted on Ash Wednesday. It took this course upon the old principle, that the greater

was the remove from Roman Catholicism the nearer was the approach to true religion. The people generally did not take these sour protestations against old customs very much to heart. Salt-fish and mince-pie were not banished from their boards, although the orthodox seasons for their consumption had a little varied. They had no great reverence for those who opposed Christmas carols and mummeries; to whom the Yule-log and the Boar's head were abominations. But in spite of them they had their dances and their health-drinkings; and wished their neighbours a merry Christmas after the good old fashion. But when Puritanism put itself into a rampant attitude, as it did in many districts, the people began to loath a power which was so intermeddling and so morose. The neglect of public worship in a few was not likely to be remedied by fines and the stocks. "Katherine Bartlett, widow, upon her own confession, did absent herself from Church the last Lord's day, contrary to the law, in the morning; was ordered to pay 2s. 6d., and in default of paying was ordered to be set in the stocks," says a record of the Dorchester justices.\* From the same authority, we learn that John Samwages, not having been to Church for five weeks, and having not money to satisfy the law, was ordered to be stocked for his said offence. Nor was the just observance of Sunday likely to be greatly promoted by informations against husbands and wives, and also,—cruel Puritans,—against "sweethearts," for walking abroad in sermon time. One unhappy victim is stocked three hours for the heinous offence of going to Charminster immediately after dinner on Easter day, and eating milk and cream with some lads and lasses, upon which entertainment they spent twopence each.† Even the plea that the moving about on the Sabbath-day was to hear a preacher in another parish was no mitigation of the offence of taking a longer walk than to the Church at the offender's own door. Working on Sunday was punished by the rigid in the most exemplary manner. A tailor is brought up for labouring at two o'clock on a January morning, to have a piece of his manufacture completed in due time for some orthodox church-goer. Children were punished for playing at nine-stones. Hanging out clothes to dry on the Sabbath was an especial offence. Swearing had been a statutable crime since the time of James I.; but the extreme Puritans not only vis-

\* Hearn's MS. Book of Proceedings, quoted in "Roberts's Southern Counties," p.

244.

† Hearn's MS. Book of Proceedings.

ited profane cursing with fine and the stocks, but punished even such as followed lady Percy's example of "good sooth," and "God shall mend me." To swear "like a comfit-maker's wife" \* was a grievous sin. "Plague take you" was finable. The magisterial interference with private affairs was unceasing. Alice Hill "is found to keep company with Philip Bartlett, in unseasonable time;" and William Steevens is sent to gaol for frequenting the company of Christian, the wife of Edward Coles, "in a very suspicious manner."

That the extreme severity of some Puritans not only made them hateful but ridiculous when their doctrines were in the ascendant, we may readily believe. But at the same time we cannot fail to discover that many of the imputations against them generally were gross exaggerations. They did not give their children such names as "Fight the good fight of Faith," and "Stand fast on high." When Hume solemnly records that the brother of Praise-God Barebone had for a name, "If-Christ-had-not-died-for-you,-you-had-then-been-damned,-Barebone," Hume is hoaxed by a joke invented half-a-century after Barebone had terminated his career of politics and leather-selling. Neither were the Puritans, after the rantings of Stubbes and Prynne against every species of recreation were forgotten, distinguished for any capricious dislike of music, or any contempt of secular knowledge. No man was more eager than Cromwell himself to protect learning and learned men. He sought out scholars for public employments. But, what is more to our present purpose, his house, during the Protectorate, was as remarkable for its refined amusements as for its decorous piety. The love of music was with him almost a passion, as it was with Milton. But we can nowhere find a more complete refutation of the idle belief that all the Puritans were opposed to every harmless pleasure, than in Lucy Hutchinson's description of her own household. Her husband, after his retirement from public affairs, was occupied with the improvement of his estate in the vale of Belvoir. He was a sportsman, and recreated himself, for a little time, with his hawks; "but when a very sober fellow, that never was guilty of the usual vices of that generation of men, rage and swearing, died, he gave over his hawks, and pleased himself with music, and again fell to the practice of his viol, on which he played excellently well; and, entertaining tutors for the diversion and education of his children in all sorts of music, he pleased him-

\*\* Henry IV., Part 1, Act iii. sc. 1.

self in these innocent recreations during Oliver's mutable reign. As he had great delight, so he had great judgment, in music, and advanced his children's practice more than their tutors: he also was a great supervisor of their learning, and indeed himself a tutor to them all, besides all those tutors which he liberally entertained in his house for them. He spared not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, music, dancing, and all other qualities befitting their father's house. He was himself their instructor in humility, sobriety, and all godliness and virtue, which he rather strove to make them exercise with love and delight than by constraint. As other things were his delight, this only he made his business, to attend the education of his children, and the government of his own house and town. This he performed so well that never was any man more feared and loved than he by all his domestics, tenants, and hired workmen. He was loved with such a fear and reverence as restrained all rude familiarity and insolent presumptions in those who were under him, and he was feared with so much love that they all delighted to do his pleasure. As he maintained his authority in all relations, so he endeavoured to make their subjection pleasant to them, and rather to convince them by reason than to compel them to obedience, and would decline even to the lowest of his family to make them enjoy their lives in sober cheerfulness, and not find their duties burdensome. \* \* \* \* As he was very hospitable, and his conversation no less desirable and pleasant than instructive and advantageous, his house was much resorted to, and as kindly open to those who had in public contests been his enemies, as to his continued friends; for there never lived a man that had less malice and revenge, nor more reconcileableness and kindness and generosity in his nature than he."

Aubrey records that Hollar told him that when the Civil Wars broke out he went to the Low Countries, where he stayed till 1649: "When he first came to England, which was a serene time of peace, the people, both poor and rich, did look cheerfully; but at his return he found the countenances of the people all changed, melancholy, spiteful, as if bewitched." \* It is not an unfavourable attribute of the English character that the people did take to heart their strife and bloodshed, their uncertainty as to the present and their dread of the future. Aubrey has no direct record that the old cheerful looks had returned; but we may well conceive, that

\* "Lives," vol. iii. p. 402.

in spite of the Puritan rigour occasionally breaking out, the nation was gradually resuming the habits, if not wholly of merry England, of stirring and well-employed England. Prosperous industry always brings its own cheerfulness, if it is moderate in its desires, and not inordinate in its cravings for wealth and luxury. We see the stir of inventive genius at this period. We trace the beginnings of that experimental philosophy which was to put England at the head of all industrious nations. "Honest and learned Mr. Hartlib," the friend of Milton, has made "an ink that would give a dozen copies, moist sheets of paper being pressed on it." Robert Boyle, "that excellent person and great virtuoso," is improving the air-pump, and prosecuting his studies in chemistry. Colonel Blount invites philosophers to inspect his new-invented ploughs. Sir P. Neale is famous for his optic-glasses. Greatorex, the mathematical-instrument maker, has an invention to quench fire. The no less important principles of commerce are come to the aid of all science and industry. The City Goldsmiths have opened Banking establishments. Superfluous money has ceased to be buried or locked in chests. Agriculture feels the influence of the general stir of the national mind. The turnip-husbandry is teaching the farmer that the earth can bear as useful produce as corn; and the cultivation of clover is making a valuable addition to the "meadows trim with daisies pied," upon which the flocks of England have been hitherto sustained.

Amidst the many evidences that we occasionally meet with of the intellectual and industrial activity of the people, we also encounter many proofs of their subjection to superstitious fears. Even the learned and the scientific are not free from singular fancies, engendered in the atmosphere of fanaticism. Mr. Oughtred, "that renowned mathematician," says Evelyn in 1655, "had strong apprehensions of some extraordinary event to happen the following year, from the calculation of coincidence with the diluvian period; and added that it might possibly be to convert the Jews by our Saviour's visible appearance, and to judge the world." The Almanac makers of that time were deluding the people with those prophecies, which they continued to swallow for two centuries. Lilly was still in vogue; and Francis Moore had joined the ranks of imposture. The most remarkable of their exploits was to frighten the isle from its propriety, on the 29th of April, 1652, by the terrors of an eclipse of the sun. This fatal day was called Mirk Monday; and the dread of it "so exceedingly alarmed the



whole nation that hardly any one would work, or stir out of their houses."

As regards the material prosperity of the country, we may conclude this sketch with the testimony of Howell, a devoted royalist, to the fact that the restorative powers that were possessed by an energetic people in their insular security and their ancient and renewed freedom, were the providential compensations for long years, first of tyranny and then of universal disturbance. "The calamities and confusions, which the late wars did bring upon us, were many and manifold, yet England may be said to have gained one advantage by it; for whereas before she was like an animal that knew not his own strength, she is now better acquainted with herself, for her power and wealth did never appear more both by land and sea." \*

If the immediate effect of the Civil Wars was such that England "became better acquainted with herself," so that she increased in power and wealth, the more lasting consequence was that the whole nation became more earnest in its regard for the higher obligations of religion—that the great body of the people, amidst all the extravagances of sectaries, came to have a more elevated sense of the responsibilities that belonged to a condition approaching to religious liberty. The indifference and profaneness that came in with the return of the Stuarts were chiefly manifest amongst the upper classes,—the sycophants of a debauched Court, and the herd of writers who thought that wit and immorality were necessary companions. The fanaticism and intolerance died out; but the best portions of the Puritan spirit were never extinguished. When the Anglican Church again became oppressive and worldly, the principle of religious liberty asserted itself in strenuous non-conformity, and kept alive the zeal which ultimately placed the Church itself upon the only safe foundation for a wealthy establishment, that of emulation in the duty of diligently teaching, and kindly watching over, the congregations entrusted to its charge. Baxter, the Puritan, who was persecuted when the Episcopalians returned to power, is now regarded by English churchmen as the model of a parish priest; and we may well conclude this view of the period of his ministry immediately following the establishment of the Commonwealth, by his just account of the advantage to religion, through "the change that was made in public affairs by the success of the war:"

\* "Letters," vol. iv. p. 110.



"For before, the riotous rabble had boldness enough to make serious godliness a common scorn, and call them all Puritans and Precisians that did not care as little for God and Heaven and their souls as they did; especially if a man were not fully satisfied with their undisciplined, disorderly churches, or Lay Chancellor's ex-communications, &c., then no name was bad enough for him. And the Bishop's Articles enquiring after such, and their courts and the High Commission grievously afflicting those that did but fast and pray together, or go from an ignorant drunken reader, to hear a godly able preacher at the next parish, &c. This kept religion among the vulgar under either continual reproach or terror, encouraging the rabble to despise it and revile it, and discouraging those that else would own it. And experience telleth us, that it is a lamentable impediment to men's conversion, when it is a way everywhere spoken against, and prosecuted by superiors, which they must embrace; and when at their first approaches they must go through such dangers and obloquy as is fitter for confirmed Christians to be exercised with, than unconverted sinners or young beginners: Therefore, though Cromwell gave liberty to all sects among us, and did not set up any party alone by force, yet this much gave abundant advantage to the Gospel, removing the prejudices and the terrors which hindered it; especially considering that godliness had countenance and reputation also, as well as liberty; whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the way to common shame and ruin." \*

\* "Life," p. 86.

## CHAPTER III.

The Protectorate.—Incentives to assassinate the Protector.—Royalist Plot concocted in France.—Cromwell's deportment to the French Government.—His Foreign Policy generally.—First Parliament of the Protectorate.—Cromwell's speech on opening the Session.—Parliament questions the Protector's authority.—The Parliament House closed.—Cromwell requires a Pledge from Members.—Recusant Members excluded.—Subsequent Temper of the Parliament.—Cromwell dissolves the Parliament.—Royalist Risings organised.—Failure of Risings in the West and North.—Resistance to Taxation.—The Major-Generals.—Severities against Papists and Episcopalians.—Tolerance to Sects.

THE Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, who had been inaugurated on the 16th of December, 1653, had, some four months afterwards, entered upon the occupation of the royal palaces of Whitehall and of Hampton Court. Warwick, the Cavalier, who, in 1640, had looked upon a gentleman speaking in Parliament "very ordinarily appparelled," yet lived as, he records, to see this very gentleman, "having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company," appear at Whitehall "of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence."\* The same courtier says, speaking of a period when the dignity of Oliver was further confirmed, "And now he models his house, that it might have some resemblance unto a Court; and his liveries, and lacqueys, and yeomen of the guard are known who they belong to by their habit."† There was something more went to the making of the Protector Oliver than "a better, tailor;" or than "liveries and lacqueys and yeomen of the guard;" something higher even than "more converse among good company." There had been fourteen years of such experience as belonged to no other man in his time. "I was by birth a gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation." More than this: "My manner of life, which was to run up and down the nation, had given me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men." Thus he spoke to his first Parliament with a dignified modesty. Out of his own courage, sagacity, and abiding sense that his destiny was in the hands of a supreme di-

\* "Memoirs," p. 248.

† *Ibid.*, p. 382.

recting power, had a great ruler been made—one who “alone remained to conduct the government and to save the country.” Such is the panegyric of Milton. When our most eloquent historian described Cromwell as “the greatest prince that has ever ruled England,”\* we had reached that state of historical counter-balance, that we could stop to inquire whether the familiar words of usurper, traitor, hypocrite, fanatic, dissembler, as applied to this prince, were not the merest echoes of the united hatred of cavalier and republican, of libertine and sceptic, which it would be well to lay aside after two centuries of abuse and misrepresentation. We shall endeavour to relate the events of the Protectorate, without being wholly carried away by our sense of the unquestionable superiority of this man over the most eminent of his contemporaries. We shall seek to regard him as the man best qualified to stand between the restoration of the monarchy and unmitigated despotism; as one who in his own manifestations of arbitrary power was ever striving to establish a system of constitutional liberty; as one who upheld the supremacy of the laws at a time when in the absence of such a ruler the State might have been plunged into the depths of anarchy and bloodshed. Oliver did many things that are repugnant to the principles of just freedom under an established government; but it may be honestly asked whether his example can justify that species of revolutionary despotism which seeks only to govern by the sword, without a persistent struggle to make the civil authority ultimately supreme. The Protectorate of Oliver was a constant attempt to unite the executive authority of one with the legislative control of many. He laboured to accomplish in his own day what time only could perfect, after many reverses. Had he lived long enough to have founded a dynasty, the problem might have been more quickly solved. The partial and temporary despotism of the Protectorate is gone; the liberty and toleration which it proposed as its final objects remain. We may apply to the history of this crisis the words of Cromwell’s own earnest conviction: “What are all our Histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon, everything that he hath not planted?”† We may especially apply these memorable words, so characteristic of their utterer, and yet so universal in their truth, to the whole history of the English Revolution of the seventeenth century. After the

\* Macaulay, “History,” vol. i. c. ii.

† Cromwell—Speech iv. “Carlyle,” vol. iii. p. 89.

first great contest was over, The Divine Right of Kings came back upon England with unforgotten insolence in its pretensions, although with somewhat diminished power of working immediate evil. But it perished; for the Divine Right had to stand a test which its most powerful enemy had proposed as a test of all political action: "If it be of God, He will bear it up: If it be of man it will tumble." \*

In the remarkable conversation between Cromwell and Whitelocke, which preceded the dissolution of the Long Parliament, † Whitelocke, with great sagacity, had pointed out that in the assumption by Cromwell of monarchical power, "that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become in effect a private controversy only. Before it was national, what head of government we should have; now it will become particular, who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells." Cromwell replied, "I confess you speak reason in this." The acceptance by Cromwell of the office of Protector immediately gave this character to the controversy. The great object of all the discontented Republicans or Cavaliers; the supporters of prerogative or the enemies of all government but that of the reign of the Saints; those who would have re-entered into possession of the property which had changed hands, or those who sought a division of all property whatsoever; intolerant Episcopalians, equally intolerant Presbyterians, frantic Anabaptists;—all these classes now saw an enemy in the one man in whom the ruling power was concentrated. That power had become more vigilant, more far-seeing, more difficult to shake, than the distracted authority of the Long Parliament, or of the Little Parliament. Foreign governments recognised and dreaded this commanding power, well described by the great minister of the next century: "Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every prince in Europe: he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He observed facts, and traced them forward to their consequences. From what was, he concluded what must be, and he never was deceived." ‡ Foreign governments might therefore have rejoiced to see the downfall of this man, whose soul was bent upon sustaining the glory of his country, as well as consolidating its internal peace. But he was as

\* Cromwell—Speech iv. "Carlyle," vol. iii. p. 89.

† See *ante*, p. 25.

‡ Chatham's Speech on Spain, November 2, 1770.

prudent as he was watchful. He was surrounded with conspirators of every degree. The doctrine of assassination was openly preached by the Royalists abroad. From Paris, on the 23rd of April, 1654, came out a Proclamation in the name of Charles the Second, setting forth that "a certain base mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell—after he had most inhumanly and barbarously butchered our dear father, of sacred memory, his just and lawful sovereign—hath most tyrannically and traitorously usurped the supreme power over our said kingdoms." It thus proceeds: "These are therefore, in our name, to give free leave and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other way or means whatsoever, to destroy the life of the said Oliver Cromwell; wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men, by cutting so detestable a villain from the face of the earth." It further promises all sorts of rewards to "whosoever, whether soldier or other, who shall be instrumental in so signal a piece of service." This proclamation has been attributed to Hyde—perhaps unjustly. It is not clear that this incentive to assassination "on the word and faith of a Christian king" really came from Charles Stuart, though undoubtedly it came from his "Court at Paris." But it was extensively circulated, openly abroad, secretly in England; and it produced its natural effects. On the 20th of May, being Saturday—a day on which the Protector usually went to Hampton Court—his guards were to be attacked by thirty stout men, and then and there was the deed to be done, of which the perpetrator was to be honoured with knighthood, and five hundred pounds a year in land, and honourable employment. But the Protector escaped the ambushade; for five of the royalist projectors of the plot were arrested in their beds a few hours before its intended accomplishment. Forty persons were subjected to examination as confederates with colonel John Gerard, Peter Vowell, a schoolmaster, and Somerset Fox. These three were tried before a High Court of Justice. Fox pleaded guilty, and was pardoned. The other two were executed. Of their guilt the evidence is sufficiently clear; and it is equally manifest that the plan had been communicated to Prince Rupert at Paris. Hyde protested, in a letter to Secretary Nicholas, that of the "whole matter the king knows no more than you do." There is one point connected with this plot which we give in the words of M. Guizot, who has published the documents upon which it is established: "Whatever may have been the amount of his participation in the plan for the

assassination of the Protector, and whether Charles was aware of it or not, the fact itself was incontestable, and probably even more serious than Cromwell allowed it to appear; for there is reason to believe that M. de Baas,—at that time an envoy extraordinary of Mazarin to London, and temporarily connected with the embassy of M. de Bordeaux,—was not unacquainted either with the conspirators or their design. Cromwell was so convinced of this that he summoned M. de Baas before his council, and sharply interrogated him on the subject. But he had too much good sense to magnify the affair beyond what was required by a due regard for his own safety, or by laying too much stress on this incident, to interrupt, for any length of time, his friendly relations with Mazarin and the Court of France, which manifested the greatest anxiety to remain on good terms with him. He merely sent M. de Baas back to France, openly stating to Louis XIV. and Mazarin his reasons for so doing, and showing in this the same moderation which had induced him to bring to trial only three of the conspirators. He had escaped the danger; made known to England and Europe the active vigilance of his police; and proved to the royalists that he would not spare them. He attempted nothing further. He possessed that difficult secret of the art of governing which consists in a just appreciation of what will be sufficient in any given circumstance, and in resting satisfied with it.\* Cromwell had made known to Europe, and especially to France, out of whose bosom the assassins came, the vigilance of his own police. He did not complain that France did not go before him to restrain and punish assassination, and to set a mark of reprobation upon such an incentive to the crime as the Proclamation issued in the name of Charles the Second. When it was indisputable, even, that an envoy of the French king had employed the name of Mazarin to encourage this scheme of murder, Cromwell was not diverted from what he regarded as the true national policy, an alliance with France, by his own personal resentment. He sent M. de Baas back to his own Court. He imputed blame to him alone. He writes to Louis XIV. with the true magnanimity of one who could lay aside all meaner considerations in a strong sense of public duty, "It has seemed advisable to us to assure your majesty that, in dismissing de Baas, we had no thought or wish to interrupt in any way the negotiations now pending; desiring, on the contrary, in all candour and simplicity of soul, that false interpretations and subjects of evil suspicions may be cast aside."†

\* "Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 51.

† *Ibid.*, Appendix ii. p. 420.

Whilst France and Spain were each employing all the resources of their diplomacy to secure the alliance of England, Cromwell, after tedious negotiations, had concluded a peace with the United Provinces. The naval power of the Dutch had been finally broken by the victory of Blake, in July, 1653, when Van Tromp was himself killed by a musket-ball. The conditions of peace which Cromwell exacted were moderate; and he was reproached by his enemies with having sacrificed the advantages gained in the war for the greater popularity of his rule at home. The nation wanted peace, and rejoiced at the termination of hostilities so injurious to its commerce. The Protector, moreover, accomplished his great desire of promoting the union of the Protestant States of Europe. In the treaty with Holland, which was signed on the 5th of April, 1654, were comprehended Denmark, the Hanseatic Towns, and the Swiss Protestant Cantons. A treaty of friendship and alliance with Sweden was concluded in the same month as that with Holland. In the foreign relations of England there was no comparison between the delays of a Parliament and the decision of the Protector. When the responsibility of determining great questions involving peace or war was in the hands of a supreme ruler and his council, the policy of the country was settled upon fixed principles, which, whether or not they were safe and profitable, were at any rate not timid or vacillating. Cromwell decided that the alliance of France was preferable to that of Spain. His opinions were opposed by many of his own officers. He had taken his own view of the question; but for a short time held himself aloof from any final measure, whilst he was assiduously courted by the ambassadors of these rival powers. Of Spain he demanded that the navigation of the West Indies should be free; and that Englishmen in Spain should be protected in the exercise of their religion against the interference of the Inquisition. The Spanish ambassador said that such a demand was to ask for the two eyes of his master. From France he required the expulsion of the Stuarts; and, in a nobler spirit, liberty and security for the French Protestants. No treaty with France was concluded in the first year of the Protectorate, and no hostilities were offered to Spain; but it became manifest that the disposition of Cromwell was to reject the alliance of the power that was the most devoted adherent to Rome. With Portugal he concluded a commercial treaty. But on the very day this treaty was signed, he caused the law to be unflinchingly executed upon the brother of the Portuguese ambassador,



who had killed two Englishmen, and raised a tumult with the armed servants of the embassy, at the Exchange in London. No plea of diplomatic privileges could prevent Don Pantaleon de Sa from being tried, convicted, and executed for the offence. The foreigner beheld with dread and wonder the stern and fearless justice of the Commonwealth.

Under the Instrument of Government by which Cromwell was appointed Protector, it was provided that a Parliament should be elected to meet on the 3rd of September, 1654: but that in the interim the Protector, assisted by his Council of twenty-one members, should be entitled to issue Ordinances having the force of Laws, as well as to do all acts necessary for the public service. We have seen how vigorously Cromwell applied himself, during these nine months, to establish the foreign relations of the country upon a satisfactory foundation. But he devoted himself no less energetically to accomplish a series of domestic reforms, some of which have presented models to succeeding reformers; others have been pronounced crude and impracticable; but all have the merit of seeking the public good, though by courses which have that tincture of despotism which essentially belongs to a revolutionary period. When the first Parliament of the Protectorate met on the 4th of September, the Lord Protector went into an elaborate explanation of his measures, domestic and foreign. The one measure of his government that was all important was this: "It hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament; which, blessed be God, we see here this day. I say, a free Parliament." There had been no election to a Parliament in England for fourteen years. This Parliament was to include Representatives of the three kingdoms: "You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the interests of three great nations, with the territory belonging to them." The Parliament was composed of four hundred and sixty members. Of four hundred for England and Wales, two hundred and fifty-one were to be returned by counties, and a hundred and forty-nine by cities and boroughs. Scotland, which had been declared united to England by an Ordinance of the 12th of April, was to send thirty members; Ireland was to send also thirty members. The right of voting for representatives was in those who possessed real or personal property to the value of two hundred pounds. Roman Catholics, and those who had been in arms against the Parliament during the Civil Wars, were excluded from voting, or from being



returned as members. But by the instrument of government, and in the terms of the writ for election, it was a condition "That the persons elected shall not have power to alter the government as it is settled in one single person and a parliament."

The 3rd of September, the day appointed for the assembling of Parliament, falling on a Sunday, the House adjourned to the next day, after meeting the Protector in the Painted Chamber. On that Monday the Parliament was opened with almost regal pomp. "The Protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. . . . His highness was seated over against the pulpit, the members of the Parliament on both sides. . . . After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his highness went in the same equipage to the Painted Chamber, where he took seat in a chair of state set upon steps, and the members upon benches round about." The long speech which Cromwell addressed to this Parliament was reported "by one who stood very near;" and was published "to prevent mistakes." Studied no doubt it was; for its sentences, however involved, are full of meaning,—but it was not delivered from a written paper. In its wide range, and careful explanations, it has a considerable resemblance to the speeches of the American Presidents. The Protector had a very difficult assembly to address. His own Council had been elected, with one exception. Some of the republican leaders, who were indignant at the whole course of government since the dissolution of the Long Parliament, were again returned. A large body of the Presbyterians were also members, with the ever-prevailing desire to maintain their own form of Church government. There was a peculiar significance in the Protector's words when he said that the great end of their meeting was "Healing and Settling. . . . I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause Healing." He would not touch upon past transactions too particularly, for the remembrance of such, instead of healing, "might set the wound fresh a-bleeding." The oblivion of past animosities was scarcely yet to be accomplished. The social improvements which were to grow out of a happy concord were nevertheless to be earnestly striven for. Briefly the Protector referred to what had been done in the way of Ordinances—"for the interest of the people alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest." The administration of finance had been regulated; the hardships of prisoners for debt, an old grievance, had been les-

sened; prison-discipline had been reformed; highways had been improved. These were matters at which the Protector only glanced. But upon more important reforms he delivered himself without reserve. And first of Law Reform: "The government hath had some things to desire; and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the Laws. I say to reform them:—and for that end it hath called together persons, without offence be it spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in these nations, to consider how the laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the people; how to lessen expense for the good of the nation. And those things are in preparation, and bills prepared; which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. In the meanwhile there hath been care taken to put the administration of the Laws into the hands of just men; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed, I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men; such as for the things depending there, which made the burden and work of the honourable persons intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at Westminster." The Ordinance "for reforming the Court of Chancery" consisted of sixty-seven articles. That Court before its reform was in full possession of the character which it long strove to preserve, in spite of law or ordinance, of public contempt and senatorial reprobation. It had twenty-three thousand causes before it, which had been depending for long years; it was in the pleasing exercise of its power "of undoing many families." Cromwell's desire that "the Laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the people," has been the desire of all honest rulers and legislators from that time to our own.

But there was a task still more difficult than the reform of the Law, which the Protector had endeavoured to accomplish by Ordinances: "This Government hath endeavoured to put a stop to that heady way of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. It hath endeavoured to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say, it hath committed the business to the trust of persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety, and integrity, as any, I believe, this nation hath." . . . "The Government hath also taken

care, we hope, for the expulsion of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work ; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function."

In thus describing his measures for securing "men of piety and ability" to discharge the duties of ministers and preachers, the Protector referred to the Commissions which he had instituted—the Commission of Triers, and the Commission of Expurgation. Such measures were the necessary results of an endeavour to remedy the evils which had been produced by the total suspension of an authorised ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The episcopal authority had long ceased. The presbyterian authority was not established. Church government was wholly at an end. With all his love of toleration, his strong sense perceived the necessity of something better than what he described as the "heady way of every man making himself a minister and a preacher." His Commission for the trial of public preachers comprised nine laymen and twenty-nine of the clergy. His other Commission consisted of gentry and clergy in every county, to inquire into the conduct, and eject from their livings, if necessary, "scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient" ministers. It is impossible that such Commissions should not have been in many cases arbitrary, perhaps prejudiced and unjust. But even Baxter has given his testimony to the general benefit of these irregular attempts to remedy the absence of a competent ecclesiastical authority for providing religious instruction for the people. "Because this Assembly of Triers is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be the rather taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries, as to their opinion, and because I was known to disown their power. . . . The truth is, that though their authority was null, and though some few over-busy and over-rigid Independents among them were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in inquiring after sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in their admission of unlearned and erroneous men, that favoured Antinomianism or Anabaptism ; yet to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the Church : They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers. . . All those that used the Ministry but as a common trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a soul ; all these they usually rejected ; and in their stead admitted of any that were able serious preachers,

and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were." \*

The exhortations of Cromwell to labour for "settling and healing" were addressed to unwilling listeners. There was one sore that, in the thoughts of a large number, would admit of no healing. In their view the great ulcer of the State was the supremacy of one man. They would not recognise the co-ordinate power of legislative and executive. Their idea of a Commonwealth was that of a permanent Assembly, in which all the elementary principles of government should be perpetually discussed; all the relations of the State to foreign powers debated and re-debated; all the religious animosities of unnumbered sects continually inflamed by alternations of intolerance and liberality, according to the vote of the hour. Their complaint was, not that Cromwell and his Council had ruled unwisely; but that he should be exalted above his fellows to rule at all. The royalist lampooners said that the Protector's escutcheon should exhibit

"The Brewers', with King's arms, quartered." †

Those who had been saved from the annihilation of all their hopes of civil and religious liberty by the Colonel from Huntingdon, now joined with the most infuriate of the Cavaliers in abuse of the "base mechanic fellow"—the "Cæsar in a Clown" before whom they were prostrate when he returned in triumph from Dunbar and Worcester. Roundhead and Cavalier had now found a common principle of action. The Parliament had ample powers under the Instrument of Government. The authority of the Protector was great, but with very stringent limitations. The conjoined authority was, as described by the Protector himself, "likely to avoid the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and of democracy on the other." ‡ Nevertheless, the very first occupation of the representatives assembled on the 3rd of September, 1654, was to proceed to the discussion of the question whether the House shall approve of the system of government by a Parliament and a single Person. For three days this elementary question had been debated; and by a majority of a hundred and forty-six votes against a hundred and forty-one, the House resolved to go into Committee to deliberate still further upon this fundamental proposition. On the morning when the Committee was to meet, the doors of the Parliament were found closed. The member for Lynn, Mr. Goddard, has given

\* "Life," p. 72. † "Cleveland's Poems." ‡ Speech of 22nd January, 1655.

some details of the incidents of this Tuesday morning: "Going by water to Westminster, I was told that the Parliament doors were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and that the barges were to attend the Protector to the Painted Chamber." He attempted to pass up the Parliament Stair, but was repulsed by soldiers; and was required, if he was a Member, to go into the Painted Chamber. "The Speaker and all the Members were walking up and down the Hall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber, expecting the Protector's coming." The Protector did come, with his guards; and took his seat in a chair of state; and he then spoke for an hour and a half to the bare-headed assembly, with an earnestness to which a feeling of wounded pride gave unwonted emphasis. He had told them, not long before, that they were a free Parliament—"And so you are, whilst you own the government and authority which called you hither. . . . There was a reciprocity implied and expressed. . . . I called myself not to this place. I say again, I called myself not to this place. . . . If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the People, God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it." He then went over many passages of the past. "Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp wars and contests with the then common enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit of our hard labours and hazards. . . . I hoped to have had leave to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge. I begged it again and again; and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter." His dissolution of the Long Parliament is referred to as a measure of inevitable necessity. His summoning of the Little Parliament was "to see if a few might have been called together, for some short time, who might put the nation in some way of certain settlement." He adds, with the same solemn appeal to Heaven, "a chief end to myself was to lay down the power which was in my hands." In the unlimited condition of General of all the forces—that "boundless authority" conferred by Act of Parliament,—he "did not desire to live a single day." The Little Parliament resigned the power and authority which had been committed to them. "All things being again subject to arbitrariness," he was himself "a person having power over the three nations without bound or limit." At the request of that Assembly he accepted the office of Protector; he took the oath to the government. In obedience to that trust, he

and his Council had been "faithful in calling this Parliament." He maintained that the people, in the expression of their voices by Grand Juries, by addresses from Counties and Cities, were his witnesses of approbation to the place he filled. But the climax of his speech was that *they*, the members of Parliament, were his last witnesses. They came there by his writs directed to the sheriffs. To these writs the people gave obedience, having had the Act of Government communicated to them, by printed copies, it being also read at the places of election. The writ of return was signed with proviso "that the person so chosen should not have power to alter the government as now settled in one single Person and a Parliament." Certainly Oliver Protector has very conclusively settled the question which the Parliament had been three days debating; and he can scarcely be called tyrannous, when he required "some owning of your call and of the authority which brought you hither. . . . I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now." This thing (he produces a parchment) when assented to and subscribed is "the means that will you let in"—(through those doors which are now locked) "to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the People." The parchment to be signed at the lobby-door bore these words: "I do hereby freely promise, and engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose, or give my consent, to alter the government as it is settled in a Single Person and a Parliament." Many Members signed at once. Three hundred had signed before the end of the month. But the republican leaders refused to give any pledge; and the Parliament was thus reduced to little more than two-thirds of the members returned. Ludlow, who was then absent in Ireland, deeply sympathises with his brother republicans: "So soon as this visible hand of violence appeared to be upon them, most of the eminent assertors of the liberty of their country withdrew themselves; being persuaded they should better discharge their duty to the nation by this way of expressing their abhorrence of his tyrannical proceedings, than by surrendering their liberties under their own hands, and then treating with him who was possessed of the sword, to recover some part of them again." The Parliament, thus mutilated, resumed its duties. Its first act was an assertion of some independence in resolving that the pledge

not to make any change in the government did not apply beyond the first article under which the Protectorate had been constituted—that which referred to a Single Person and a Parliament; and it adopted that article in a resolution of its own. Cromwell had conquered the Parliament into a show of effecting by its own act what was the result of his strong will. He had said to them, “The wilful throwing away of this government,—I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto.”

When the destinies of a nation hang upon the life of a single man, the importance that is attached to the slightest accidents befalling him extend from his contemporaries to history. Cromwell soon after this great trial of his strength was taking a little relaxation after his own simple fashion. He had been dining under the trees in Hyde Park—he might have sat under the ancient elm which still tells of a time long past. A new set of six horses had been given him by the duke of Oldenburg; and with his old country habits, he took the reins to drive home. The horses plunged, and my Lord Protector was thrown from the box. Marvellous to relate, a pistol went off in his pocket,—he carried a pistol, at a time when most men went armed; and grave historians duly notice how apprehensive he must have been of his life to bear about with him such a weapon. His life was certainly unsafe. His aged mother, who died in the following November, “at the sound of a musket would often be afraid her son was shot, and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least.” The good old lady died at the age of ninety-four, blessing that son, and saying “The Lord cause his face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your Adversities.” Yes, Adversities. The height of his power was truly an adversity; and we may well believe him to have been sincere, when in a burst of disappointment amidst the contentions around him, he said of the task of governing, “I had rather keep a flock of sheep.” But his genius was fitted for governing, however Ludlow underrated it, in pointing the moral of the runaway horses: “He would needs take the place of his coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him; and therefore not contented with their ordinary pace he lashed them very furiously.” By his fall, says the republican philosopher, “he might have been instructed how dangerous it was to intermeddle with those things in which he had no experience.” Oliver’s system of government



was really founded upon his experience, and not upon refined theories aiming at impracticable perfection. He drove the state carriage for some years without tumbling from the box; and though he knew the use of the bit and the whip, he rarely "lashed very furiously." Only when the state-carriage stood still, was he moved out of his wonted calmness. For three months the first free Parliament, although the recusant Members had retired to their homes, made small progress in "settling." From the 21st of September till the 20th of January, the Instrument of Government was in a constant course of amendments and additions. It was natural enough that attempts should be made to apply every check to arbitrary authority in the Protector; but the mistrust was too marked; and the disposition to nullify the existing constitution of the Protectorate too apparent, not to produce a corresponding restlessness in the nation. Very large questions were depending with foreign powers; but the function of the executive was stultified by the perpetual discussion as to the authority in which should be confided the right of declaring war or making peace. The legislative power of the Parliament was absolute; for if the Protector did not give his consent to any Bill within twenty days of its passing, it became Law without his consent. And yet the Assembly could not see the necessity of its legislative sanction to the necessary reforms which had been proposed, and partly effected, by Cromwell and his Council. These measures were suspended, and referred to Committees for revision. Other propositions of public importance, such as the celebration of marriage; the treatment of lunatics; the relief of prisoners for debt; the equalisation of taxes; were introduced as Bills, but none were adopted. They triumphed over Cromwell's supposed ambition in deciding that the Protectorate should be elective and not hereditary. They outraged his principles of toleration, which had been recognised in the Instrument of Government, by appointing a Committee to define what was "faith in God by Jesus Christ;" and to settle what were "damnable heresies." They went farther, and ordered that several heretics, amongst whom was John Biddle, a Socinian schoolmaster, should be imprisoned. The supplies were voted as tardily, and with as impolitic an economy, as if the foreign affairs of the country had been conducted with dishonour instead of a dignity which all nations bowed before. The government under a Parliament and a Single Person was becoming impossible. The crisis arrived. The Parliament was to sit five months. Five calendar months would have expired on the



3rd of February. Five lunar months expired on the 22nd of January. On that day the Protector summoned the House to attend him in the Painted Chamber. Another long speech—and the Parliament is dissolved. The Protector could be angry, and speak harsh truths. “Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting than in some years before. Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the troubles of these nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home.” And so, concluded Oliver Protector, “I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer.” He has a difficult task before him. His army is unpaid: the people are wretched with soldiers at free quarters; royalists are encouraged to undertake new plots; the old Commonwealth men are ready to join with them. But Oliver keeps up his heart, though he must find his only resource in the same species of despotism against which he fought. “If the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good, He is very able to bear us up. Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted to Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it a hard thing to raise money without parliamentary authority upon this nation; yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will, though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of necessity?” Necessity, the tyrant’s plea in all ages, cannot be avoided even by this man who had so few of the qualities of a tyrant besides the energetic will. It is manifest that if the Parliament had not blindly set itself to obstruct the honest exercise of that will in its labours to keep “the good people of this nation safe,” any systematic display of arbitrary power would have been as impossible as it would have been impolitic on his part, even if not alien to his nature. He is conscious of his own strength; and he will front alone the storms that are gathering around him. But he had faithful public servants, whose devotion to their country was not weakened by the quarrels of factions. Blake, one of the noblest of these, thus answered Thurloe, Cromwell’s secretary, when informed of the dissolution of

the Parliament : " I was not much surprised with the intelligence ; the slow proceedings and awkward motions of that assembly giving great cause to suspect it would come to some such period. And I cannot but exceedingly wonder that there should yet remain so strong a spirit of prejudice and animosity in the minds of men who profess themselves most affectionate patriots, as to postpone the necessary ways and means for preservation of the Commonwealth, especially in such a time of concurrence of the mischievous plots and designs both of old and new enemies, tending all to the destruction of the same. But blessed be God, who hath hitherto delivered, and doth still deliver us ; and I trust will continue so to do, although He be very much tempted by us."

Blake writes this letter from the Mediterranean, where he is doing some memorable things which we shall presently have to notice. Meanwhile " the mischievous plots and designs " to which the admiral refers, are making England very unquiet in this Spring of 1655. Charles the Second, who, after some wandering, has settled himself at Cologne ; has gone with the Marquis of Ormond to Middleburg, that he may be ready for a landing in England. Wilmot, now earl of Rochester, is in London, organising a general insurrection. " There cannot be," says Clarendon, " a greater manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole kingdom towards Cromwell and his government, than that there could be so many designs and conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many men ; and that such signal and notable persons could resort to London, and remain there, without any such information or discovery as might cause them to be apprehended." \* It was the policy of Cromwell, as it is of all really sagacious rulers, not to be too prompt with measures of repression—not to alarm and irritate the peaceful portion of the community by fears and suspicions, which are generally the sparks to explode combustible materials instead of being the safety lamps for their discovery. Cromwell left the " signal and notable persons " to pursue the course of their own rashness—even to the organisation of a conspiracy which Rochester represented as so sure of success, that the king's hopes " were so improved, that he thought of nothing more than how he might with the greatest secrecy transport himself into England ; for which he did expect a sudden occasion." † The narrative which Clarendon gives of the result of the enterprise which was to place Charles at the head of an Eng-

\* " Rebellion," vol. vii. p. 137.

† *Ibid.*, p. 138.

lish army, sufficiently shows how justly the Protector measured his own strength and that of these sanguine Cavaliers. The assizes were being held at Salisbury. The city was full of grand jurymen and petty jurymen, of magistrates and witnesses, all sleeping quietly in their beds, before the dawning of another day on which the law should assert its wonted majesty in the judgment seat, whatever might be the political differences of republican or royalist. At five o'clock on the morning of the 11th of March, a party of two hundred horsemen rode into the streets of Salisbury, headed by sir Joseph Wagstaff, "a stout man, who looked not far before him,"—a jolly Cavalier, much beloved by the roaring set that Puritanism had not been able to tread out. Their first operation was to seize the sheriff and the two judges, and to break open the gaols. Clarendon recounts the proceedings of these loyal adherents of king Charles, with a solemn unconsciousness that he is showing how necessary was the government of a Cromwell to save England from utter lawlessness and bloodshed: "When the judges were brought out in their robes, and humbly produced their commissions, and the sheriff likewise, Wagstaff resolved, after he had caused the king to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged." There was a country gentleman amongst these insane royalists, John Penruddock, who had some sense of decency, although Clarendon rather blames his scrupulousness: "Poor Penruddock was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the major-general durst not persist in it." The judges were dismissed, their commissions being taken from them; but the sheriff was to be hanged because he refused to proclaim the king. This likewise was resisted; though very many of the gentlemen were much scandalised at the tender-heartedness. To have hanged the sheriff "would have been a seasonable act of severity to have cemented them to perseverance who were engaged in it." No one stirred to help these valiant supporters of the true monarchy and its attributes. In a few hours they left Salisbury, and carrying the sheriff with them, went forwards into Hampshire and Devonshire. There were none to join them. They were hungry and wearied; and a single troop of Cromwell's horse, being by chance in the country, dispersed them almost without a blow, three days afterwards. Some of the leaders, and about fifty of their followers, were taken prisoners. Wagstaff escaped to France. Penruddock, Grove, and others, were tried at Exeter. The two gallant Cavaliers, brave men who deserved much

commiseration, were beheaded; a few others were hanged; the larger number were transported to Barbadoes. In the north, Wilmot had gone to take the command of the insurrectionary army. That army never extended beyond a few rash partisans. Wilmot got back to his master, out of heart; and Charles and his court sat down again at Cologne, to wait for times when the existing government might not be quite so strong or so popular as was manifested by the town-crier of a Dorsetshire town refusing, at the peril of his life, to utter the words "Charles the Second, king of England," when Penruddock dictated a royal proclamation.

The complex machine for governing England by a Single Person and a Parliament being again out of working condition, the simpler and ruder machine of the Single Person must work as it best may to prevent all government from coming to an end. This is despotism. But despotism, however odious as a principle, has many degrees of evil, and is only rendered tolerable by the desire of a despot to perform a bad office in the least mischievous way. Burke has truly described the government of Cromwell as "somewhat rigid, but for a new power no savage tyranny." \* The period at which his despotism put on its most rigid form was in the year that followed the dismissal of the Parliament at the beginning of 1655. He was left without a legal revenue, for the maintenance of the civil and military powers of the government. A merchant named Cony had refused to pay custom duties, as illegally levied by ordinance. Cromwell tried to soothe the sturdy citizen, who reminded him that he himself had said in the Long Parliament, that the subject who yields to an illegal impost is more the enemy of his country than the tyrant who imposes it. The Protector sent the merchant to prison; and then more arbitrarily imprisoned the Counsel, who had, in pleading for his writ of Habeas Corpus, used arguments which went to deny altogether the legality of the authority of the existing government. There was a compromise in which Cony at length withdrew his opposition to the impost, and his legal defenders were released. Sir Peter Wentworth refused to pay the taxes levied upon him, and was brought before Cromwell and his Council. He was required to withdraw an action which he had commenced against the tax-collector. "If you command it I must submit," said Wentworth to the Protector. He did command it, and the resistance was at an end. Clarendon, who records these acts of oppression, and especially Cromwell's lecture

\* "Policy of the Allies."

of the judges "that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear," yet says, "in all other matters, which did not concern the loss of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party." In his fiscal measures the most invidious was the imposition of an especial tax upon a limited number of royalists—a property tax, under which all those of the king's party who were considered disaffected, and who either possessed an income of a hundred a year from land, or a personal estate of fifteen hundred pounds in value, were called upon for a contribution of one-tenth. To assess and collect this tax it was necessary to call forth some new instruments. The Protector divided the country into ten districts, each under the authority of a Major-General, who had various large powers, and who had especially under his command the Militia of the Counties. The Militia was a force essentially different from the regular army; a force not without strong popular instincts, and not so manageable in carrying through acts of oppression. It was a military police, especially appointed to enforce a system of partial repression. There was no resistance to the acts of the Major-Generals and their Commissioners, and there was no large amount of murmuring. The decimation of the richer royalists, who had already been so harassed by sequestrations, and for whose relief Cromwell had himself laboured to carry through the Act of Oblivion, was truly described by Ludlow as calculated to render its victims "desperate and irreconcilable, they being not able to call anything their own, whilst by the same rule that he seized one-tenth, he might also take away the other nine parts at his pleasure."\*. There is a worse evil in despotic courses than that of making men "desperate and irreconcilable"—that of making them time-serving, slavish, and apathetic. A passage in Baxter's life is illustrative of this: "James Berry was made Major-General of Worcestershire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and North Wales,—the counties in which he had formerly lived as a servant, a clerk of iron-works. His reign was modest and short; but hated and scorned by the gentry that had known his inferiority, so that it had been better for him to have chosen a stranger place. And yet many of them attended him as submissively as if they had honoured him; so significant a thing is power and prosperity with worldly minds."† That these Major-Generals meddled with other royalists than those of good property is shown by the arrest of

\* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 519.

† "Life," p. 97.

John Cleveland, "that incomparable son of Apollo" according to the creed of the Cavaliers, for whose cause he has been writing bitter satires since the first days of the Long Parliament. Colonel Haynes has arrested him at Norwich, and sent him to prison at Yarmouth. Cleveland addressed a petition to the Protector, though he had ridiculed his "copper-nose," in which the unfortunate poet says, "I am inclined to believe that next to the adherence to the royal party, the cause of my confinement is the narrowness of my estate, for none stand committed whose estate can bail them. I only am the prisoner who have no acres to be my hostage. Now if my poverty be criminal, with reverence be it spoken, I must implead your highness, whose victorious arms have reduced me to it, as accessory to my guilt." The Petition, an elaborate composition far more laudatory than insulting, procured the poet's release.\*

At this period the government of the Protector was more than usually harsh towards the Catholics and the Clergy of the Anglican Church. The plots against the Commonwealth were generally mixed up with the intrigues of Papists, and the harshness towards them was the practical continuance of the spirit of the severe penal laws. The Episcopalians were harassed at the instance of the Presbyterians, in spite of Cromwell's own ardent desire for toleration. One of the most odious measures against them was an ordinance prohibiting them to be received in private families as preceptors. Archbishop Usher, for whom the Protector had a deep respect, remonstrated with him against his injustice. He did not withdraw the ordinance, but it remained inoperative. Prejudices were too strong to allow him to act up to his own principles. But with the great Puritan body, and the various sectaries that sprang from them, he was determined to keep their animosities under the control of an equal justice. "If a man of one form," he declared to the Parliament in 1656, "will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise him who is under Baptism, and will revile him, and will reproach and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him." Neither should the Independent censure the Presbyterian, nor the Presbyterian the Independent. This toleration made him many enemies: "I have borne my reproach; but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one religion to impose upon another." The Quakers, who were hunted and persecuted by every other sect, found a friend in Cromwell. George Fox, who had

\* Printed with the Poems, edit. 1657.

been seized in his preachings, and carried to London, managed to see the Protector; and exhorted him to keep in the fear of God; and Cromwell, having patiently listened to his lecture, parted with him, saying "Come again to my house. If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do my own soul." \* George and some of his brethren had been dispersing "base books against the Lord Protector," as major-general Goffe informed Thurloe. Cromwell sent the Quaker unharmed away, having received from him a written promise that he would do nothing against his government.

\* Fox's "Journal," quoted in Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. ii, p. 121.



## CHAPTER IV.

Greatness of Cromwell in his Foreign Policy.—Naval armaments.—Blake's exploits.—Jamaica taken.—Cromwell's interference for the Vaudois.—He attempts to procure the re-admission of the Jews to settle in England.—Hostility of the Republicans to the Protector.—Cromwell requires a pledge from Republican leaders.—Meeting of the Protector's Second Parliament.—Cromwell's opening Speech.—Members excluded from the Parliament.—Case of James Nayler.—Sindercomb's plot.—The Parliament votes that Cromwell shall be offered the Crown.—Conferences on the subject of Kingship.—Cromwell declines to accept the title.—Blake's victory at Santa Cruz.—Cromwell inaugurated as Protector under a new Instrument of Government.—Second Session of Parliament.—The Upper House.—The old secluded Members admitted to sit.—Cromwell's Speech.—Violent dissensions.—The Parliament dissolved.—Projected rising of Royalists.—Allied War in the Netherlands.—Dunkirk.—Cromwell's family afflictions.—His illness and death.

"His greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad." So writes Clarendon of him who, he says, "will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man." The mere courtiers of Charles II. used to talk of the Protector as "that wretch, Cromwell."\* It is something for Clarendon to acknowledge that "he had some good qualities." He had the highest of all qualities in a prince—a sense of public duty. He was an Englishman, bent upon sustaining the honour of his country amongst the nations. In this great design his genius luxuriated. He was not beset with difficulties, as at home, when he sent forth his fleets to sweep the Barbary pirates from the Mediterranean, or employed his diplomatists to express in distinct terms, that the Protestants of the Piedmontese valleys should not be massacred by a duke of Savoy, although supported by a king of France. He went straight to his object, when he concluded the French alliance, and rejected that of Spain, because "there is not liberty of conscience to be had from the Spaniard, neither is there satisfaction for injuries nor for blood."† "Elizabeth, of famous memory, that lady, that great queen," as Cromwell terms her, was the load-star of his foreign policy; "nothing being more usual than his saying 'that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and that the

\* Letter of Henrietta Maria; Green, p. 380.

† Speech, 17th September, 1656.



sound of his cannon should be heard at Rome.' " \* He raised his country out of the pitiful subjection to which the Stuarts had reduced it, to be again amongst the most respected of Christian powers. "It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it." † The price which he demanded for his friendship was, that the liberties of Englishmen, their personal security, and their rights of conscience, should be respected throughout the world; that no sea should be closed against English commerce; that no combination of crowned heads should attempt to control the domestic government of these kingdoms. He made no pretensions to national supremacy inconsistent with the rights of other countries; but not a tittle would he abate of that respect which was due to his own country and his own government. He was raised to supreme power by a revolution upon which all monarchical rulers must have looked with dread and suspicion and secret hatred; but he made no efforts to imbue other kingdoms with a revolutionary spirit. His moderation commanded a far higher respect than if he had formed schemes of European conquest; or had attempted to conciliate discontented colonels and murmuring troopers, by leading them in person against Condé or Don John of Austria. Truly has it been said, "He was a soldier; he had risen by war. Had his ambition been of an impure or selfish kind, it would have been easy for him to plunge his country into continental hostilities on a large scale, and to dazzle the restless factions which he ruled, by the splendour of his victories." ‡ He left to Blake the glory of making the flag of England triumphant on the seas, satisfied to counsel and encourage him. His practical spirit of doing everything for utility, and nothing for vain glory, was so infused into his officers, that when Turenne sent to Lockhart, Cromwell's general in the Netherlands, an explanation of the plan of the battle they were to fight with their allied forces, the Englishman, with a noble common sense that could lay aside the morbid vanity which too often mars the success of joint enterprises, exclaimed, "Very good: I shall obey M. de Turenne's orders, and he may explain his reasons after the battle, if he pleases." §

The maintenance and increase of the naval arm of our strength was the especial care of the Protector. "I went," writes Evelyn

\* "Clarendon," vol. vii. p. 297.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Macaulay, "Essays," vol. i.

§ Guizot, "Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 383.

in his Diary of the 9th of April, 1655, "to see the great ship newly built by the usurper, Oliver, carrying ninety-six brass guns and 1000 tons burthen." Some months before, two armaments were being fitted out at Portsmouth. Their destination was unknown. Cromwell was one day surrounded in the streets by a large number of sailors' wives. "Where are our husbands to be sent?" they demanded. "The ambassadors of France and Spain would each give me a million to know that," answered the Protector. Whilst France and Spain were each under apprehensions when Blake's fleet of twenty-five ships had sailed, the admiral appeared before Leghorn, and demanded from the grand duke of Tuscany redress for the owners of three merchant vessels, which had been captured by prince Rupert in 1650, and sold in Tuscan ports and in the Papal States. The grand duke and the pope paid the indemnity. Blake then presented himself on the coast of Africa, to demand the relief of Christian captives from the Barbary States. His terms were complied with at Algiers and Tripoli. At Tunis, the Dey pointed to his fortresses, and told the English to do their worst. Blake battered the Tunisian works, and burnt the piratical fleet in the harbour. A hundred and sixty years after this example England had again "to break the oppressor's chain, and set the captives free." The war with Spain had not yet been proclaimed, but the second armament had sailed with secret orders. Blake was waiting to take his share in the warfare, after he had chastised the African pirates. He was off Malaga, where some of the sailors who had landed had shown disrespect to a procession of the host. A priest incited the Spanish populace to outrage, and the sailors were beaten and chased to their ships. They told their story to the admiral, who demanded that the priest should be brought to justice. The authorities replied that the civil power could not touch an ecclesiastic. "Send him on board the St. George within three hours or I will burn your city," was the admiral's demand of the governor of Malaga. The priest was sent. The story of both sides was heard on the justice-seat of the quarter-deck. The sailors were found to be in the wrong, and the priest was put ashore with all civility. "I would have punished the men had I been appealed to," said the admiral; "but I would have you and all the world to know that an Englishman is not to be judged and punished except by Englishmen." The other fleet under Venables and Penn had gone for the West Indies. On the 14th of April it was before Hispaniola. There was no attempt at

once to take St. Domingo; but a portion of the badly assorted army landed about ten leagues to the westward of the town, and marched "through woods of incredible thickness, receiving little or no opposition except the excessive heat of the sun, and intolerable drought that oppressed them, having not had, in many miles' march, one drop of water." \* The other portion of the armament had landed nearer the city; and when a junction was effected, the whole force fell into ambuscades, and were eventually driven back to their ships. The commanders, who had lost everything by their disputes and feeble arrangements, sailed away, and possessed themselves of Jamaica. The value of this conquest was then little estimated; and the fertility of the island was thought small compensation for the loss of the supposed treasures of Hispaniola. Cromwell was somewhat cast down by this his first failure; and he sent Penn and Venables to the Tower when they came home with the tale of their disasters. But he soon saw that Jamaica gave England a solid footing in the West Indies, and was a most important acquisition, although "it produces not any mines of gold and silver, as doth Hispaniola"—a defect which the journalist much laments. The two unfortunate commanders were soon released. The Protector is unremitting in his watchfulness over the West Indian possessions, as his letters show, and if possible he will strike at the root of such miscarriages as that of Hispaniola. He writes to major-general Fortescue at Jamaica, "As we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our own sin as well as others', so, truly, upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the Army, we can not only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so; and that a very special regard may be had so to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished; and that such a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement."

The power and influence of the Commonwealth was at this period signally called forth by an occurrence that was no especial injury or affront to the nation, but which more deeply moved the heart of Puritan England than any event since the Irish massacre. For many centuries there had dwelt in three small valleys of Pied-

\* "Journal of the English Army," Harl. Miscellany, vol. vi. p. 372.

mont a race known as the Vaudois, or Valdenses—the people of the valleys—who from the earliest times had kept separate from the Church of Rome. Before the principles of the Reformation had been disseminated by Luther or Calvin, the Pope, Innocent VIII., had issued a bull for the extirpation of the pernicious sect of the Waldenses. When they declared that their ancient faith was similar to that of the Reformers, persecutions became more frequent against them. They were proscribed, first by France and then by Savoy; and then sometimes tolerated, and sometimes molested. In 1655 the government of the young duke Charles Emmanuel II., having been irritated by tumults between some Vaudois of one of the valleys and a convent of Capuchins, alleged that those who had been tolerated in their religion within certain districts, proscribed by edicts, had settled upon lands beyond their proper boundaries. All the Vaudois families inhabiting eight communes in the lower part of the valley of the Pelice, were commanded to abandon their fields and houses; to sell their property within twenty days; or to become Roman Catholics. This command was resisted; and the duke of Savoy sent the marquis of Pianezza to enforce the manifesto. The Vaudois deserted their villages and sought refuge in the mountains. There were severe contests between the troops and the suffering people; in which fearful cruelties were committed by the Piedmontese soldiers, and by mercenary Irish and French in the service of the duke of Savoy. An officer who was in the command of a French regiment in Piedmont that had been placed under the orders of the marquis of Pianezza, threw up his commission, “in order,” he says, “that I might not assist in such wicked actions.” A declaration of this brave man, captain du Petit-Bourg, is in the University Library at Cambridge, wherein he says, “I was the witness of numerous acts of great violence and extreme cruelty, practised by the soldiers towards all ages, sexes, and conditions, whom I saw massacred, hanged, burned, and violated, and I also witnessed several terrible conflagrations.” He adds that the marquis of Pianezza ordered all the prisoners to be killed, “because his highness would not have any of their religion in all his dominions.” The instant that Cromwell heard of the preliminary harsh measures of the duke of Savoy towards the Vaudois, he wrote to the English resident in Switzerland to advise the persecuted people to appeal to England. The news of the massacre arrived before any request was made for succour. The Protector immediately sent an envoy extraor-

dinary to Louis XIV. and to the duke of Savoy, with letters of remonstrance. Upon all the Protestant princes he called for assistance in demanding justice for the Vaudois. A collection throughout England was made for these poor people, and Cromwell himself gave two thousand pounds. His language was as moderate as it was firm. But his meaning could not be mistaken. France was most anxious to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce with England; but Cromwell declared that he would not sign it till the French Court had procured from the Piedmontese government the Restoration of the Vaudois to their ancient liberties. The French minister at Turin now insisted on an immediate pacification, which should restore the Vaudois to their civil and religious liberties, as of old. The business was hastily concluded by the French agents, and some harsh conditions were connected with this settlement, which again caused the interference of the Protector in 1658. The earnest thought of Cromwell went through Europe clothed in the eloquent Latin of Milton; and even those who hated the Commonwealth acknowledged that England never stood higher than when she demanded justice for a few poor cultivators of the Alps—those who had kept the truth

“When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones.”

The efforts of the Protector to procure safety and liberty of conscience for a race of Christians dwelling in three small valleys of the Alps, were more successful than his endeavours to give a legal home in England to a persecuted race, scattered through every land. The Jews were banished, and their immoveable goods were confiscated, in 1290. In 1655 Cromwell assembled his Council, and “divers eminent ministers,” to consider the petition of Rabbi Manassch-Ben-Israel of Amsterdam, that the Jews might have liberty to settle again in England. Three hundred and sixty-five years of obstinate prejudice might probably have sufficed to exhaust the bigotry of a Christian community. Cromwell thought the term quite long enough; and so the matter of allowing the Jews to reside again amongst us, and trade, and have public synagogues, and a cemetery out of the town to bury their dead, was discussed in four conferences; and the Protector advocated the measure: and one present says, “I never heard a man speak so well.” But there were then, as there always will be, grave divines and learned lawyers who patch a rag of ancient intolerance into

their modern garments, to show the colour and substance of the old material that all men once proudly wore. Of this species was William Prynne, who headed the cry of Christianity in danger, by publishing a manifesto against the Jews, in which "their ill-deportment, misdemeanours, condition, sufferings, oppressions, slaughters, plunders by popular insurrections, royal exactions, and final banishment," were brought forward in connection with Laws and Scriptures, "to plead and conclude against their re-admission into England." The old clamour against the Jewerie was revived, especially in the city, where the merchants were jealous of the wealth of the Hebrews; and the Protector, seeing it was in vain to expect any agreement on this question, sought for no legal sanction to their settling here, but raised no objection to a Portuguese synagogue being opened in 1656.

The government of the Protectorate had ample public business to engage its attention, during the twenty months in which a Single Person, without a Parliament, was the supreme director of the affairs of three kingdoms. The alliance with France, and the war with Spain, gave occasion to new movements of royalists, and new combinations of republicans. Charles the Second was living in dissolute poverty at Cologne, caring little for state concerns, and laying no burden upon his conscience when he had to make some contrary pledge to Protestant or Papist, openly to the one, or in secret to the other. He was a little roused from his exclusive attention to his mistresses when the war with Spain induced him to believe that he might obtain some assistance from that power against their common enemy. Colonel Sexby, a furious republican, prepared with schemes of conspiracy and assassination, joined the councils of Charles and the Spanish ministers. In April, 1656, a treaty of alliance was concluded between Philip IV. and the exiled king of England, by which the Spanish monarch promised Charles a pension and an army, and Charles engaged that with the aid of the Irish serving in France he would make a landing in England. The government of the Protector was more effectually endangered by the attitude of the great republican leaders at home, than by preparations for war and assassination. Sir Harry Vane had come forth with a pamphlet, which Thurloe described in a letter to Henry Cromwell, as "a new form of government, plainly laying aside thereby that which now is. At the first coming out of it, it was applauded; but now, upon second thoughts, it is rejected as being impracticable, and aiming in truth at the setting up

of the Long Parliament again." Cromwell, in July, had issued writs for a new Parliament. A second pamphlet, more exciting than the first, was also published, and extensively circulated. The influence of such appeals to the people, setting forth "infringed rights"—"invaded properties"—"imprisoned friends"—would be full of danger in the result of the elections; and Cromwell was placed in an attitude of more determined hostility against the republican party. The elections were fiercely contested, amidst many popular tumults.\* The government had secured a majority, but many of its declared opponents were elected. Cromwell and his Council tried to persuade Vane, Harrison, and other opponents, to pledge themselves not to commit any act to the prejudice of the government. They refused; and were imprisoned. The nature of the pledge required may be judged from a remarkable conference between Cromwell and Ludlow, recorded by the sturdy republican, who had been dismissed from his employment in Ireland. When Ludlow drew near to the Council Table, Cromwell charged him with dispersing treasonable books in Ireland. He denied that they were treasonable. Cromwell said that he was not ignorant of many plots to disturb the present power, and that he thought it his duty to secure such as he suspected. Ludlow replied that whether his actions were good or bad he was ready to submit to a legal trial. Cromwell then required him to give assurance not to act against the government. "I desired," says Ludlow, "to be excused in that particular, reminding him of the reasons I had formerly given him for my refusal." The reasons were thus given at the previous interview referred to: "If Providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, and oblige myself not to lay hold on it. \* \* \* My dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any animosity against his person; and that if my own father were alive, and in his place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great." \* At this second conference Ludlow maintains the same resolute mind, and Cromwell exhibits the same desire to conciliate him: "Pray, then, said he, what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you desire more than you have? It were easy, said I, to tell what we would have. What is that, I pray, said he? That which we fought for, said I, that the nation might be governed by its own consent. I am, said he, as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find

\* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 554-5.



that consent? Amongst the Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or Levelling Parties? I answered, amongst those of all sorts who had acted with fidelity and affection to the public. Then he fell into the commendation of his own government, boasting of the protection and quiet which the People enjoyed under it, saying, that he was resolved to keep the nation from being imbrued in blood. I said, that I was of opinion too much blood had been already shed, unless there were a better account of it. You do well, said he, to charge us with the guilt of blood; but we think there is a good return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniards and those of your party, who make use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them. I know not, said I, what you mean by my party, and can truly say, that if any men have entered into an engagement with Spain, they have had no advice from me so to do, and that if they will use my name I cannot help it. Then in a softer way he told me, that he desired not to put any more hardships on me than on himself; that he had been always ready to do me all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aimed at nothing by this proceeding but the public quiet and security. Truly Sir, said I, I know not why you should be an enemy to me who have been faithful to you in all your difficulties. I understand not, said he, what you mean by my difficulties. I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the public; for in respect to my outward condition I have not much improved it, as these gentlemen, pointing to his Council, well know. To which they seemed to assent, by rising from their chairs; and therefore I thought not fit to insist farther on that point, contenting myself to say, that it was from that duty which I owed to the public, whereof he expressed such a peculiar regard, that I durst not give the security he desired, because I considered it to be against the liberty of the People, and contrary to the known law of England.\* After this bold manifestation Ludlow went quietly away; to maintain that Cromwell was a usurper, and that the only legitimate authority was the Long Parliament. "In general there is as much difference between a usurper and an hereditary king, as there is between a wild boar and a tame one; but Cromwell had nothing in him ferocious."†

\* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 570.

† Landor, "Imaginary Conversations."—Works, vol. i. p. 554.

The Parliament assembled on the 17th of September—a crowded meeting in the Painted Chamber on a hot day—so hot, that the Protector seems to imply that he will not detain them by a long speech, seeing “that condition and heat that you are now in.” But he does speak at great length, with abundant words, although he says “Truly our business is to speak things” . . . “things that concern the glory of God, and his peculiar interest in the world.” A large subject,—but one which Oliver mainly associates with “the being and subsistence of these nations with all their dependencies.” Of their present dangers he chiefly speaks;—of “your great enemy, the Spaniard;” of the circumstances which “justify the war which has been entered upon with the Spaniard;” of the danger of “any peace with any State that is Popish, and subject to the determination of Rome and the Pope himself,” for then “you are bound and they are loose.” France was not “under such a tie to the pope.” Spain, he says, “hath espoused that interest which you all along hitherto have been conflicting with—Charles Stuart’s interest.” He adds, “as there is a complication of these interests abroad, so there is a complication of them here. Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England. . . . Your danger is so great, if you will be sensible of it, by reason of persons who pretend other things.” He points to past dangers—to assassination plots, and insurrections in the preceding year. The present great danger was from “a generation of men in this nation who cry up nothing but righteousness, and justice, and liberty; and these are divided into several sects and sorts of men. They are known to shake hands with,—I should be loath to say with Cavaliers—but with all the scum and dirt of this nation.” To meet such dangers “we did find but a little poor invention, which I hear has been much regretted—the erecting of your Major-Generals. . . . Truly I think if ever anything were justifiable as to necessity, this was.” He then proceeds to Remedies:—First to consider all that ought to be done in order to Security; next doing all things that ought to be done in order to Reformation. For outward security join heartily in the prosecution of the war. “If you can come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or not at all.” As to the distempers of people that pretend religion, “our practice since the last Parliament hath been, to let all this nation see that whatever pretensions to religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves, and not to make religion a pretence for arms and

blood." He points to the means which have been adopted "for the ejecting of scandalous ministers, and for the bringing in of them that have passed an approbation." He calls for Reformation of Manners. "In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years in this nation—whether in Cæsar's house, or elsewhere. It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man, and the badge of Puritan was put upon it. We would keep up Nobility and Gentry; and the way to keep them up is, not to suffer them to be patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders." These are wise words; and there were other words altogether as wise, which statesmen heeded not for more than a century and a half; holding, with learned Blackstone, the necessity of entirely disregarding as unworthy of notice "the crude and abortive schemes for amending the laws in the times of confusion which followed" the times of Charles I.\* Let us conclude our brief notice of this remarkable speech of 1656, with a passage which contains, according to a high authority, "stronger indications of a legislative mind than are to be found in the whole range of orations delivered on such occasions, before or since."† "There are some things which respect the estates of men; and there is one general grievance in the Nation. It is the Law. Not that the laws are a grievance, but there are laws that are; and the great grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent judges in this land, as have been had, as the Nation has had, for these many years. Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part of it, as to the administration of the Law; but that would trouble you. The truth of it is, there are wicked and abominable laws, which it will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for six-and-eightpence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and acquit murder,—is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill-framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders acquitted. And to see men lose their lives for petty matters; this is a thing God will reckon for. And I wish it may not lie upon this nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it."

The legislative mind of Cromwell could rarely find adequate encouragement in his legislators. We have seen how earnestly he

\* Book iv. Chap. 33.

† Macaulay, "Essays," vol. i.

was always calling, even from the battle-field, for reform of the laws. Surely Mr. Hallam must have been strangely prejudiced against the man and his principles, when, in his "Parallel between Cromwell and Napoléon," he says, "In civil government there can be no adequate parallel between one who had sucked only the dregs of a besotted fanaticism, and one to whom the stores of reason and philosophy were open. But it must here be added that Cromwell, far unlike his antitype, never showed any signs of a legislative mind, or any desire to fix his renown on that noblest basis, the amelioration of social institutions." Such a passage is unworthy of the usual calm and impartial tone of the "Constitutional History." It might have been better suited to the historian who designates Cromwell as "a barbarian." It would have been better suited to that historian, David Hume, to speak of "the dregs of a besotted fanaticism," as opposed to "the stores of reason and philosophy," who had little sympathy with, if not positive hatred to, the man or the race of men, who sought to live in the "great Task-master's eye." Cromwell, the barbarian, did not aspire to go down to posterity with a Code in his hand. He had not to build up new laws out of chaos, but to clear away the rubbish which encumbered the old laws. "If he erected little that was new, it was because there had been no general devastation to clear a space for him." \*

The strong declamation of the Protector against men who cry up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty—the men of several sects—the levelling party—the Commonwealth's men—seemed to point at some extraordinary course with this Parliament. About three hundred members had received a certificate in the following form: "These are to certify that — is returned by indenture one of the Knights [or Burgesses] to serve in this present Parliament for the county [city or borough] of —, and approved by his Highness's Council," which certificate was signed by the "Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery." This was a manifest violation of the ancient parliamentary privileges,—a violation upon the broadest scale. A hundred and two members, who had received no certificate, were prevented entering the House. Sixty-five sent a letter of remonstrance to the Speaker. The Clerk of the Commonwealth produced his instructions from the Council; and the House having then demanded of the Council why certain duly elected had not been admitted to sit, Nathaniel Fiennes, one

\* Macaulay's "Essays," vol. i.

of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, attended, and showed that according to the Instrument of Government "no persons could be elected to serve in Parliament but such as were of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation;" and that, by the same Instrument, the Council was authorised and directed "to examine whether the persons elected were agreeable to the above-mentioned qualifications." The formal letter of the Constitution had been adhered to; its application was a bold exercise of arbitrary power. The excluded members protested against this total infraction of the conditions of a free Parliament; and denounced all the members who should continue to sit as "betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the Commonwealth." The public indignation was great and general; but a national success came opportunely to qualify it. A squadron of Blake's fleet off Cadiz had captured two Spanish galleons returning home with the treasures of the Indies; and the people crowded the roads and streets from Portsmouth to the Tower to look upon a procession of thirty-eight waggons laden with ingots and piastres. The treasury was replenished. The Parliament became tranquilised. The power of the Protector seemed established on a firm basis. He felt that he could relax in some measures of repression; and the Major-Generals were abolished. There was a mutilated Parliament; but the government of a Single Person was again coming within the bounds of constitutional liberty. The powers of the Parliament and the Protector now worked harmoniously together. Acts were passed for the security of his person; and for disannulling the title to the Crown of Charles Stuart and his descendants. The war with Spain was declared to be just and necessary; and four hundred thousand pounds were voted for the expenses of the war. The ordinances which the Protector had issued were for the most part confirmed. His appointments to judicial offices were approved. The revolution was thought by many to have passed its period of disturbance and experiment. It was even popularly considered to be probable and desirable that the Protector should assume a higher title, and with the powers of a king should receive the name. Poetical flattery talked of the Spanish gold being made into a crown and a royal sceptre. Amidst all sorts of speculations upon such an event, an incident which appeared to have little connection with a matter of such importance brought into view the necessary antagonism between the executive authority of the Protector, and the ill-defined and ill-understood executive

power of the Parliament. Amongst the new sect of Quakers was James Nayler, who, in his frantic enthusiasm, had proclaimed that the Redeemer was incarnate in his person; and he had moreover given a great public scandal in going about in a state of nudity.\* The quaker was arrested at Bristol; and brought up to the bar of the House of Commons. There were ten days of wearisome debate, in which it was maintained that the House possessed the right of life and death. The madman narrowly escaped hanging; for eighty-two voted for his execution. He was finally condemned to be put in the pillory, to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and to be whipped through the streets. Cromwell saw, as the more fanatical members had not seen, that the whole course of legal government was threatened by this procedure of the House—that this assumption of judicial power was incompatible with the due course of justice. He addressed this letter to the Speaker: "Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having taken notice of a judgment lately given by yourselves against one James Nayler: although we detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said person; yet we, being intrusted in the present government, on behalf of the people of these nations; and not knowing how far such proceeding, entered into wholly without us, may extend in the consequence of it,—Do desire that the House will let us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded." Part of Nayler's sentence had been inflicted when this letter was received. The House immediately rejected a proposition for deferring the completion of the punishment. The people became more and more convinced that in a due balance of the executive and legislative functions they must look for safety. The obstinacy of the Parliament was Cromwell's triumph with the sober part of the nation. But his very pertinent desire to know "the grounds and reasons" for a "proceeding entered into wholly without Us," led

\* There is a curious passage in the very interesting autobiography of Thomas Ellwood which somewhat explains this. Ellwood's father violently opposed, even by blows and horsewhippings, his son's determination to be a Quaker. The old squire said, "they held many dangerous principles; that they were an immodest shameless people; and that one of them stripped himself stark naked, and went in that unseemly manner about the streets, at fairs, and on market-day at great towns." The young man replied to his father by citing "the example of Isaiah, who went naked among the people for a long time." Isaiah was a prophet, said the father. "How know we but this Quaker may be a prophet, too?" rejoined the son.

to inquiries about the due apportionment of power, which had very remarkable results. Meanwhile a new assassination plot excited a general interest in the life of the Protector; and, like all such abortive schemes, made the authority stronger which it was intended to overthrow.

Charles the Second was residing at Bruges at the beginning of 1657. He had obtained money from Spain, with which he was making some show of preparation for an expedition to England. But Cromwell—there is the difficulty. Colonel Sexby has been in England, and is again with the king. He has left a trusty agent behind him, and a certain service is to be well rewarded. Miles Sindercomb was one of the Levellers of the army, who was sentenced to be shot at Burford in 1650. But he escaped then; was received as quartermaster into Monk's army in Scotland; got involved in new plots; and was cashiered. Sexby has left this man a large sum for the conduct of his operations. He hired a house at Hammersmith, and provided deadly combustibles of a sort to blow the Protector and his carriage into atoms as he took his Saturday ride to Hampton Court. Sindercomb arranged, moreover, to fire Whitehall, and have a safe blow at the Protector in the confusion. On the night of the 8th of January, the sentinel at the Palace finds a basket of wildfire, and a slow match gradually burning onwards to explode it. A life-guardsmen comes before the Council, and proclaims that Miles Sindercomb is the man who has made these midnight arrangements. Sindercomb is taken; is tried; and convicted by a jury in the King's Bench: the day of execution is fixed; but he is found dead in his bed. His sister has conveyed poison to him. The author of "Killing no Murder"—whether Colonel Titus or Colonel Sexby—says that Sindercomb was smothered and not poisoned. With the wonted rant of political fanatics, he exclaims, "The brave Sindercomb hath shown as great a mind as any old Rome could boast of; and, had he lived there, his name had been registered with Brutus and Cato, and he had had his statues as well as they." This assassination plot was extinguished as quickly as the lighted match at Whitehall. The Parliament went in a body to congratulate the Protector on his escape; and his Highness made an appropriate reply. A Thanksgiving day followed; and two sermons at "Margaret's Church;" and a princely entertainment to the House by the Protector, and after dinner, "rare music, both of voices and instruments, till the evening."



When Secretary Thurloe, on the 19th of January, related the discovery of Sindercomb's plot to the Commons, and the House resolved to congratulate the Protector on his escape, Mr. Ashe, a member of no great mark, moved that it be added to the congratulatory address, that his Highness would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient constitution. Great was the clamour. The ancient constitution was Charles Stuart's interest. Was a kingly government now to be set up, against which the Lord had borne testimony. The matter was dropped. On the 23rd of February; alderman Pack requested leave to read a paper "tending to the settlement of the nation." The House was again in most disorderly condition. But the alderman did read his paper, in accordance with the desire of a large majority. Thurloe described the occurrence in a letter to Monk: "Yesterday we fell into a great debate in Parliament. One of the aldermen who serve for the city of London, brought in a paper called a Remonstrance, desiring my Lord Protector to assume kingly power, and to call future Parliaments, consisting of two Houses. \* \* \* \* I do assure you it ariseth from the Parliament only; his Highness knew nothing of the preambles until they were brought into the House." Four days after Pack's Remonstrance had been read, a hundred officers, with several of the Major-Generals, amongst whom was Cromwell's son-in-law, Fleetwood, waited upon the Protector, to say that they had heard with great dismay that there was a project in hand to make his Highness King—a hazardous project—a scandal to the people of God. Cromwell somewhat resented this interference. He had not been caballing about this project, either for or against it. They need not, however, start at this title King, a feather in a hat, for they had themselves pressed it upon him when this government was undertaken. He thought the Instrument of Government did need mending. That a House of Lords, or some other check upon the arbitrary tendencies of a single House might be useful. Look at the case of James Nayler. May it not be any one's case some other day? The deputation went their way; and the debate upon the great question proceeded in the House with little interruption. Through the whole of March it was debated; and it was at last voted, by a majority of sixty-one, to address the Protector in these words: "That your Highness will be pleased to assume the name, style, title, dignity, and office, of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the respective dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and to exercise the same according

to the laws of these nations." On the 31st of March, the House proceeded to Whitehall, to present the document which they now called "Petition and Advice." It was an Instrument of eighteen articles,—touching Kingship, second House of Parliament, mode of electing members, permanent public revenue, exclusive Protestant religion, provision for tender consciences,—with lesser matters. The Speaker presented these articles for the Protector's acceptance, saying that they requested that all should be adopted—the rejection of one article might make all the rest impracticable. Cromwell's reply was to the effect that he asked time for consideration: "That seeing you have made progress in this business, and completed the work on your part, I may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart."

Three days after this interview Cromwell requested that a Committee might be appointed to receive his answer to the Petition and Advice. He spoke briefly, and with a tone somewhat different from his usual decision. "You do necessitate my answer to be categorical; and you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to all"—all of the articles. "It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done, \* \* \* \* But I must needs say, that that may be fit for you to offer which may not be fit for me to undertake. \* \* \* \* I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, seeing that the way is hedged up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake the charge under that Title." The deputation returns to the House; reports the reluctant negative of his Highness—perhaps not exactly in the words of Casca, "There was a crown offered him, and being offered him, he put it by with the back of his hand, thus."\* The House will prepare reasons for adhering to its Petition and Advice, and will go again to Whitehall. On the 8th of April they declare, in a body, to his Highness, that they do so adhere as "the Great Council and Representative of the three nations," and again desire his assent thereto. He still hesitates. "I had, and I have, my hesitations as to that individual thing. If I undertake anything not in faith, I shall serve you in my own unbelief; and I shall then be the most unprofitable servant that the People or Nation ever had." He wishes for more particular information upon certain points. Casca again comes in to interpret this "coy, reluctant, amorous delay":—"He put it by again; but, to my thinking, he

\* Shakspere, "Julius Cæsar," Act i. sc. 2.

was very loth to lay his fingers off it." The next day, London is in a tumult upon other questions of monarchy—not the poor temporary question of protector or king, but whether the Fifth Monarchy—the Assyrian Monarchy, the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman, being all four extinct—the greatest monarchy of all—the reign of the Saints on earth for a thousand years,—be not visibly at hand. It is to be proclaimed this day the 9th of April, on Mile-end Green, by its great herald, Thomas Venner the wine-cooper; with its standard of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah. A troop of horse settles the Fifth Monarchy with small difficulty; and, without bloodshed, its lieges are lodged in the Tower. This attempt to put down all carnal Sovereignities passes quietly away, without trial or punishment. The Parliament has to debate the question of real Kingship with his Highness, which it does, for many days, by the voices of a Committee of ninety-nine, talking, and listening to my Lord Protector at Whitehall. Lord Whitelocke, and Chief Justice Glynn, and Lord Commissioner Fiennes, and lord Broghill, all have their say; and Cromwell has his comment. He still wants a little more time to consider. He takes counsel about this business of the kingship, with Broghill, Pierpoint, Whitelocke, Wolseley, and Thurloe—as Whitelocke records—and "would sometimes be very cheerful with them; and, laying aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar; and by way of diversion would make verses with them, and every one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself. Then he would fall again to his serious and great business." On the 13th of April, he speaks at much length; but he still hesitates: "I have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used for preferring Kingship to Protectorship. . . . I am ready to serve, not as a King, but as a Constable. For truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish. And truly this hath been my consent and satisfaction in the troubles I have undergone that you yet have peace." The real objection which Cromwell had to a higher dignity than that of Protector-Constable is very manifest: "If I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this Title,—though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them,—yet I must say, it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may

be no hard things put upon me,—things, I mean, hard to them, which they cannot swallow." Another conference in another week. The same reluctance to accept; the same unwillingness to offend by a refusal. It is a tedious farce, say some;—and yet a farce with something serious about it; quite enough of pressing solicitation to make a vain ambitious man put the precious diadem in his pocket;—not enough to make Cromwell peril many interests, including his own, by a rash consent. His Highness and the Committee now go into discussion of the other articles of the Petition and Advice, to which the Protector has offered a paper of amendments. Long are the discussions; though full of real meaning amidst a maze of words. The Parliament adopts most of the Amendments; and, at last, again attends my Lord Protector in a body, to receive his final answer upon the great question. There was no mistaking his meaning now: "I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing of the Title to me. . . . I am persuaded to return this answer to you, that I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of King." The other parts of the Instrument of Government were adopted, the term Protector being substituted for that of King. "The Protector," says Whitelocke, "was satisfied in his private judgment that it was fit for him to accept the Title of King, and matters were prepared in order thereunto. But afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth's men, and many officers of the army, he decided to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, and refused at this time." Ludlow tells a little anecdote of this interference of "officers of the army," which may conclude this somewhat tedious relation of the discussions about Kingship, which had gone on from the 23rd of February to the 8th of May:—Cromwell, says Ludlow, whilst "he scrupled to take upon him the Title of King, as a thing scandalous and of great hazard"—yet "in the meantime he endeavoured by all possible means to prevail with the officers of the army to approve his design, and knowing that lieutenant-general Fleetwood and colonel Desborough were particularly averse to it, he invited himself to dine personally with the colonel, and carried the lieutenant-general with him, where he began to droll with them about Monarchy, and speaking slightly of it, said it was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as colonel Desborough since told me, such an answer as was not at all suitable

to his expectations or desires. For they assured him that there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends. Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the House, to require their attendance in the Painted Chamber the next morning, designing, as all men believed, there to declare his acceptance of the crown. But in the meantime meeting with colonel Desborough in the great walk of the Park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the colonel made answer, that he then gave the cause and Cromwell's family also for lost; adding, that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time."

The public mind of England is kept sufficiently alive during the early summer of 1657. First, the long deliberations about Kingship, and the unexpected refusal of the Title—unexpected by most men, for the story went that the crown was made, and was ready at Whitehall for the coronation. Then came out the daring pamphlet of "Killing no Murder," recommending the duty of putting the tyrant to death, and threatening that, in imitation of Sindercomb, "there is a great roll behind, even of those that are in his own muster-rolls, and are ambitious of the name of the deliverers of their country; and they know what the action is that will purchase it. His bed, his table, is not secure; and he stands in need of other guards to defend him against his own." Such words made men anxious and alarmed. But the bitterest enemies of Cromwell felt that his reign was not an indolent one. The news came of a great victory by Blake over the Spanish navy at Santa Cruz—one of those daring exploits in which there is the greatest safety in what the timid call rashness. Under the fire of tremendous batteries the great admiral attacked the Spaniards in their own harbour, and burnt their entire fleet. Oliver sent Blake a jewel in the name of the Parliament and the Protector, with instructions to return home. The noble sailor,—the true successor of Elizabeth's heroes,—the honoured predecessor of a long file of England's bravest sons—died on board his ship within sight of Plymouth. Then, six thousand English troops land in May near Boulogne, and a fleet is cruising off that coast—an army and a fleet to co-operate with the French in an attack upon the Spanish power in the Netherlands.

Meanwhile the Session of Parliament is coming to a close: but first is to be performed a great national ceremony—the inauguration, under the new Instrument of Government, of him who, without the Title of king, is to be clothed with regal honours and powers. In Westminster Hall there is a gorgeous assembly on the 26th of June. The coronation chair, with the famous stone of Scotland, is placed beneath a canopy of state. The Protector stands up under his canopy; surrounded by his Council and foreign ambassadors; the Speaker is seated beneath him; the members of Parliament in seats built like an amphitheatre; the Judges on his right hand; the Corporation of London on his left; the great hall crowded with spectators. The Speaker invests the Protector with the Robe of Purple, “emblem of Magistracy;” presents him first with a Bible, the book of books, which “doth contain both precepts and examples for good government;” then with the Sceptre, “not unlike a staff, for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor;” lastly, with the sword, “not a military, but civil sword.” Then Cromwell takes this oath: “I do in the presence and by the name of Almighty God promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my power I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my power and understanding; and encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that to the utmost of my power I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preservation of the peace and safety, and just rights and privileges, of the people thereof; and shall in all things, according to my best knowledge and power, govern the people of these three nations according to law.” A prayer was then made; the heralds proclaimed Oliver Cromwell Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the people shouted “God save the Lord Protector.” In all but the name, these three nations were now a kingdom.

The second Session of Parliament is to assemble in January. It is to be of a different composition from that of the first Session. The excluded members are to be now admitted. There is to be a “Second House.” England appears approaching very nearly to its old form of government—one supreme man, by whatever name called—Lords, Commons. Still there is one something wanting—that something which lord Broghill especially pointed out in the conference about Kingship: “By your Highness bearing the title

of King, all those that obey and serve you are secured by a law made long before any of our differences had a being—in the 11th of Henry VII.—where a full provision is made for the safety of those that shall serve whoever is king.” It was this want of the ancient title in the head of the government of which the lawyers availed themselves at the Restoration of Charles II., when they held that his regnal years must be computed from the death of his father, because no one had in the interval between the 30th of January, 1649, and the 29th of May, 1660, assumed the title of king. The same absence of the ancient designation of the supreme governor unquestionably influenced the aristocracy during the life of the Protector, and compelled him to form a “Second House” of a very anomalous character. He had, however, strengthened his interest with the old nobility to some extent. In November, 1657, lord Falconbridge married his daughter Mary; and Robert Rich, grandson of the earl of Warwick, married his daughter Frances. But of the members of the old House of Lords only seven accepted the Protector’s writ of summons. He filled up its number of sixty-three with great civil officers, generals, and some eminent country gentlemen and citizens. Ludlow tells us of the neglect which sir Arthur Haslerig paid to the summons to be a member of the Upper House, and of the anxiety of the old Speaker, Lenthall, to be a lord. Only one of those Peers who had accepted the writ took their seats. “The earl of Warwick himself,” says Ludlow, “though he ventured to marry his grandson to one of Cromwell’s daughters, could not be persuaded to sit with colonel Hewson and colonel Pride, whereof the one had been a shoemaker, and the other a drayman: and had they driven no worse trade, I know not why any good man should refuse to act with them. Divers of the gentry did not appear; yet others, and particularly such as were related to those in power, were prevailed with to be of this assembly.”

The scheme of A Second House was not favourable to the disposition of the Commons to uphold the Protector’s government. Forty members took their seats as quasi-lords, who would otherwise most probably have been in the Commons, and have given their support to the existing authority. The members who had been excluded in the first Session were competent to sit in this second Session, if they took the oaths. They did take them; and were ready for a vigorous opposition. On the 20th of January the Parliament met. His Highness is now in the House of Lords,



and the Commons are duly summoned thither by Black Rod, as of old; and the protector begins his speech, as of old, with "My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons." He made a short speech. "I have some infirmities upon me. I have not liberty to speak more unto you; but I have desired an honourable person here by me to discourse a little more particularly what may be more proper for this occasion and this meeting." Nathaniel Fiennes, one of the commissioners of the Great Seal, made a figurative speech, recommending unanimity. The Commons, upon their return, went at once upon heady debate—day by day—as to what the new House should be called. Haslerig will not be a member of "the other House." He will obey no writ of summons. He will sit as an elected Representative. Clearly the new Constitution is going very fast to pieces. Cromwell summons the Parliament to the Banqueting House, five days after the opening of the Session. He addresses the members in a manly speech. He speaks firmly and boldly, and says some truths that are universal: "Misrule is better than no rule; and an ill-government, a bad government, is better than none . . . . I know you are rational, prudent men. Have you any frame or model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if this be not the frame, which you are now called together upon, and engaged in,—I mean the two Houses of Parliament and myself? What hinders this nation from being an Aeldama, if this doth not? . . . . I never look to see the people of England come into a just Liberty, if another Civil War overtake us. I think, at least, that the thing likely to bring us into our liberty, is a consistency and agreement at this meeting. . . . . I shall be ready to stand or fall with you, in this seemingly promising Union, which God hath wrought among you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to make void. . . . I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall—I must—see it done, according to the articles of government. That every just interest may be preserved; that a godly Ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual,—upon this account did I take oaths and swear to this Government." This appeal—"the words as of a strong great captain addressed in the hour of imminent shipwreck"—\*—was in vain. The discontented are powerful in the Commons.

\* Carlyle, vol. iii. p. 247.

No real business can proceed, whilst the question of "the other House" is daily debated. Oliver Protector will bring the matter to an end. The Commons are again summoned by the Black Rod. "What care I for the Black Rod?" cries Haslerig. But they obey the summons. And then the Protector speaks with an angrier voice than was his wont, even in former disquietudes: "You have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day—through the intention of devising a Commonwealth again—that some people might be the men that rule all. . . . It hath not only been your endeavour to pervert the army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a Commonwealth; but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any insurrection that may be made. . . . If this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament. And let God be judge between you and me."

The Parliament is gone; but the Protector is not left to repose. There are dangers around him of no common magnitude. He meets them bravely. The Parliament is dismissed in the morning of the 14th of February. In the afternoon Oliver is writing to his captains of militia in the country, to "be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever." He summons his officers to Whitehall, and asks if they are willing, with him, to maintain the Instruments of Government? Most answer, they will live and die with him. A few look gloomy, and are silent. In a day or two he removes suspected officers from the army. "The cavaliers," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "had not patience to stay till things ripened of themselves; but were every day forming designs, and plotting for the murder of Cromwell, and other insurrections; which, being contrived in drink, and managed by false and cowardly fellows, were still revealed to Cromwell, who had most excellent intelligence of all things that passed, even in the king's closet. And by these unsuccessful plots they were the only obstructors of what they sought to advance, while to speak truth, Cromwell's personal courage and magnanimity upheld him against all enemies and malcontents."\* Lambert encouraged the disaffected officers, who desired to set him up in Cromwell's place;

\* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 214.

eds,

"His ambition had this difference from the Protector's; the one was gallant and great; the other had nothing but an unworthy pride, most insolent in prosperity, and as abject and base in adversity." \* Mrs. Hutchinson says that the disaffected officers—"some of the Lambertonians"—proposed to gain admission to Cromwell with a petition, and then, whilst he was reading it, throw him out of a window at Whitehall into the Thames. Colonel Hutchinson became acquainted with the plot by chance; and revealed it to the Protector, "judging that Lambert would be the worse tyrant of the two." Hutchinson warned Cromwell against petitioners; but could not be prevailed upon to give any more information than was necessary to prevent the design. Royalists and fanatics, republicans and levellers, were all ready to assail the man who would not suffer them "to imbrue their hands in blood." On the 12th of March Cromwell received the Corporation of London at Whitehall, and explained the reasons which had induced him to dissolve the Parliament, in order to avert the dangers with which the government was threatened—invasions and insurrections—the Spaniard and the exiled being in league,—Royalists and Anabaptists plotting together. The marquis of Ormond only left London on Tuesday last, he told them;—the marquis of Ormond, who had come disguised to London on a mission from Charles Stuart. Ormond had gone away "on Tuesday last," upon a very intelligible hint. "There is an old friend of yours in town," said Cromwell to lord Broghill. "The marquis of Ormond lodges in Drury Lane, at the Papist surgeon's. It would be well for him if he were gone." Ormond was very soon at Bruges, and reported to Charles that Cromwell had better be left alone for the present. Nevertheless, London is ready for trying insurrection upon a limited scale. There was to have been a great outbreak on the 15th of May. The royalist leaders have lost heart now Ormond is gone; but there are malcontents ready for a rising—wild apprentices and other rash persons, who propose to fire houses, and do a considerable amount of slaughter. The Lieutenant of the Tower comes out with five pieces of artillery, and the apprentices get within their masters' houses as fast as possible. The ringleaders of this intended insurrection are seized at "the Mermaid in Cheapside." Others are arrested in the country. A High Court of Justice, appointed by Act of the last Parliament, is summoned for trial of the conspirators. Fifteen were arraigned; amongst whom were sir

\* "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 214.

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Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Hewit, an episcopal divine. These two were condemned and executed; although the highest interest was made to save their lives. Six of the insurrectionists were also condemned, of which number three suffered. There were no more insurrections during the life of Cromwell.

That life, like a brilliant sun-set in a stormy sky, has its parting glories. The foreign policy of the Protectorate was triumphant. The alliance with France was not a mere pretext for combined action rendered impossible by national jealousies on our part. When the English troops landed at Boulogne, the young king Lewis XIV. came to review them. Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador, said: "Sire, the Protector has enjoined both officers and soldiers to display the same zeal in the service of your majesty, as in his own." The French government construed this too literally, and thought that England was to have an equal share of danger and expense but a very disproportionate amount of advantage. The English were employed by France in securing fortresses in the interior, instead of in combined operations against Gravelines, and Mardike, and Dunkirk, on the coast, as stipulated by treaty. Cromwell was not a man to be duped. He ordered his ambassador to see that the treaty was carried out, or send the English troops home. Mazarin was not inclined to quarrel with the Protector, and so Mardike was besieged, and delivered provisionally to the English general. The next spring, amidst all his home distractions, Cromwell renewed the treaty of offensive alliance with France, and sent more troops. On the 25th of May Dunkirk was invested by the allied French and English army. Turenne was the commander. The town was defended by the marquis of Leyden. Don John of Austria marched from Brussels with a Spanish force to drive back the besiegers. Condé was with this army, and also the dukes of York and Gloucester. The Spaniard persisted in giving battle, against the advice of Condé. "Did you ever see a battle fought?" said Condé to the young duke of Gloucester. He had not. "Well: you will soon see a battle lost." The English, commanded by Lockhart, fought for four hours, and carried the most difficult posts. They were often opposed to their own countrymen, headed by the duke of York. This battle on the Dunes was a complete victory. On the 25th of June, Dunkirk surrendered; and the town was placed in the hands of the English. It was a compensation for the loss of Calais, as the nation thought. To have a footing on foreign ground was a proud thing for Eng-

land—a mistaken pride, but not an impolitic one in those days. Dunkirk was an English garrison, till—but it is unnecessary to anticipate the coming time of national degradation.

Triumphant abroad ; freed from insurgents at home ; Cromwell again looked towards a Parliament. Were the popular desires for monarchy to be gratified by a change of name ? Was the nation to accept the subtle argument of Lord Broghill, “there is at present but a divorce between the pretending king and the imperial crown of these nations, and we know that persons divorced may marry again ; but if the person be married to another it cuts off all hope.” Such might have been the Protector’s thoughts, until something more absorbing than worldly power or dignity obtruded itself to make him as anxious and wretched as the lowliest of those he ruled. His daughter, lady Claypole, was dying. In every domestic relation, son, husband, father, we see the tenderness of this man’s nature. In 1648 his eldest son was killed in battle. There is not a trace of his father’s sorrow in any letter or memorandum of the time ; till the new affliction calls up bitter remembrances out of the sacred depths. Lady Claypole died on the 6th of August, her father having been fourteen days watching by her bedside at Hampton Court, “unable to attend to any public business whatever.” A few days after, says Harvey, groom of his bedchamber, “he called for his Bible, and desired an honourable and godly person there, with others present, to read unto him that passage in Philippians fourth : ‘Not that I speak in respect of want : for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound : everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.’ Which read, said he, to use his own words as near as I can remember them : ‘This Scripture did once save my life, when my eldest son died ; which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did.’” A few months before, Cromwell had lost his son-in-law, Rich ; and then Rich’s grandfather, the earl of Warwick, the Protector’s one constant friend amongst the nobility, also died. Oliver’s stout heart was sorely bowed down by public cares and private griefs. He roused himself, however, and was out again at his duties. George Fox tells us something about the Protector’s looks, at this season, soon after the time when London was gay with ambassadors extraordinary from France ; and Mazarin’s nephew was there to assure the Pro-

tector of the profound veneration his uncle had for him—"the greatest man that ever was." The day was past for pomps and flatteries. "Taking boat I went to Kingston," says Fox, "and from thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the Protector about the sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into Hampton Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his Lifeguards, I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak to him, he bade me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston; and the next day went up to Hampton Court, to speak further with him. But when I came, Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the doctors were not willing that I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more." On the 24th of August, Cromwell left Hampton Court for Whitehall. Ten days of acute suffering, and then the end.

On the 30th of August, a mighty storm of wind filled the land with dismay. There is deeper cause for alarm to most men, for the Protector is dying. What is to come next? By the Instrument of Government he is to name his successor. His eldest son, Richard, is an idle country-gentleman, harmless, but somewhat incapable. Thurloe puts the question of Succession to the dying man. There is a sealed-up paper in a certain place at Hampton Court. The paper is not to be found. On the night of the 2nd of September, the question is put again. The answer, faintly breathed out, was said to be "Richard." That night, again one of terrible storm, was to usher in Cromwell's "Fortunate Day," the 3rd of September, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester. The prince and soldier passed away, in a state of insensibility, in the afternoon of that 3rd of September. The prayer which he addressed to Heaven a night or two before his death has a consistent reference to his public life; in connexion with his religious belief: "Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will come to thee, for Thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them,

and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer:—Even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night if it be Thy pleasure. Amen." At this time, "wherein his heart was so carried out for God and His people," says Harvey, "he seems to forget his own family and nearest relations." His last notion,—a wrong or right notion as men may differently conclude,—was that he had been an instrument of good to England. The night before his death he said, "I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and His people: but my work is done. Yet God will be with His People.



## CHAPTER V.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector.—General calm upon his succession to power.—Funeral of Oliver Cromwell.—A Parliament called.—Different Constitution of Parliament.—Conflicts between the Republican leaders and the majority.—Demands of the Army.—Richard Cromwell yields to their pretensions.—He is compelled by the Officers to dissolve the Parliament.—End of the Protectorate.—Assembly of the Long Parliament.—Resolutions that the Military power should be under the Civil.—Discussions as to the form of Government.—The Rota Club.—Disunion of Parties.—Royalist insurrection.—Sir George Booth defeated by Lambert.—Petitions of the Officers.—The Parliament, subjected to the Army, ceases to sit.—Committee of Safety.—Monk in Scotland.—Resolves to restore the Parliament.—Lambert sent against Monk.—The Parliament restored by the Council of Officers.—Monk marches to London.—Movements of the Royalists.—Disaffection in the City, which Monk is ordered to suppress.—His demand that a Parliament shall be called.—Popular exultation.—Monk restores the secluded Members.—The measures of the Parliamentary majority.—Charles's Court.—The Long Parliament finally dissolved.—Monk agrees to act for Charles.—Lambert's insurrection.—Meeting of the New Parliament.—The King's Letter.—Debates on the Bill of Indemnity.—Charles the Second proclaimed.—He lands at Dover.—His entry into London.

THE death of Oliver Cromwell was followed by no popular agitation—scarcely by any immediate demonstration of party dissensions. The Council was summoned. Evidence was given of the verbal declaration of the Protector that his son Richard should be his successor. Fleetwood, the lieutenant-general of the army, was thought by some to have been nominated to the succession in the paper which could not be discovered; but he gave his pledge to respect the appointment of Richard. On the 4th of September the new Protector was solemnly proclaimed; and he took the oath contained in the Instrument of Government. The ready acceptance by the nation of the son of the late ruler offers a proof that, during the contests of the Protectorate, its power had been gradually consolidating; and that the great name of the Protector remained as a shield for the weakness of his son. Richard was weak in all the essential qualities necessary for preserving an authority as legitimate not recognised by many. Mrs. Hutchinson describes him as "a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness." If, yielding to the flattering idea of hereditary succession, his father had really nominated him, that nomination must have been against his own previous convictions

of his eldest son's unfitness for government. On the contrary, his son Henry had displayed very high qualities as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He had shown firmness with conciliation; he had kept the land at peace and in subjection to the laws. Yet the accession of Richard Cromwell, if it excited no confidence in the people, produced no distrust. They saw a quiet and unambitious young man quietly take his father's seat; they scarcely thought that the mild indifference of authority may be more dangerous than its severe watchfulness. Abroad, the royalists were vexed and surprised at the calm in England. Hyde thought there would be great changes: "I cannot believe," he writes, "that all will submit to the government of this young coxcomb." Henrietta Maria, however, doubted whether any great advantages could accrue from "the death of that wretch," as she writes to Madame de Motteville. Three months after that important event, Hyde almost lost heart: "We have not yet found that advantage by Cromwell's death as we reasonably hoped; nay, rather, we are the worse for it, and the less esteemed, people imagining by the great calm that has followed that the nation is united, and that the king has very few friends." Foreign governments readily gave their adherence to the Commonwealth. The Court of France put on mourning to do honour to Oliver's memory. Nevertheless "the great calm" was gradually becoming disturbed. Within six weeks of his accession, a body of officers, headed by Fleetwood, presented a petition to Richard for such organic changes in the military constitution as would have placed all control of the army out of his hand. He mildly but firmly refused his assent, as contrary to the "Petition and Advice" on which the Protectorate was founded. Henry Cromwell saw the coming danger; and wrote to his brother, "I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his family before he is in his grave." Richard was not only harassed by the ambition of the officers, but had to encounter the greatest peril of governments, financial difficulties. His father had left no wealth—contrary to the belief of most persons. He had higher thoughts than those of making his family rich. Richard was soon embarrassed, the more so as the pompous funeral of the late Protector absorbed all his immediate resources, and left him greatly in debt. That funeral was deferred till the 23rd of November. The preparations for this public solemnity were upon an extravagant scale, utterly unsuited to the simple grandeur which the Protector had

affected in his life-time. Evelyn has briefly described this ceremonial: "Saw the superb funeral of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset House on a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigy, in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; the imperial banners, achievements, &c., by the heralds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour armed caparied; and, after all, his guards, soldiers, and innumerable mourners." Evelyn adds, "in this equipage they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw; for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went." Ludlow, speaking with similar contempt of this pageantry, says, of the lying in state, "This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerset House."

In the middle of November, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell that when the funeral was over the Council would begin business, "if troubles do not begin before." The Council met on the 29th and resolved on calling a Parliament. It was not to be such a Parliament as Oliver had called. The old Representative system was to be restored. Small and decayed Boroughs, which had been disfranchised, were again to elect burgesses. Commercial towns, such as Manchester, which had grown into importance, were again to cease to have members. The loss of ancient privileges by petty communities had given more offence than the gain of new franchises by large sections of the people had afforded satisfaction. The government strove as much as possible to exclude the Republicans from Parliament; but it was not successful to a great extent. Many in the service of the government obtained seats. The Royalists influenced many of the elections, but few declared Royalists offered themselves as candidates. The Parliament, which met on the 29th of January, appeared to contain more moderate men than violent partisans. There was nothing in its composition to indicate that the Protectorate would become insecure through legislative action. The Lords, or Upper House, were summoned by the Protector's writ, as the Lords of Oliver had been summoned. The members of both Houses were required to take

the oath to the government. Some few republicans refused, and did not take their seats. Ludlow, and probably others, evaded the oath; and, after some dispute, were permitted to sit. The passions of various factions soon manifested themselves. A bill having been proposed "for a recognition of the Protector," no dislike was exhibited towards Richard Cromwell. On the contrary, even the strong Republicans spoke kindly of him: "If you think of a Single Person, I would have him sooner than any man alive," said Scott,—one of the most violent against the late Protector. But the Republicans came back to their old assertion of the right of Parliament alone to exercise the government, as it had been exercised before the dissolution of the Long Parliament. By that action, said Vane, they lost their possession, not their right. "The chief magistrate's place was assumed without a law." It was dangerous to confess a title in being that was not of their own giving, maintained Vane. After long and violent debates, the Bill for the recognition of the Protector was passed. The Royalists looked on rejoicingly at these conflicts; believing that they would end in confusion. There was still greater disagreement when the question came to be debated, whether there should be two Houses. The Commons voted that the Parliament should consist of two Houses; but then proceeded to discuss the bounds and powers of the other House. After weeks of debate, it was resolved, by a considerable majority, that the House would treat with the persons now sitting in the other House, as a House of Parliament; and that such Peers as had been faithful to the Parliament might be summoned to serve as Members of that House. The Republicans and the Royalists were beaten.

But, however triumphant at Westminster, as to these material points, there was a power yet unpropitiated, which Oliver could control, but which was wholly unmanageable by the gentle hand of Richard. Soon after his accession he said to the officers who came to him with a petition, "It is my disadvantage that I have been so little amongst you, and am no better known to you." He now began to feel how great was this disadvantage. There were some regiments, commanded by his friends, of whose fidelity the young Protector had no doubt. The armies of Scotland and Ireland were equally faithful. But the violent sectarian soldiers disliked his moderation. He was threatened by Desborough that the army would desert him if he attempted to conciliate the Royalists. It was objected against him that he preferred others beside "the godly." The Parliament

and the Army were secret antagonists. Their mutual hostility soon became manifest. Looking merely at their legislative influence, it was no serious evil that the most signal strokes of the policy of the late Protector had been condemned by the few Republican members; that they reprobated the peace with the Dutch; the alliance with France; the war with Spain. They were insensible to the real triumphs of Oliver; they were indifferent to the high position in which he had placed his country amongst the nations. They made no allowance for the difficulties he had experienced in restraining contending factions at the least expenditure of blood. They hated the participation of one Single Person in the power of a Parliament; and that hatred made them little careful to avoid the old strifes. But there was a serious danger when the Army fell in with this humour; and saw, with jealousy, a majority of the Parliament inclined to peace and moderation. Richard indiscreetly consented to the appointment of a general Council of Officers. Five hundred assembled at Wallingford House. A violent test was proposed, which was indeed laid aside, but they came to resolutions which aimed at separating the command of the Army from the Civil Power. The Parliament soon saw its danger. A member, lord Falkland, said, "You have been a long time talking of three Estates; there is a fourth which, if not well looked-to, will turn us all out of doors." The House of Commons then voted that no general Council of Officers should be held without permission of the Protector and the Parliament; and that every officer should sign an engagement that he would not disturb the free meetings or proceedings of Parliament. Richard was urged to be firm. He went amongst the officers at Wallingford House; and told them that he would see their complaints righted in Parliament, but that he dissolved their Council. The Council obstinately continued to sit. Those officers who were devoted to the Protector urged him to adopt some strong measure. Richard shrank from the responsibility: "I have never done anybody any harm," he exclaimed, "and I never will: I will not have a drop of blood spilt for the preservation of my greatness, which is a burden to me." Broghill, and Howard, and other faithful friends, saw that one course alone was possible to avert military despotism or anarchy—to restore the legitimate king. Richard himself was solicited to assist in this object; but he refused to forsake the cause to which he was committed. It was soon manifest that the power of the Protector was coming to an end. His brother-in-law, Fleetwood,

his relative, Desborough, deserted him. The few officers who were faithful were abandoned by their men. Desborough came from St. James's to Whitehall—from St. James's, where the whole army was ordered to rendezvous, to Whitehall, where Richard had been deserted by his own guards—and demanded that the Parliament should be dissolved. Richard at length yielded, making it a condition that he should not be required to dissolve the House in person. An ordinance was issued, which Fiennes, as Commissioner of the Great Seal, was ordered to communicate to Parliament. On the 22nd of April the Commons was summoned to the Upper House. Very few went. Those who remained behind passed various resolutions, violent in proportion to their impotence. In the evening a Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament was issued, and upon the doors of the House of Commons padlocks were fastened. The Army was supreme, with no master-mind to direct its supremacy.

With the fall of the Parliament fell Richard Cromwell. "His Highness," wrote Thurloe to Lockhart, "is now excluded from having any share in the government, and must retire as a private gentleman." He still continued to reside at Whitehall. But all real government was at an end. The army became insubordinate. All power of directing the affairs of the nation seemed lost. In this emergency, the officers and the republican leaders of the Commons coalesced; and it was determined to restore the Long Parliament. After much difficulty forty-two of the old Members were gathered together; and that anomalous authority commenced, which was destined ignominiously to expire under the name of "The Rump." Richard Cromwell soon after left Whitehall. Henry Cromwell took no part in public affairs. The wife of Cromwell—the "domestic drudge" as she was called in the lampoons of the time—had made little provision for a transition from Whitehall to a plain country-house. The whole family passed into obscurity—humbled, but not disgraced.

A sufficient number of members of the Long Parliament having been assembled to form a House, "We went," says Ludlow, "to take our places, Mr. Lenthall, our Speaker, leading the way; and the officers of the Army lining the rooms for us, as we passed through the Painted Chamber, the Court of Requests, and Lobby itself; the principal officers having placed themselves nearest to the door of the Parliament House, every one seeming to rejoice at our restitution, and promising to live and die with us." Such

promises are easily made and easily broken in revolutionary periods. The first step of the Parliament was to appoint a Committee of Safety; and, subsequently, a Council of State. The Council was composed of soldiers and civilians, in nearly equal proportion. They were sincere and zealous men, faithful to their great idea of a Republic, of which all the authority should abide in a Parliament. But the theory of parliamentary supremacy soon reduced itself to the more practical question—which power should be supreme, the civil or the military? The Parliament asserted its claims with resolute independence. Fleetwood was to be appointed Commander-in-Chief; “but instead of authorising the Lieutenant-General to grant commissions to such officers as should be appointed by the Parliament, it was ordered that the said commissions should be subscribed by the Speaker, and received from his hands; by which it was endeavoured to bring the military sword under the power of the civil authority, as it ought to be in a free nation.” Ludlow, who relates this, adds: “But observing that these things were greatly disliked by the officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our cause to maintain a good correspondence between the Parliament and the Army, I earnestly pressed the House not to insist upon the restrictions.”\* The Parliament, however, was firm, and the officers submitted, though with an ill grace. The government was in the hands of men of decision and energy. Its foreign policy was conciliatory. It professed its desire for peace; and though abandoning somewhat of the high tone of Cromwell, it averted some immediate dangers by its moderation. But the people of England had no confidence in the stability of the dominion of this remnant of the Parliament, which was a necessity during the Civil War, but was unsuited to the monarchical traditions of the country, revived, to a certain extent, in the “some thing approaching to monarchy” of Oliver. The ultimate form of government was a constant matter of debate within the House. Beyond its walls every theory of the perfection of a Commonwealth was anxiously discussed. Harrington, who had twelve years before been “disputing about government” with Charles I., was now disputing “daily at coffee-houses.” In 1659, writes Aubrey, “at the beginning of Michaelmas time, he had every night a meeting at the Turk’s Head, in the New Palace Yard, where they take water—the next house to the stairs, at one Miles’s—where was made purposely a large oval table, with a passage in the mid-

\* “Memoirs,” p. 660.



dle for Miles to deliver his coffee. About it sate his disciples and the virtuosi." The arguments in the Parliament House were, to Aubrey, "flat" by comparison with this talk of the "virtuosi;" who had a balloting-box, and balloted "how things should be carried,"—how "the third part of the House should rote out by ballot every year, so that every ninth year the House would be wholly altered;—no magistrate to continue above three years, and all to be chosen by ballot." Pepys went to Harrington's Club in January, 1660, "and heard very good discourse." The Parliament continued debating; with real dangers all around. The greatest danger was in its own divisions. "Parties are like so many floating islands, sometimes joining and appearing like a continent; when the next flood or ebb separates them; so that it can hardly be known where they will be next."\*

As the natural result of this disunion, a royalist insurrection was organised. The old Cavalier party in England had been wholly inactive since the death of Oliver. The probability is, that if the hand of Richard had been sufficiently strong to have held the Army in due subordination to the civil authority, and the Parliament could thus have proceeded in its duties without molestation, the country would have gradually settled down under a government which afforded security for property, and continued stability for the various interests that had acquired a firm footing during ten years. But under the disunited republicans who had obtained possession of power, the restoration of Charles the Second became a fixed idea that gradually took possession of many minds besides those of the more devoted Royalists. The impatience of the king's adherents was the most likely source of injury to the king's cause. This impatience was for some time kept down by the prudence of Hyde. But a general plan of insurrection was at length completed in July. The Parliament obtained a knowledge of the project, and took the most active measures of precaution. Charles and his brother James met at Calais, with the intention of proceeding to England. But the chief leaders of the proposed insurrection were intimidated; and the Royalists saw that the time for united action was not yet come. Sir George Booth had, however, appeared in arms in Cheshire, on the 1st of August. In a few days he was at the head of several thousand men, and had obtained possession of the citadel of Chester. Large additional forces were immediately raised by the Parliament; and their command was en-

\* Letter of 3rd June, quoted in Guizot's "Richard Cromwell," vol. i. p. 183.

trusted to Lambert. He left London at the head of an adequate force, and marched rapidly to Chester. The defeat of Sir George Booth and his party was complete. The Royalist cause appeared again to be hopeless. Lambert returned to London at a very slow pace. The Parliament had voted him a thousand pounds to buy a jewel; but he came not to receive their thanks in person. He was preparing, in concert with officers in London, to dispute their authority. A Petition had been presented to the House from the officers under his command. It was to repeat certain demands for appointment of General Officers, which had been proposed before the Parliament had been restored. The House now voted against the prayer of the Petition. Other meetings of officers were held, and another Petition was resolved upon. These movements were evidently preparations for a rupture between the two powers of the State. The quarrel became serious. Lambert, Desborough, and other officers were dismissed from their posts; and Fleetwood was removed from his command of the Army. On the 13th of October, Westminster was surrounded by troops upon whose fidelity the Parliament relied. Lambert boldly marched thither at the head of his regiment. A conflict appeared likely to take place; but Lambert addressed the troops, and they quickly went over to him. Lenthall, the Speaker, was stopped by the soldiers, who laughed at him when he said he was their chief general. There was a conference between the civil and military members of the Council of State which ended in a resolution that the Parliament should cease to sit; and that the maintenance of public tranquillity should rest with the Council of Officers.

The Committee of Safety appointed by the Army began to exercise the functions of administration on the 23rd of October. On the 30th the French ambassador writes to Mazarin, "There is as yet no government established in England, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made for some days by the leaders of the Army, and some ministers of the Council of State, to agree to one. . . . The conjuncture seems favourable for all sorts of enterprises."\* There was one, far distant from the scene of confusion, who was watching what this conjuncture would bring forth. George Monk, "the sly fellow" as Cromwell termed him, was courted by the republican leaders, civil and military; but he gave no signs of adhesion to any faction. His army in Scotland was entirely devoted to him. Like its commander, that army had no great sym-

\* Guizot, Appendix 1, vol. ii.

pathy with the movements of the soldiers in London. The Royalists had long been making efforts to engage Monk in their cause. But Monk would not stir at the invitation of any party. Charles himself wrote to Monk, and the letter was placed in the hands of Monk's brother, a humble clergyman. He was afraid to be the bearer of it; but he committed it to memory, and proceeded to his brother's head-quarters at Dalkeith. Booth's insurrection was known; and Monk was about to take some decided resolve. The news of Booth's defeat by Lambert arrived, and Monk was saved from a premature declaration against the Parliament. His soldiers had thought that their general was the man to fill the void occasioned by the death of Cromwell; but he was too cautious to risk this perilous advancement. When he believed the opportunity had passed for taking any steps to restore the Stuarts, he sent a letter to the Speaker, Lenthall, asking to retire from public life. The letter was suppressed by Lenthall; and soon afterwards, the Parliament was ejected. Monk immediately took his resolution. He addressed the troops at Edinburgh; told them that the army in England had broken up Parliament, to hinder the settlement of the nation; that they would next attempt to impose their insolent extravagances upon the army in Scotland; and that he was resolved to keep the military power in obedience to the civil; they had received their pay and commission from the Parliament, and it was their duty to defend it. He wrote letters to declare his intentions to Lambert and Fleetwood, and to the Speaker, Lenthall. He cashiered those officers who opposed his views, which were expressly limited to a resistance to military tyranny in England. To every approach of the Royalists he was inflexibly cold and distant. In London, the determination of Monk produced the greatest alarm amongst the factions. Their views were vacillating and discordant. At one time, they thought of recalling Richard Cromwell to the Protectorship. They finally resolved to send a deputation to Monk to effect a reconciliation; and if that failed to proceed to a trial of strength in battle. Lambert was appointed commander of the troops in the north. More soldiers were raised in London; and a loan from the City was asked of the Common Council. It was refused. The commissioners sent to Monk executed their commission, and represented to him the dangers which surrounded his course. He called a Council of his officers; and it was agreed that three commissioners should proceed to London to negotiate with the army there. Monk had given them instructions to en-

deavour to gain time; but contrary to his instructions they had, in three days, concluded a treaty with the Committee of Safety, by which the government was left in the administration of a Council of Officers, no provision was made for the recall of the Parliament, and Monk's own appointment of officers was to be revised. Great indignation was excited in Monk's army, and it was resolved that the treaty should not be ratified. Nine members of the old Council of State that had been thrust from office by the army now resolved to make common cause with Monk. He had marched to Berwick, with six thousand infantry, and four regiments of cavalry. He now fixed his head-quarters at Coldstream, where he could easily cross the Tweed. He had written to the Common Council of London, to declare his intentions; and he was proclaimed as a deliverer by some members of the old Council of State. The people were universally discontented, refusing to pay taxes, and shouting for a free Parliament. The fleet, under the command of admiral Lawson, declared that they would obey no authority but that of a Parliament. The various leaders, civil and military, were fiercely quarrelling. Some even of the republicans talked of the restoration of the king. At last it was resolved to call a new Parliament. On the 15th of December a proclamation was issued, summoning a Parliament to meet on the 24th of January. The country was under no law but that of the tyranny of detached bands of soldiers, roving about at free quarters. Mrs. Hutchinson has described a scene to which there were probably many parallels;—outrages that went on, "till the law was again in force:—"

"Six of Lambert's troopers came to gather money, laid upon the country by an assessment of Parliament, whom the colonel telling that in regard it was levied by that authority, he had paid it, but otherwise would not; two of them, who were in the room with the colonel, the rest being on horseback in the court, gave him such insolent terms with such insufferable reproaches of the Parliament, that the colonel drew a sword which was in the room to have chastised them. While a minister that was by held the colonel's arm, his wife, not willing to have them killed in her presence, opened the door and let them out, who presently ran and fetched in their companions in the yard with cocked pistols. Upon the bustle, while the colonel having disengaged himself from those that held him, was run after them with the sword drawn, his brother came out of another room, upon whom, the soldiers pressing against a door that went into the great hall, the door flew open,

and about fifty or sixty men appeared in the hall who were there upon another business. For Owthrope, Knolton, and Hitchin, had a contest about a cripple that was sent from one to the other; but at last, out of some respect they had for the colonel, the chief men of the several towns were come to him, to make some accommodation, till the law should be again in force. When the colonel heard the soldiers were come, he left them shut up in his great hall; who by accident thus appearing, put the soldiers into a dreadful fright. When the colonel saw how pale they looked, he encouraged them to take heart, and calmly admonished them of their insolence; and they being changed and very humble through their fear, he called for wine for them, and sent them away. To the most insolent of them he said, 'These carriages would bring back the Stuarts.' The man, laying his hand upon his sword, said, 'Never while he wore that.' Among other things, they said to the colonel, when he demanded by what authority they came, they showed their swords, and said, 'That was their authority.'

The necessity for some immediate authority beyond that of the Council of Officers at length became manifest to the Army in London. It was resolved to restore the expelled Parliament. The Generals saw that their power was gone. Fleetwood sent the keys of the House of Commons to Lenthall; and on the 26th of December, forty members, with the Speaker at their head, again entered this House, the scene of so many strange transactions, whilst groups of soldiers shouted their approval, in the torch-light which glared upon anxious faces of men who had more natural fears than reasonable hopes. A contest took place the instant Lenthall had taken the chair. Twenty-three of the members who had been excluded in 1648, demanded admittance, as they had previously demanded on the 7th of May. The House resolved to take the business of the absent members into consideration on the 5th of January. They withdrew to abide their time. Lambert was at Newcastle, and Monk at Coldstream. But Fairfax, who had been in correspondence with Monk, assembled his friends and dependents; and some of Lambert's officers joined him with their men. He entered York and was welcomed by the Cavaliers of that city. Lambert marched to attack Fairfax, and Monk crossed the Tweed to support him. At Wooler, Monk received a cold letter from the Parliament that had re-commenced its sittings; and he learnt that Lambert's troops had been ordered to return to their several quarters. When he reached Newcastle

he found Lambert's army disbanded. He went on to York, and saw Fairfax. But he maintained a strict reserve as to his future plans; and he struck an officer with his cane who said that Monk would bring in Charles Stuart. The Royalists abroad were perplexed. The Republicans in London were suspicious. Monk sent forward his chaplain, Gumble, to express his opinions to the Parliament on certain important points of administration. Gumble wrote to Monk some truths as to the character of the parliamentary leaders: "The prevailing and governing influence of the Parliament is reduced into the hands of a few and inconsiderable persons,—either harebrained and hot-headed fools, or obscure and disregarded knaves." They talked of sending the prudent and trimming Whitelocke to the Tower, and voted that the enthusiastic and honest Vane should cease to be a member of the House. Their chief thought was to propitiate Monk. He had taken his determination to march to London—with what ultimate purpose beyond that of asserting the power of civil government was uncertain. He left many of his troops in York and others he sent to Scotland. With four regiments of foot and three of horse, he went on, amidst popular acclamations. But he would enter into no promises or make any special demonstration. He was but a servant, he said, of the Parliament, and all great questions must be left to the Parliament. He was suspected by the two Commissioners that the House had sent to him; but his wariness eluded all their curiosity, even while he was receiving agents from the Royalists abroad. On the 28th of January he sent from St. Albans a letter to the Speaker, pointing out the necessity that the troops in and near London should be removed—it was not for their service that the soldiers who had been so lately in rebellion against the Parliament should mingle with his faithful troops. His proposals were agreed to, "partly from some sparks of hope that Monk could not be such a devil as to betray a trust so freely reposed in him." \*

The Royalists, meanwhile, were far from inactive. Some who had lived quietly under the rule of Oliver, and had not stirred whilst the government which had succeeded him was confined within some limits of legal order, now moved, however cautiously, to bring about the restoration of the ancient monarchy. Such was Evelyn. On the 22nd of January he writes in his Diary, "I went this afternoon to visit colonel Morley." Morley was one of the

\* Ludlow, "Memoirs," p. 816.

Commissioners appointed by the Long Parliament to the command of the army; and he was faithful to his trust, when Lambert, on the 13th of October, was proceeding to Westminster to dissolve the Parliament, for Morley met him, pistol in hand, and said he would shoot him if he did not go back, upon which threat Lambert went another way. Evelyn first approached Morley by sending him a tract he had written, entitled "An Apology for the Royal Party;" and he afterwards addressed a letter to him, exhorting him, by the remembrance of their ancient friendship, to aid "in restoring us to our ancient known laws, native and most happy liberties."\* Morley, in January, 1660, was Lieutenant of the Tower of London: "I went this afternoon to visit colonel Morley. After dinner, I discoursed with him; but he was very jealous, and would not believe that Monk came in to do the king any service. I told him he might do it without him, and have all the honour. He was still doubtful, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I took leave." Evelyn, four months after, writes: "O, the sottish omission of this gentleman! What did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation, to have brought him over to his majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands." On the 3rd of February Monk entered London. For two days the capital had been in uproar. The regiments that had been ordered to march, had refused to obey. The apprentices were parading the city in formidable bands, crying out for "a free Parliament." Pepys, the most amusing of diarists, presents us many glimpses of events through the "blanket of the dark" which the graver historians pass over. On the 25th of January, a gibbet is set up in Cheapside, and "the picture of Hewson hung upon it in the middle of the street,"—Hewson, the shoemaker-Lord, that Warwick would not sit with. People in the midst of their alarms, eat and drink as usual; and Pepys' wife, on the 26th, "had got ready a very fine dinner." On the 30th he records: "This morning, before I was up, I fell a singing of my song, 'Great, good and just,' and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since, his majesty died." Montrose's lines were probably in the minds of other Royalists on that anniversary. On the 2nd of February he saw the Strand full of soldiers; and "saw the foot face the horse and beat them back, and stood bawling and calling in the street for a free Parliament and money." The next morning the soldiers were all quiet. Pepys saw Monk march in: "In his passing through the town he had

\* Appendix to Evelyn's "Diary," No. II.



many calls to him for a free Parliament, but little other welcome." He was lodged in Whitehall. The troops who came to preserve order were not very orderly. On the 7th, Pepys writes, "In the palace I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting-place there, and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly, and were to blame." On the 9th, Monk is gone to the City. There is arbitrary work there; but the calm progress of the law is uninterrupted, for Pepys hears "an action very finely pleaded in Westminster Hall." Monk went to the City by command of the Parliament. It was believed in the House that the powerful general was wholly with them. The more obscure Republicans were the leading spirits in the House. There was no commanding genius to call up a new and vigorous Commonwealth out of the expiring embers of "the good old cause." The destinies of the nation were in the hands of the cold, sullen, impenetrable George Monk, who chewed his tobacco in ominous silence, opening his heart to no man. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, had voted that they would pay no taxes, but such as were imposed by a free Parliament. The Council of State sent for Monk, and proposed that the Common Council should be forbidden to sit, the gates of the City broken down, the portcullises wedged up, and the chains across the streets removed. All the material means of resistance were to be destroyed. Monk said that he would do these things if they would give the order. "He added," says Ludlow, "that the disaffection of the City was so great, that they would never be quiet, till some of them were hanged." This ready consent of Monk to an unpopular act of violence may be doubted. However, on the morning of the 9th, before the citizens were awake, and the great shutters of the shops had been dropped down, Monk and his men were marching to the neighbourhood of Guildhall. He explained his orders to his officers. Some remonstrated. "Will you not obey the orders of the Parliament?" was his answer. The posts and chains were then attacked, amidst the indignation of the people. A deputation of leading citizens came to him, to complain of the force thus used by those whom they thought their friends. He told them that his orders were to take down the gates as well as the chains; but that he would request the Parliament to suspend the further execution of their commands. The Parliament was indignant; sent an order to Monk to execute his instructions to the letter; ordered that the Common Council should be dissolved, and a new Council elected,

with such qualifications as Parliament should dictate. The next morning Monk and his soldiers went to the completion of the work prescribed to them. In the evening of the 10th he returned to Whitehall. The slow man now came to a decisive resolution. He had seen the temper of the people, and he was prepared to defy those who claimed to be his masters. He called a Council of his officers; and they agreed upon a letter to Parliament, expressing the public grievances, and requiring them to satisfy the nation's just demands before a certain day. Early in the morning he and his army were on their way to the City; and the troops were halted in Finsbury Fields. Monk waited on the Lord Mayor; requested him to summon a meeting of the Common Council at four o'clock; and the civic dignitaries and the general and his officers sate down to dinner. Two members deputed by the House arrived to confer with Monk. His letter, which was of the boldest character, had thrown the Parliament into consternation. He was urged to return to Whitehall. Monk's only reply was, "All will be well if you attend to the letter, and issue out your writs on Friday for filling up your House." Monk went to the Common Council and told them what he had done. Guildhall resounded with cries of "God bless your Excellency!" The soldiers were feasted. The cry went forth throughout London of "Down with the Rump." Pepys has described, as none but an eye-witness could describe, the scene of that night: "In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King street seven or eight; and all along burning and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side."

Charles and his Court were at Brussels when the news reached them of these events in London. "They thought all their sufferings

over," says Clarendon. And yet the best informed men in London, whether republican or royalist, could not penetrate the thick veil of Monk's real intentions. Aubrey, who lived a gossiping life in places of public resort, and had access to persons of influence, says of certain friends, "they were satisfied that he [Monk] no more intended or designed the king's restoration, when he came into England, or first came to London, than his horse did." Sir Henry Vane, after the menacing letter had been written to the Parliament, said to Ludlow, that "unless he were much mistaken, Monk had yet several masks to put off." Ludlow went to see him in the City, and after much discourse Monk exclaimed, "Yea, we must live and die together for a Commonwealth." Whatever were his real intentions, he maintained his ascendancy by the most earnest professions of fidelity to the republican party and their opinions. Yet his actions were more than doubtful. The House had twice resolved that the secluded Members should not be admitted. Monk had determined the contrary. The infusion of so many of these who had been originally thrust out of Parliament for the moderation of their opinions, was the surest way to neutralise the power of the republican faction, who clung to authority with a tenacity that indicated their real weakness. Monk, on the 21st of February, sent an escort of his soldiers to accompany a body of the secluded Members to the House of Commons, he having previously read them a speech, in which he formally declared for a Commonwealth. When they took their seats the greatest heats were exhibited; and some of the Republicans withdrew from the House. Seventeen of them went in a body to Monk, to demand his reasons for these proceedings. He protested his zeal to a Commonwealth Government; "and they then pressed him more home by demanding, if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party?" He took off his glove, and putting his hand within sir Arthur Haslerig's hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting-up of Charles Stuart, a Single Person or a House of Peers." Ludlow, who records this, says that Monk then expostulated with them touching their suspicions, saying, "What is it that I have done in bringing these Members into the House? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block? though others cut off his head, and that justly." The Members thus restored by Monk were chiefly of that great Presbyterian body who had been ejected by the Independents; and who now expected that they

should be strong enough, in the event of the restoration of the monarchy, to make terms for the establishment of their form of Church government. They immediately became a majority in Parliament; appointed Monk general-in-chief; formed a new Council of State; and superseded sheriffs, justices of the peace, and militia officers, who were supporters of republican institutions. The Covenant was again to be promulgated; the Confession of Faith of the Assembly of Divines to be adopted; the penal laws against Catholics, which Cromwell rarely put in force, were to be called into full vigour. The tendencies of some of the members towards monarchy were still very feebly indicated. Uncertainty everywhere prevailed, whilst the man who had the power of the sword was well known to have no fixed principles of politics or religion—was more greedy of wealth than excited by any daring ambition—and would only declare himself by some irrevocable action when he had made up his mind as to the probable success and permanency of King or Commonwealth. On the 2nd of March, Pepys writes: "Great is the talk of a Single Person, and that it would now be Charles, George, or Richard. For the last of which, my lord St. John is said to speak high. Great also is the dispute now in the House, in whose name the writs shall run for the next Parliament; and it is said that Mr. Prynne, in open House, said, 'In king Charles's!'" Admiral Montague had been appointed "general at sea," the republican admiral Lawson being put aside. He was the patron of Pepys, and told him, on the 6th of March, that there were great endeavours to bring in the Protector again, but that he did not think it would last long if he were brought in. Montague added, "No, nor the king neither—though he seems to think he will come in—unless he carry himself very soberly and well." How Charles carried himself was perfectly well known to his most zealous friends—even to those who themselves lived "soberly and well." When a proposal was made to Oliver Cromwell that Charles should marry his daughter, the Protector objected his "debauched life" as an insuperable difficulty. The Royalists, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, saw no such objection in the marriage of Charles with the State of England. Very curious combinations of men long separated were now forming. Old faithful friends of his house were flocking to the king at Breda. Amongst them now and then appeared some country gentleman, whose clothes were of a soberer hue and a more English cut, than those of Charles's habitual courtiers. These had discarded the love-locks of the

Cavaliers, their slashed doublets and flowing mantles, for the hideous periwigs and embroidered surtouts of the Parisian fashion. The staid royalist, who for some twenty years had seen no court costume, wondered at the metamorphosis; and might fancy that there was more sympathy between himself and the Puritan in neat and decorous habit of plain black,—neat from the band to the shoe-tie,—than the men in the ugliest of laced liveries, who bent double when they approached their exiled prince, and then turned to Wilmot or Buckingham to laugh at the stalest jest or the newest scandal. Very tarnished were the gold and silver embroideries of the courtiers at Brussels, or Breda, or the Hague, in the early spring of 1660, when Englishmen from home gathered about them. "Their clothes were not worth forty shillings, the best of them," says Pepys. London soon sent money to the exiles, and Paris was ready to provide fineries of which the Louvre might have been proud. For there was a growing confidence that the Commonwealth was fast coming to an end. Men, by a sort of instinctive feeling, were setting up the King's arms; and drinking the King's health, though Monk and his bands were still dominating in the City and at Whitehall. The Long Parliament was to terminate its sittings on the 16th of March. On the 13th, that once formidable republican assembly voted that the oath of a Member of Parliament—to be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords,"—should be abolished. On the 15th of March the popular sentiment was manifested at the Royal Exchange. A statute of Charles I. had been removed after the tragedy of the 30th January; and in the niche where it stood was written, "*Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini 1648.*" For twelve years few had ventured to affirm that "tyrant and the last of kings" were words of offence; or had asserted that the year 1648 was not the first year of the restored liberty of England. On the evening of the 15th of March, a ladder was placed against this niche; soldiers stood around; a house painter mounted the ladder, painted out the inscription, and waving his cap, shouted "God bless King Charles the Second!" Again bonfires blazed in the streets. On the 16th of March, the Parliament met to vote their own dissolution, and England hoped that a long term of rest and security had been earned by the sufferings and changes of twenty years. Some few uplifted their voices against the inevitable event; and still clung

to their faith in a Commonwealth; to their assured belief that liberty and peace would be best maintained by the absolute authority of a "Grand or General Council of the Nation." This was Vane's opinion, having no misgivings for his past actions and no dread of his future lot, even though it were the hardest: "He had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions God had enabled him to do for the Commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant testimony thereto."\* This was also his friend Milton's opinion: "What I have spoken is the language of that which is not called amiss, the good old cause: if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders: thus much I should, perhaps, have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to but with the prophet, 'O earth, earth, earth!' to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not who didst create mankind free! nor Thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty."†

The clouded determinations of Monk were very soon becoming more transparent. He had secretly received his cousin, sir John Grenville, who had long sought an interview in vain to deliver a letter from the king. He would write no letter in answer; but he entrusted Grenville to promise to Charles that he would be his devoted servant. Monk made no conditions, but he tendered some advice—that there should be a general amnesty, with only four exceptions; that the possessors of confiscated property should not be disturbed; that there should be liberty of conscience. Grenville repaired to the king at Brussels, where they met in secret. A more formal body of envoys from England now presented themselves to the king—a deputation of Presbyterians, who came to offer the same terms which had been proposed to his father in the Isle of Wight. The Parliament was to have the control of the army; the Civil War was to be declared lawful; new patents of nobility were to be annulled. Charles laughed in his sleeve. "Little do they think," he said, "that general Monk and I are upon such good terms." The Presbyterians believed that they alone had any chance of success. "Leave the game in our hands," they said to the Cavaliers. They probably thought cor-

\* Ludlow, p. 828.

† "Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth."

rectly that Charles was indifferent as to the form of worship under which England should be when he came to be king. But they knew that Hyde was devoted to the restoration of the Anglican Church, as a necessary consequence of the restoration of the monarchy. They wished that Hyde should be expelled from power or influence, and used the strongest arguments to induce the belief that the Restoration could not be accomplished whilst he was a royal counsellor. In spite of their conviction of Monk's adhesion to their cause, the few to whom Charles had entrusted the secret of his correspondence with him, still sometimes doubted. The French ambassador tried to obtain Monk's confidence. He would give no opinion as to the future Government of England. That must be settled by the next Parliament. Monk's real opinions were the less necessary to be disclosed; for all England was becoming impatient for the Restoration. Old servants of the Commonwealth—Broghill, and Thurloe, and Lenthall—offered to Charles their submission and their advice. The king, from mixed motives of indolence and prudence, suffered matters to proceed without committing himself to any party, or making any engagements for his future conduct. He yielded to Monk's advice in one particular. He left the Spanish Netherlands, and established himself at Breda.

In the midst of the apparent certainty of the Restoration being at hand, a new cause of alarm suddenly arose. Lambert had been committed to the Tower, when Monk's interest became predominant. He escaped on the 9th of April, and was speedily at the head of some soldiers, who had revolted; and, marching through the midland counties, he called upon all to join him who would preserve the Commonwealth. Monk sent Ingoldsby to encounter Lambert; and declared to Grenville that, if Lambert met with any success, he would no longer have any reservation, but act in the king's name and under his commission, to summon the Royalists arms. On the 22nd of April, Lambert and his men were met at Daventry by Ingoldsby's troops. A parley was proposed; but Ingoldsby refused any accommodation. The two armies had advanced close to each other, and the conflict seemed imminent, when Lambert's cavalry threw away their pistols; and their leader was quickly a prisoner. The last battle of the Commonwealth had now to be fought at the hustings. The elections took place. A few of the old republicans were returned. Some members were elected who believed that the restoration of the monarchy could



be effected, without losing any of the liberties which had been won since the days of Laud and Strafford. The greater number were men who were either led away by a fever of loyalty, or were indifferent to any re-action which would end the struggles and uncertainties of twenty years. It was impossible that a king thus restored amidst a conflict of passions and prejudices—of old hatreds and new ambitions—should be forward to make any professions of public duty, or cherish any deep affection for the people he was to govern. It was fortunate that Charles was only a heartless voluptuary, and was too selfish in his craving for ease and pleasure, to add the personal energy of the tyrant to the almost inevitable tyranny of those who believed that the king and the people could return to the same condition in which they were before Hampden refused to pay ship-money. The king's position with regard to the Church was, in a similar degree, under the control of the same spirit of indifference. Secretly a Papist, openly a scoffer, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent might harass each other, so that Charles was quiet. He fancied himself most safe with those who professed to believe that his authority was divine; and that "Render unto Cæsar" meant, if rightly interpreted, Let Cæsar's will be the one law.

Five hundred and fifty-six members had been elected to the House of Commons, the greater number of whom took their seats on the 26th of April. Ten Peers only met in the House of Lords on that day. Presbyterians and Cavaliers looked suspiciously at each other; but the Presbyterians, more accustomed to act in union, manœuvred that one of their party should be elected Speaker. The first business of both Houses was to return thanks to Monk for his services, and the Lords voted that a statue should be erected in his honour. Colonel Ingoldsby also received the thanks of the Commons for his prompt action against Lambert. The House was not yet in the humour to forget the sound advice of Monk to the Lords when he returned them his thanks—"to look forward and not backward in transacting affairs." The Cavaliers soon made the House and the nation understand that the day of a triumphant re-action was fast approaching. Their spirit spread amongst the moderate and independent: "Every one hoped in this change to change their condition, and disowned all things they had before advised. Every ballad singer sang up and down the streets ribald rhymes, made in reproach of the late Commonwealth.\* The day

\* Mrs. Hutchinson's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 261.

after Parliament met, sir John Grenville went to the sitting of the Council of State, and asked to speak with the Lord General. To his hands he delivered a packet sealed with the royal arms. Monk affected surprise and alarm, and it was decided that Grenville should be called in. He said that the packet had been entrusted to him by the king, his master, at Breda. The Council resolved that the letters which Grenville brought should be delivered to the Parliament. On the first of May, Grenville appeared at the door of the Lower House, and being called to the bar presented a letter addressed "To our trusty and well beloved the Speaker of the House of Commons." He then went through the same formality at the House of Lords. With each letter was enclosed a document addressed to the whole nation—the Declaration from Breda.\* Grenville then proceeded to the City, and presented a letter from the king addressed to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, which also contained the Declaration. In all these papers, the composition of Hyde, there was little to alarm, and much to propitiate, the prudent and peaceful. The Commons were assured "upon our royal word,—that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem for Parliaments than we have ;"—Parliaments were "so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that, we well know, neither prince nor people can be, in any tolerable degree, happy without them." The Declaration professed the king's desire "that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land." It declared "a free and general Pardon to all our subjects,"—excepting only such persons "as shall hereafter be excepted by Act of Parliament." All are invited to a perfect union amongst themselves. Deploring the existence of religious animosities, "we do declare a liberty to tender consciences ; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." All matters relating to the possession of estates "shall be determined in Parliament." Both Houses immediately applied themselves to prepare answers to the royal letters ; declared that, "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons ;"—voted fifty thousand pounds to the king as a gift ; † and presented Grenville with five hundred

\* See Note at the end of this Chapter.

† "Of a tall stature, and of sable hue,  
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew ;

pounds to buy a jewel. Commissioners from both Houses were to convey their answers to the king. Grenville preceded them with the best proof of loyalty and affection—four thousand five hundred pounds in gold, and a bill of exchange for twenty-five thousand pounds. Pepys tells us that Charles, when Grenville brought him the money, was “so joyful, that he called the Princess Royal and Duke of York, to look upon it, as it lay in the portmantau before it was taken out.”

On the 8th of May the two Houses of Parliament proclaimed Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at Westminster, at Whitehall, and in the City. Although the king had not arrived, the Restoration of the Monarchy was completed. In a delirium of loyalty the Convention Parliament never thought of making conditions for the liberties of the country. Hale, the great judge, and Prynne, the learned lawyer, had ventured to propose a Committee for considering what propositions should be made to Charles, before the destinies of the country were irrevocably committed to his guidance. Monk opposed this: “I cannot answer for the peace either of the nation or of the army, if any delay is put to the sending for the king. What need is there of sending propositions to him? Might we not as well prepare them, and offer them to him when he shall come over? He will bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or corrupt us.” The House assented by acclamation. It rested the conservancy of all that the nation had won since the opening of the Long Parliament upon the flimsy foundation of the Declaration from Breda. Bills were prepared, which were to be presented for the acceptance of the king, “when he shall come over.” Magna Charta and the Petition of Right; Privilege of Parliament; Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion,—were words glibly used as if they were things of course. Bills were prepared for confirming purchases of property during the times of trouble; and for the abolition of Knight Service, the feudal tenure which was most obnoxious. But the real temper of this Parliament was to be subjected to a severer test—the question of Amnesty had yet to be settled. Monk had just

Twelve years complete he suffered in exile,  
And kept his father's asses all the while.  
At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,  
The people call him home to help the State:  
And, what is more, they send him money too,  
And clothe him all, from head to foot, anew.”

ANDREW MARVELL.

protested that if he were to suffer any one to be excluded from such Amnesty, he would be the arrantest rogue that ever lived. Ashley Cooper had said to Hutchinson, "If the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damned, body and soul, if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel." Ingoldsby had received the thanks of the Commons for recent services. He, and others who had signed the warrant for the king's execution, were members of the Commons. On the 9th of May, the debate on the Amnesty Bill came on in both Houses. The earl of Northumberland said, that though he had no part in the death of the king, he was against questioning those concerned; "that the example may be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitances." Fairfax, in a noble spirit of generosity, exclaimed, "If any man must be excepted, I know no man that deserves it more than myself; for I was General of the army at that time, and had power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king; but I did not think fit to make use of it to that end." Lenthall, the son of the famous Speaker, provoked the House to tumult by boldly saying, "He that first drew his sword against the king committed as high an offence as he that cut off the king's head." The house at last voted as to the number of regicides to be excluded from the Amnesty, and decided that seven should be excepted. But it also resolved that every one should be arrested who had sat upon the king's trial, and their property seized. Other arrests took place. Some who had laboured best with Cromwell to uphold the honour of England, such as Thurloe, were impeached. The titles bestowed by the two Protectors were annulled. Upon all great questions, political or religious, which affected the future safety and liberties of these nations, postponement was the ruling policy of the Cavaliers. The Presbyterians, who were the first to aim at religious supremacy, began clearly to see that the day was fast approaching, when they would regret the tranquillity they had enjoyed under the toleration of that ruler whom they had now agreed to declare a traitor.

The fortunes of Charles had so decidedly changed in the course of a little month, that the foreign Courts who had looked adversely or coldly upon him, now embarrassed him with their rival professions of friendship. He was wisely advised not to be too forward to receive such civilities from France or from Spain as might compromise him in the future policy of England. The States of

Holland invited him to take his departure from the Hague; and he arrived there from Breda on the 16th of May. Thither came the commissioners of the Parliament; the town-clerk of London, with aldermen and lesser dignitaries; deputations of the Presbyterian clergy; and a swarm of Englishmen of every variety of opinion, who wanted to prostrate themselves at the feet of power. Hollis, who had been one of the earliest leaders in the battle of the Long Parliament, was the orator on the part of the House of Commons. Their hearts, he said, were filled with veneration and confidence; their longings for their king, their desires to serve him, expressed the opinions of the whole nation—"lettings out of the soul, expressions of transported minds." Other lords had had dominion over them; but their hearts and souls did abhor such rulers, and ever continued faithful to their king. Anthony Ashley Cooper had civil words from Charles. Fairfax was received with kindness. The king made smooth speeches to the Presbyterians; but they obtained no satisfaction as to the future of England in the great question of religious union. No one, however, pressed hardly upon him. There were no strong words spoken, as the earlier race of Puritans would have spoken. Burnet, describing the general character of Charles, says, "He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long, was the being easy, and the making everything easy to him." The modern phrase is "to make things pleasant;" and both phrases mean that there should be a large ingredient of falsehood in human affairs. Admiral Montague, who was to have the honour of receiving the king on board his ship, had long been in communication with him. The ship which carried the admiral's flag had an ugly name, "The Naseby." On the 23rd, the king, with the dukes of York and Gloucester, and a large train, came on board. "After dinner," says Pepys, who was now Montague's secretary, "the king and duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz., the Naseby into Charles; the Richard, James; the Speaker, Mary; the Dunbar (which was not in company with us), the Henry." Lady Fanshawe, who was on board, is in ecstasies: "Who can express the joy and gallantry of that voyage; to see so many great ships, the best in the world; to hear the trumpets and all other music; to see near a hundred brave ships sail before the wind with vast cloths and streamers; the neatness and cleanness of the ships, the gallantry of the commanders, the vast plenty of all sorts of provisions; but, above all, the glorious majesties of the

king and his two brothers, were so beyond man's expectation and expression."\* The sky was cloudless, the sea was calm, the moon was at the full. Charles walked up and down the quarter-deck, telling all the wonders of his escape from Worcester—his green coat and his country breeches—the miller stopping his night walk—the inn-keeper bidding God bless him. "He was an everlasting talker," writes Burnet; and his gossip amongst his new friends in this moonlight voyage gave some better promise than the cold dignity of his father, which many must have remembered. It was a merry trip,—and Pepys chuckles over "the brave discourse," and especially the stories of "Thomas Killigrew, a merry droll, but a gentleman of great esteem with the king." On the morning of the 25th they were close to land at Dover, and every one was preparing to go ashore. "The king and the two dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet, they ate of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef"—a politic appetite, which no doubt won the favour of Blake's old sailors.

When Charles landed at Dover, Monk was at hand to kneel before him—"to receive his majesty as a malefactor would his pardon,"—says a biographer of the wary general. With a feeling that belonged to another time the mayor of Dover presented the king with a Bible. "It is the thing that I love above all things in the world," said the ready actor, who knew his part without much study. The royal train went on to Canterbury. There Monk ventured beyond his usual caution, by presenting the king a list of seventy persons that he recommended for employments—men whose names stank in the nostrils of all Cavaliers. Hyde, through Monk's confidential adviser, Morrice, made the general understand that such interference was unpleasant, and Monk quickly apologised after a very awkward attempt at explanation. Hyde was at Charles's side, and prevented him being too easy. Monk received a lesson; but he was consoled by the Order of the Garter being bestowed upon him.

On the 28th of May king Charles set out from Canterbury, and slept that night at Rochester. At Blackheath the royal cavalcade had to pass the Army of the Commonwealth. Thirty thousand men were there marshalled. Many of these veterans had fought against the family and the cause which was now triumphant. The name of Charles Stuart had been with them a name of hatred and contempt. They had assisted in building up and pulling down

\* "Memoirs," p. 131.

governments, which had no unity but in their determination to resist him who was now called to command them, with no sympathy for their courage, no respect for their stern enthusiasm. The great soldier and prince who had led them to so many victories had now his memory profaned, by being proclaimed a traitor by a Parliament that when he was living would have been humbled at his slightest frown. The procession passed on in safety; for the old discipline, that no enemy was ever able to prevail against in the battle-field was still supreme in this pageant,—this last harmless exhibition of that might through which the liberties of England had been won; through whose misdirection they were now imperilled.

Charles went on in the sight of all London to Whitehall,—a wearisome procession, which lasted till nine at night, amidst streets strewed with flowers, past tapestried houses and wine-spouting fountains; with civic authorities wearing chains of gold, and nobles covered with embroidered velvets; trumpets braying, mobs huzzing. In this delirium of joy there was something beyond the idle shouts of popular intoxication. It was the expression of the nation's opinion that the government of England had at length a solid foundation upon which peace and security, liberty and religion, might be established.



NOTE. HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATION FROM BREDÁ,  
TO ALL HIS LOVING SUBJECTS.

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C. R.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting : If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds, which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose ; however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto ; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due ; so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible ; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved. And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the Restoration both of king, peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do, by these presents, declare, That we do grant a free and general Pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects ; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament, those only to be excepted. Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamage of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects ; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforth all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the Resettlement of our just Rights and theirs, in a Free Parliament, by which, upon the word of a king, we will be advised. And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, (which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood) we do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom ; and that we shall be ready to

consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.—And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to, and by, many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament ; which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.—And we do further declare, That we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of general Monk, and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy. Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy-Signet, at our Court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the 12th year of our reign.

## CHAPTER VI.

Statutes again present materials for history.—Long Parliament declared to be dissolved.—Tonnage and Poundage.—Excise.—Knight service and Purveyance abolished.—The Army disbanded.—Church Livings.—Church Lands and Crown lands.—Act of Indemnity.—Exceptions of the regicides, and of others.—Executions.—Insults to the dead.—Episcopacy.—King's Declaration.—Convention Parliament dissolved.—Anabaptist Insurrection.—Conferences at the Savoy.—New Parliament.—Marriage of the Duke of York.—Prerogatives of the Crown.—Corporation Act.—Act of Uniformity.

WE can once more open the ponderous "Statutes of the Realm," and therein find the most important materials for the history of the State and the history of the People. The last Statute of Charles I. bears the date of 1640. The first Statute of Charles II. bears the date of 1660. During these twenty years of Civil War, and of the Commonwealth, there were Ordinances and Acts of Parliament which had the force of Laws—many directed to temporary objects, but many, also, of permanent utility. Some of the Statutes of the Restored Monarchy were founded upon these,—often without the slightest reference to them. But occasionally, when a wise law of the Long Parliament or of the Protectorate had become an established principle, it was recognised in a new Statute, in which it was called "a pretended Act." The royalist theory of the Constitution was, that there was no vitality in any legislative body not called into being by the Crown—that all laws were a dead letter that had not received the assent of the Crown. The royalists maintained that from the 30th of January, 1649, Charles the Second had been king *de facto* as well as king *de jure*; that although kept out of the exercise of his authority by traitors and rebels, he had been for twelve years the sole governor of England; that 1660 was the twelfth year of his reign, as the dates of Acts of Parliament, and of other instruments set forth.\* The Parliament of the Restoration, which was begun to be holden on the 25th of April, 1660—the Convention Parliament, as it is called—in their first

\* "This had not been the usage of former times.—Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., had dated their instruments either from their proclamation, or at least from some act of possession."—HALLAM.

Statute declared the Long Parliament to be dissolved, and enacted that the Lords and Commons then sitting at Westminster were the two Houses of Parliament "notwithstanding any want of the King's Majesty's Writ or Writs of Summons."\* They had recalled the legitimate heir of the Crown; but this their first Act virtually acknowledged that they had no constitutional power to do so. The next Parliament, which was duly summoned by the King's writ, always termed this Convention Parliament "the last Assembly;" for the second Parliament was far more servile in its royalist fervour than the first; and many of its members regarded Charles Stuart simply as the heir who had come to take possession of his estate of England, together with five millions of people, his lawful chattels. In a few years this so-called loyalty put on more offensive shapes; and the people began to see that the old battle against arbitrary power had to be renewed, with full benefit of a bitter experience.

The Parliament of 1660, in the exuberance of its devotion, but not altogether unwisely, resolved to make such an ample provision for the executive power as should place it beyond the pretended necessity of raising money by unlawful means. They settled the yearly revenue of the Crown at an amount considerably beyond the supplies voted to Charles I., and they voted the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, for the term of the king's life.† One stipulation, of great importance to the owners of landed property, was associated with this liberality of the Commons. When the king and the Parliament came to the fatal issue of Civil War in 1641, the feudal revenues of the Crown were necessarily set aside. There was an end to the ancient claims of the Crown upon tenures by Knight-Service, with all their oppressive conditions of fines for alienation, of forfeitures, and of wardship. There was an end, also, of the more generally obnoxious demands of purveyance.

\* 12 Car. II. c. i.

† *Ibid.*, c. 4. The duties of Tonnage and poundage, or, as we now term them, Customs, as settled by the Schedule of Rates of Merchandise in this Statute, continued with little variation, through the reigns of Charles II., James II., William III., and part of the reign of Anne. Reduced to one-half, they continued till George III. had reigned twenty-seven years. This Statute of the Convention Parliament was thus the foundation of that system of taxing at a separate rate the smallest as well as the largest article of Merchandise—a system which embarrassed all commercial operations almost up to the present day. In the table of Rates of 1660, there are about fourteen hundred articles of import upon which there is a varying duty. Looking at the value of money at that time, the duties were enormous, and their effect in retarding all manufacturing and commercial progress for half a century cannot be over-estimated.

These relics of prerogative would have revived with the re-establishment of the monarchy. The Parliament made a bargain to relieve the landed proprietors; but this bargain was completed at the expense of the Commonalty. Charles surrendered the Court of Wards, and Purveyance, and the Commons granted him and his successors the Excise of beer and other liquors,\* a tax first introduced during the Civil War. It was originally a temporary tax. The two great sources of modern revenue were thus placed absolutely in the king's hands. Charles was rendered more independent of Parliament for the ordinary expenditure of the Crown than his father, or grandfather, or Elizabeth, had been. No one seems to have dreaded that the money destined in great part for the proper dignity of the sovereign, and the due administration of all executive authority, was likely to be wasted in the most unblushing profligacy. The character of the king, and the habits of his associates, were not unknown; but men deceived themselves into the belief that long years of exile and poverty would have taught their lessons of prudence and moderation; that Adversity, "stern, rugged nurse," would have inspired some thoughts of honour and justice. But with Charles "self-pleasing Folly's idle brood" had not been scared at Adversity's frown. The House had voted an especial sum, to be raised by an especial mode of taxation, for disbanding the army. In his speech at the close of the Session the king said, "I do promise you, which is the best way I can take to gratify you, I will not apply one penny of that money to my own particular occasions, what shift soever I make, till it is evident to me that the public will not stand in need of it."† He seems to think that there is something magnanimous in this declaration;—that he might do what he liked with the sum which was considered as entrusted to him for a specific purpose, but that he would abstain from exercising his right of doing what he pleased with his own as a gracious condescension to "the public." In six years more the Parliament discovered the value of his majesty's self-denial; and in the bill for a poll-tax introduced a clause that a commission should be appointed to inspect all the accounts of the money supplied, and the expenses incurred, during the war. Pepys records that in the lord treasurer's accounts there was a sum unaccounted for of more than two millions; and that it was thought that £400,000 of the money voted for the war had gone to the Privy Purse. He then says that the notion of a commission to inspect the accounts

\* 12 Car. II. c. 24.

† "Parl. Hist." vol. iv. p. 122.

"makes the king and court mad; the king having given order to my lord chamberlain to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid all the parliament-men that were there to go the parliament presently."\* To the playhouses and brothels to search for the parliament-men! The times were altered since they were to be sought for in the churches and conventicles.

At the period of the Restoration, the Army, which had been the instrument of effecting that great change, as it had effected so many other great changes, consisted of fifteen regiments of horse, and twenty-two regiments of foot, besides garrisons. That army was supported by monthly assessments of seventy-thousand pounds. An Act was passed "for the speedy provision of money for disbanding and paying off the forces of this kingdom both by land and sea."† A contribution was to be raised from all ranks and degrees, under a commission in every county; and large sums were voted for the complete disbanding, in subsequent Acts.‡ The Act for the speedy disbanding of the Army and garrisons, and also for paying off twenty-five ships,§ was followed by "an Act for enabling the soldiers of the Army now to be disbanded, to exercise Trades." This salutary Statute provides that the disbanded men, who would willingly employ themselves in the trades they had formerly been accustomed to, or those who are apt and fit for trades, might exercise their employments in corporate cities and towns, without being restrained by any bye-laws; and that those who had been apprenticed to trades, but had not served the seven years required by the Statute of the 5th of Elizabeth, should be qualified to labour in their vocation as freely as if they had completed their legal term. The industry of the country absorbed this formidable Army. It was composed of a higher order of men than were usually found in military service; and they became the most industrious of citizens as they had been the best disciplined of soldiers. The revenue assigned to the crown did not contemplate the continuance of any standing army; but Charles retained two regiments of horse in his pay, who were called his guards. Upon this narrow foundation was the present regular army of the United Kingdom established. In 1662, the king had five thousand troops in his service. A few years afterwards he began to talk of making the Commons "a courageous speech," for that he was "master of an army." ||

\* "Diary," December 8, 1666.

† *Ibid.*, c. 26, and c. 21.

§ *Ibid.*, c. 15.

† 12 Car. II. c. 9.

|| Pepys, October 4, 1666.

The great question of the Church Establishment was not brought forward in the Convention Parliament. The Presbyterian members were too strong in that Assembly to render it safe to propose such a sweeping change as would again make the Anglican Church supreme in endowments and political power. Amidst all the sectarian violence of the Civil War and of the Commonwealth, the legal provision of the Clergy had never been disturbed, and the private rights of presentation to benefices had been uninterruptedly exercised. The pulpits were, indeed, for the most part filled with ministers of Puritan principles. Presbyterian or Independent; and the Liturgy, with the ceremonial observances connected with it, had been abolished. These ministers, although they were not encouraged to believe that the Presbyterian form, which had never been universal, would be adopted, hoped for some compromise that would ensure them the quiet possession of their livings, and free them from any obligations repugnant to their consciences. "Because," said the king's Declaration from Breda, "the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other (which, when they shall hereafter unite in freedom of conversation will be composed, or better understood), we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." In the Convention Parliament no attempt was made to contravene the spirit of this Declaration. The imposition of the Covenant upon all the beneficed Clergy had ejected large numbers of conscientious men from their livings.\* Seventeen years had intervened; and another large body of conscientious men, differing as to Church government, had succeeded to the duties and emoluments of the Episcopal Clergy. The Parliament of 1660 enacted that all the ejected ministers who survived should be restored to their benefices, but without the right of claiming any past emoluments. By the same Statute those who were in actual possession of those livings for which there was no claimant as previous possessor, were confirmed in their titles. This measure, apparently so just, was in reality a delusion. Clarendon, the ruling minister of the first years of the Restoration, although infinitely superior in honesty and ability to the profligate courtiers and unprincipled politicians with whom he was associated, seldom scrupled

\* See vol. iii. p. 483.



pled to "palter" with "the word of promise," when he had a long-cherished hope to realize, or a deliberate revenge to gratify.

The settlement of the Church establishment was only one amongst the complicated questions that arose, of necessity, out of the Restoration. Many of the Crown lands and the Church lands had been sold under the authority of the Long Parliament. The title seemed so safe that in many cases they had been sold at fifteen, and even eighteen years' purchase. A Bill was brought in to determine this matter, which involved so many adverse interests. It was strenuously debated by the Commons, in 1660; and the only agreement that the House came to was, that the Crown lands should be left out of the proposal for sales to be confirmed or indemnity to be given. One member declared himself against the purchasers of the Crown lands by quoting a proverb that "he that eats the king's goose should be choked by its feathers." The House was disinclined to such an unconditional restoration of Church property. But the discussion was at length cut short by the dissolution of the Parliament; and the purchasers had no protection against the due course of law, under which their titles were defective. Unconditional restitution was the necessary result. The Declaration of Breda had said, "because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to, and by, many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and possessions, shall be determined in Parliament." By the adroit management of Clarendon, Parliament was relieved from the responsibility of the determination. Loud complaints, no doubt, were made by many who had been honest purchasers; but their complaints were neutralised by the louder murmurings of the Cavaliers, who, although some had returned to the possession of their estates, were deprived of any compensation for their sequestrations, and compositions for delinquency, during the authority of the Long Parliament. They were shut out from any legal process for relief by the Act of Indemnity. Bitter were their murmurings against the ingratitude of the king, from whom they expected the magician's power of annihilating all the natural and moral consequences of twenty years of vicissitude. Such are the mortifications and miseries to be endured by all parties when revolutions have run their course. During the conflicts

of great principles men are elevated above their merely selfish interests; but when the sword is sheathed there arise the bitterer animosities of changed fortunes and disappointed hopes. Then come the odious thoughts of revenge for the past,—schemes of insulting triumph or dangerous machination. The calm after a great revolution is more to be dreaded than its storms. Clarendon saw this danger, though, when his own passions and prejudices were concerned he yielded to the baser influences. At the adjournment of the Parliament, in September, after the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity had been passed, he thus spoke, as Chancellor:—"Shall we fold our arms towards one another, and contract our hearts with envy and malice to each other, by any sharp memory of what hath been unneighbourly or unkindly done heretofore? What is this but to rebel against the person of the king, against the excellent example and virtue of the king, against the known law of the land, this blessed Act of Oblivion? My Lords and Gentlemen, the king is a suitor to you, makes it his suit very heartily, that you will join with him in restoring the whole nation to its primitive temper and integrity, to its old good manners, its old good humour, and its old good nature;—Good nature, a virtue so peculiar to you, so appropriated by God Almighty to this nation, that it can be translated into no other language, hardly practised by any other people: And that you will, by your example, by the candour of your conversation, by your precepts, and by your practice, and by all your interest, teach your neighbours and your friends how to pay a full obedience to this clause of the Statute, how to learn this excellent art of forgetfulness." "This excellent art of forgetfulness" was not easy to be learnt. Certainly the government did not encourage its acquirement by the example of its own magnanimity; but, eager as the Court was for the exercise of some vengeance for the past, it was but a faint expositor of the passions of many of the Lords and Commons, who cried "havoc" with their loudest voices.

Three weeks before the return of Charles II., the House of Commons had decided that seven persons should be excepted from a proposed Amnesty; and that all who had sate upon the king's trial should be arrested, as well as some others who had been ministers of the Protectorate.\* After the Restoration it became evident that the Court was by no means satisfied with so limited an exception from a general pardon as that of seven who had been

\* *Ante*, p. 128.

engaged in the transactions of twelve years of revolution. The debates in both Houses on the Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion are very imperfectly recorded; but there is enough to show how the spirit of the country had been abased and demoralised—how completely the feeling of national pride had departed from the public men of England—how insensible the majority had become to those principles of honour, by which the evils of the Civil War had been mitigated on both sides. For three months this Bill of Indemnity was debated in both Houses. The Commons went on adding name after name to those of the seven who were originally excepted. The Lords voted that all who had signed the death-warrant of Charles I., as well as five others, should be excepted, either as regarded life or estate. They carried the principle of private revenge so far, that they declared that the surviving relations of four peers who had been executed under the Long Parliament, should nominate four to be put to death of the surviving members of the High Court of Justice by which those peers had been condemned. There was a difficulty, however, in the way of the sweeping proscription which the Lords desired, which became a touchstone of honourable feeling in both Houses. The king, shortly after his landing, had issued a proclamation, in which he commanded those who had sat as judges of his father to render themselves up within fourteen days, "on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates." The Parliament had suggested this proclamation. Was it a trap to induce these men to surrender, or was it an indirect pledge that, so surrendering, they should partake of the benefits of a general pardon? The honour of the king was unquestionably committed to the most favourable construction of the proclamation. Some, such as Ludlow, had the prudence not to place confidence in ambiguous words; and they fled abroad. "Other poor gentlemen were trepanned that were brought in by proclamation."\* Clarendon, the chancellor, shuffled odiously about a document whose ambiguity was doubtless well studied by him. Southampton, the treasurer, with the high spirit of the old Cavaliers, maintained "that since it was not thought fit to secure the lives of those who had been ordered to surrender their persons upon the faith of the proclamation, they ought at least to give them the like number of days for saving themselves as were appointed by that paper for their coming in."† The Commons debated this point of the proclamation with a more moderate and honester feel-

\* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 279.

Ludlow, iii. p. 43.

ing than the majority of the Lords. Although one rabid member had the baseness to say "that these people's lives were but as a bucket of water in the ocean, in regard of so many more as were to receive benefit by the Act of Pardon;" and another had the effrontery to maintain that "their coming in upon the proclamation was, that God had infatuated them to bring them to justice,—" yet the general temper of the Commons was better represented by Hale, who pleaded "for the honour of the king and the two Houses;" and by Colonel Birch, who said "if he should give articles to a garrison, he should think himself very unworthy to break them." This matter was at last compromised between the Lords and Commons by a proviso in the Bill, that if the nineteen persons therein named should be legally attainted, then nevertheless the execution of the persons so attainted should be suspended until execution should be ordered by Act of Parliament.\* The most remarkable exceptions to the Statute of Indemnity, in addition to all the regicides with few omissions, were Sir Henry Vane and General Lambert; but the Houses concurred in an address to the king that if these two leading men of the revolution were tried and attainted, their lives should be spared. The king assented.

The trials of the regicides and others in custody, who were excepted from pardon as to life and estate, took place in October. Twenty-five of those who had sat in judgment upon Charles I. were dead: nineteen had fled to foreign countries. Twenty-nine persons were brought to trial as traitors, before a Court of thirty-four commissioners; and they were all convicted. Of these, the nineteen who had surrendered under the proclamation were imprisoned for life. Ten were executed. These were Harrison, and five others, who had subscribed the death-warrant of Charles; Cook, who acted as leading counsel upon the trial; Axtell and Hacker, two officers who commanded the guard over the royal prisoner; and the famous Hugh Peters. These men died in the belief that they unjustly suffered for the discharge of a great public duty. In their strong religious principles, which approached to the enthusiasm of martyrs, in Harrison especially, they found support under the cruelties of the old law of treason, which was executed to the minutest point of its brutality. It is not creditable to Charles that he was a spectator of these scenes. Evelyn writes, on the 17th of October, "Scott, Scroop, Cook, and Jones, suffered for reward of their iniquities at Charing Cross, in sight of the place where

\* 12 Car. II. c. 11.

they put to death their natural prince, and in the presence of the king his son, whom they also sought to kill. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters, mangled, and cut, and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle." A more disgusting spectacle took place on the 30th of January, 1661, which Evelyn also records: "This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcasses of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw (the judge who condemned his Majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the Usurper), dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators." On the 4th of December, the Parliament, upon the motion of colonel Titus—the colonel Titus who now claimed the honour of having written "Killing no Murder"—had voted unanimously that this revolting exhibition should take place. One Englishman has recorded his sentiment upon this vote as regarded Cromwell—"which, methinks, do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was should have that dishonour." \* On the 12th of September, by a special order of the king to the dean of Westminster, these bodies had been taken out of their vaults, and thrown into a pit. On the same day, the body of Blake was removed from its honoured resting-place and re-interred in St. Margaret's churchyard. To our minds there is nothing in the whole course of this evil reign so prophetic of the coming national degradation, as the indignities offered to the remains of the greatest soldier and the greatest sailor that England had produced. Cromwell and Blake by their genius and their patriotism made their country the most honoured and dreaded of the nations. They bequeathed to the heir of the ancient kings, a national dignity which was more solid than the glories of the Edwards and Henries, and as dearly prized by the people as the triumphs of Elizabeth. This miserable heir of the grand English monarchy was utterly destitute of that nationality without which a sovereign is more degraded than the meanest of his subjects. The future pensioner of France was incapable of comprehending what England owed to the man whose corpse he hung up on the gallows at Tyburn.

The restoration of surviving bishops to their sees, with the consecration of new bishops, was a policy which the Presbyterian

\* Pepys' "Diary," December, 4, 1660.

party must have considered inevitable. That party had to a great extent become powerless; and was in no condition to renew the struggles against Episcopacy which had so materially interfered with any pacific arrangement with Charles I. For twenty years there had been no display of copes and surplices in the service of cathedrals. The young had never heard organs and choral voices in parish churches. Now, the bishops assembled in Westminster Abbey "all in their habits," as Pepys records; "But, Lord! at their going out, how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect." \* The passion for the restoration of the monarchy did not extend to this necessary consequence of that restoration. The serious citizens of London and other towns had been accustomed to the ministration of the Puritan clergy, whether Presbyterian or Independent; and they looked with apprehension and dislike to any change that would interfere with their old habits. Their spiritual welfare had not been neglected; nor had they been committed to the guidance of ignorant or unlearned men, looking at the majority of the Puritan ministers. The serious portion of the community were sufficiently represented in the Convention Parliament to render some caution necessary in the measures of the Court. On the 25th of October the king published a Declaration, in which he avowed his own attachment to Episcopacy, but expressed his opinion that it might be so modified as to remove all reasonable objections; and he declared that the reading of the Liturgy, certain ceremonial observances, subscription to all the articles, and the oath of canonical obedience, should not be pressed upon those who had conscientious scruples. Calamy, Baxter, and other Presbyterian ministers, had been appointed Chaplains in ordinary to the king, in the month after his restoration. The Puritans appear to have deceived themselves into the belief that a happy concord would be established; and the Court, whether from duplicity or weakness, appears to have fostered the delusion. Some of the leading Puritan ministers, amongst whom were Calamy, Baxter, Ash, and Reynolds, were introduced to the king; and declared "their large hope of a happy union among all dissenters by his means." Baxter records that the king gave them a gracious answer; professed his gladness to hear their inclinations for agreement; suggested that both sides should abate somewhat of their pretensions; nay, that he was resolved to see this agreement brought to pass;—with

\* "Diary," October 4, 1660.

much more to the same effect; "insomuch that old Mr. Ash burst out into tears with joy, and could not forbear expressing what gladness this promise of his majesty had put into his heart." \* In less than a year the value of his majesty's promise was to be better understood, when the Act of Uniformity was passed. In two years non-conformity was made penal. We shall have briefly to notice these healing measures. Their general effect is set forth with all the bitterness of disappointed hope by the most eminent interpreter of the feelings of the Puritan divines—those who, "in times of usurpation had mercy and happy freedom," but who, "under the lawful governors which they desired, and in the days when order is said to be restored, do some of us sit in obscurity and unprofitable silence, and some lie in prisons, and all of us are accounted as the scum and sweepings and off-scourings of the earth." †

The king's Declaration, and his promises to the Presbyterian ministers, were looked upon with satisfaction by honest men of both parties. There was a possibility of such an agreement upon points of discipline as would have made the Protestant Church of England a real barrier against the revival of Popery, which was not altogether a frivolous apprehension; and, through the concord of earnest men who had long exercised an important spiritual influence, would have opposed a sober religious spirit equally removed from indifference or fanaticism, to the profligacy which was fast becoming fashionable. To render the king's Declaration effectual a Bill was brought into Parliament by Sir Matthew Hale. It was opposed by the united power of the courtiers in Parliament, and was rejected. This was the test by which the royal professions were to be tried. "Such as were nearest the king's councils well knew that nothing else was intended by the Declaration than to scatter dust in men's eyes, and to prevent the interference of Parliament." ‡ Whilst the Convention Parliament lasted, all such awkward questions were tided over. It was dissolved on the 29th of December.

Amongst the non-political Acts passed in this Parliament was the Navigation Act, which was in substance a re-enactment of the famous measure of the Long Parliament in 1651. § An Act for the establishment of a General Post Office in London was also framed upon the model of the Postal establishments of the Protectorate.

\* Baxter, "Life," Part II. p. 231; folio.

‡ Hallam, Chap. xii.

† *Ibid.*, Part I. p. 84.

§ *Ante*, p. 20.



The complex arrangements which prevailed till our own time were prescribed by this Act—one rate for a single sheet, another rate for two sheets;—one rate for a distance not exceeding eighty miles, another rate for a greater distance. The rates for foreign letters were not exorbitant. No private persons were to carry letters; and all ship letters brought from foreign ports were to be delivered to the Postmaster General or his deputies.

The Parliament had not risen longer than a week when an extraordinary insurrection broke out in London. It was a renewal of that fanatical outbreak which Cromwell put down with a troop of horse on the 9th of April, 1657. The Fifth-Monarchy men again rose on the 6th of January, 1661, under their old leader, Thomas Venner, the wine-cooper. These men had a meeting-house in the city: and some fifty or sixty of them, after an encounter with the feeble municipal police, marched to Caen-wood, near Highgate, and having been there concealed for two days, returned to encounter the trained bands, and even a regular body of guards, in the confidence that their cause, the establishment of the reign of Christ on earth, and the suppression of all other authority, would be miraculously upheld. The capital was in fearful alarm; the shops were shut; the city gates barricaded. But these wild men drove all before them; till a rally was made, and they were for the most part slaughtered, refusing quarter. Venner, and sixteen of his followers who were secured, were tried and executed. This mad tumult was made the excuse for a proclamation for closing the conventicles of Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries. The members of various sects throughout the country, who were proscribed as dangerous, were very numerous; but the severity exercised towards them was really more favourable to their extension than the toleration of Cromwell. The Quakers especially held their ground against every severity—even against an Act of Parliament of 1662, by which they were to be fined for assembling for public worship, and for a third offence to be banished.

The Coronation of the king took place on the 23rd of April. Every ceremony in Westminster Abbey, and Westminster Hall, was of the most gorgeous nature. In the streets there were bonfires out of number; and “many great gallants, men and women” drinking the king’s health upon their knees.\* The people of London had not recovered from their delirium. Throughout the land, men were equally intoxicated by the return to the ancient order

\* Pepys.

of things. The May-poles had been again set up; the Christmas ale was again flowing in the squire's hall, the peasantry were again wrestling and cudgel-playing on the village-green; the stocks were no longer a terror to the drunkard; the play-houses were open in London, and itinerant actors again gathered their gaping audiences in booth or barn. The old asceticism of the Puritans was bitterly remembered. Their zeal for liberty, their pure lives, their earnest religion, were regarded as disloyalty and hypocrisy. The great share which the larger number of them had taken in the restoration of the monarchy was also forgotten; and amidst an exaggerated contempt for their formal manners, and a real dislike of the restraint which they imposed upon audacious profligacy, the Cavaliers carried the elections for a new Parliament by immense majorities. The first Session lasted from the 8th of May to the 30th of July; and in that short time reflecting persons began to see "how basely things had been carried in that Parliament by the young men, that did labour to oppose all things that were moved by serious men." \* But "to oppose all things that were moved by serious men" was a very small part of the zeal of the Parliament of 1661. Far more eagerly than Charles himself, or his minister Clarendon, the royalist laboured as much as possible to prepare the way for the return of the glorious days of the Star-Chamber and the High Commission. The king and the chancellor carried on a little farther the artifice of a desire for agreement in ecclesiastical affairs. Before the meeting of Parliament, Conferences were held at the Savoy between the bishops and twelve of the leading Puritan divines, for the revision of the Liturgy. These discussions, which were protracted for more than three months, could only conclude in one way. The objections of those who called themselves "primitive Episcopalians" were put with a due acknowledgment that the Book of Common Prayer is "an excellent and worthy work;" but they desire that "such further emendations may be now made therein, as may be judged necessary for satisfying the scruples of a multitude of sober persons who cannot at all, or very hardly, comply with the use of it as now it is." † The emendations which they desired were very numerous, both in the prayers and in the rubric. Whilst the churchmen were discussing these objections, sometimes not in the most Christian spirit, the Parliament was settling the question of conformity in a very summary manner; and when the Liturgy, a few months after, came to be reviewed in Convocation,

\* Pepys, "Diary," August 4.

† Baxter, "Life," Part II, p. 316.

the points which gave offence to "tender consciences" were left untouched. The Anglican Church felt its power; and the notion of conciliation, if ever seriously entertained, was soon supplanted by the readier and simpler principle of coercion.

The altered character of the House of Commons was very soon indicated by its proceedings. The Parliament met on the 8th of May. On the 17th it was voted that every member should receive the sacrament according to the forms of the Anglican Church. It was also resolved that the Solemn League and Covenant should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. There was no hesitation now in proclaiming that the Presbyterians were a crushed and degraded party. In the common hatred of all Puritans, the Independents were necessarily included. The one great principle of the policy of Clarendon was to re-establish the Church of England in its ancient splendour; and this desire would have been as commendable as it was natural, could it have been accomplished without a violation of those principles of religious freedom to which the royal word was pledged. But Clarendon, who in exile had been surrounded by suffering dignitaries of the Established Church, had contracted a violent hatred of the entire body of the Puritan Clergy; and he constantly speaks of them in terms of contempt, which only indicate his real ignorance of the condition of the people during the long period in which he was shut out from any intercourse with the great majority of his countrymen. With him the whole body of the non-conforming ministers were "fellows." He bitterly opposed the inclination of the king to mitigate some of the evils which the temper of the Cavaliers was ready to inflict upon them. This temper is thus accounted for by our constitutional historian: "The gentry, connected for the most part by birth or education with the episcopal clergy, could not for an instant hesitate between the ancient establishment and one composed of men whose eloquence in preaching was chiefly directed towards the common people." The gentry did "not for an instant hesitate" to deprive "the common people" of the spiritual instructors to whom they looked up with reverence; and to thrust upon them a new set of ministers who had little sympathy with their religious or political convictions. The inevitable consequence was that the indifference of "the higher classes" to all earnest principles gradually spread through the whole community; that the clergy were more intent upon preaching the doctrine of passive obedience so as to produce a nation of slaves and sycophants, than desirous of

setting forth the great truths of Christian doctrine and Christian morals, so as to separate "the common people" from the contagion of the horrible profligacy of the Court. Lauderdale related to Burnet that the king told him to let presbytery go, "for it was not a religion for gentlemen." The religion which the king and his courtiers desired, was something that would be as kind to their merits as blind to their faults; and their wishes were gratified to an extent which makes the most sincere friend of the Church of England look back with loathing at the servility, the intolerance, and the cowardice with which its hierarchy so long grovelled at the feet of tyranny and sensuality. But if Clarendon went beyond all the bounds of honest and wise statesmanship in his zeal to replace the Church in the position which it had occupied before the days of the Long Parliament, he manifested both wisdom and integrity in firmly clinging to the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. At the opening of this Second Parliament he put the king forward to desire the confirmation of that Act, in stronger terms of entreaty than were usually placed in the mouth of the sovereign. Clarendon himself says, "This warmth of his majesty upon this subject was not then more than needful; for the armies being now disbanded, there were great combinations entered into, not to confirm the Act of Oblivion, which they knew without confirmation would signify nothing. Men were well enough contented that the king should grant indemnity to all men that had rebelled against him; that he should grant their lives and fortunes to them who had forfeited them to him: but they thought it unreasonable and unjust that the king should release those debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive those trespasses which had been committed to their particular damage." \* One example of the extent to which the passions of the Cavaliers carried them away from the high feeling which was their general characteristic is very striking. The pen of the novelist has made us familiar with the real or fancied wrongs of the house of Stanley; and there is another record not quite so enduring as the laments of Scott's Charlotte de la Tremouille: "At the earl of Derby's seat of Knowsley in Lancashire, a tablet is placed to commemorate the ingratitude of Charles II., in having refused the royal assent to a bill which had passed both Houses for restoring the son of the earl of Derby, who had lost his life in the royal cause, to his family estate. This has been so often reprinted by tourists and novelists that it passes

\* "Continuation of Life."

current for a great reproach on the king's memory. It was however, in fact, one of his most honourable actions. The truth is, that the Cavalier faction carried through Parliament a Bill to make void the conveyances of some manors which lord Derby had voluntarily sold before the Restoration, in the very face of the Act of Indemnity, and against all law and justice. Clarendon, who, together with some very respectable peers, had protested against this measure in the Upper House, thought it his duty to recommend the king to refuse his assent." \*

The firmness of the great minister of the Restoration in maintaining the Act of Indemnity made him as unpopular with the extreme Royalists, now all-powerful, as his somewhat extravagant zeal for the Church of England rendered him odious to the Puritans, now all-humiliated. His position was one of extreme difficulty. He was an object of dislike and ridicule to Charles and his courtiers because, from his age and his character, he looked disapprovingly upon their excesses. He had become connected in a remarkable way with the royal family, by the marriage of his daughter with the duke of York. Unless he conducted himself with the most extreme duplicity, the possible injurious consequences to himself of this unequal union appear to have terrified him beyond the bounds of sanity. The mother of two future reigning queens of England, had indulged the passions of the king's brother under an alleged betrothal. Six months after the king was placed on the throne, a private marriage was avowed, and, soon after, the lady gave birth to a son. Clarendon has himself recorded that he proposed to send his daughter to the Tower; and he maintained that an Act of Parliament should be passed for cutting off her head, which he was ready himself to propose. The passion, real or feigned of the chancellor, received on encouragement from the king; and the licentious courtiers, after an attempt had been made to blacken the character of Miss Hyde, in the relation of circumstances which only the basest natures could have detailed, accepted the lawyer's daughter as a properly qualified duchess of York. The story is told in the "Memoirs of Grammont" with a dramatic force worthy of the imitation of "the dignity of history." Hamilton, the author of these Memoirs, which so completely exhibit the character of the courtiers of Charles II., in their perfect unconsciousness of their degradation, tells how the earl of Arran, Talbot, Jermyn, and Killigrew, at the desire of James himself,

each related "the particulars of what he knew, and more than he knew, of poor Miss Hyde." The duke then went into his brother's cabinet, and continued there a long while in secret conversation. The scandal mongers remained without, in eager expectation; and when the duke came forth with marks of agitation on his countenance, they had no doubt of the result of the conference. "Lord Falmouth began to be affected for her disgrace, and to relent that he had been concerned in it, when the duke of York told him and the earl of Ossory to meet him in about an hour's time at the chancellor's. They were rather surprised that he should have the cruelty himself to announce such a melancholy piece of news: they found his royal highness at the appointed hour in Miss Hyde's chamber: a few tears trickled down her cheeks, which she endeavoured to restrain. The chancellor, leaning against the wall, appeared to them to be puffed up with something, which they did not doubt was rage and despair. The duke of York said to them, with that serene and pleasant countenance with which men generally announce good news: 'As you are the two men of the court whom I most esteem, I am desirous you should first have the honour of paying your compliments to the duchess of York: there she is.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Clarendon, really strengthened in power and influence by the high marriage of his daughter, met with little opposition in leading a willing Parliament to trample upon all dissent from the Episcopal Church; to restore those prerogatives of the Crown which had been set aside by the Long Parliament; and to keep alive the spirit of revenge against the republican party. The Act for the preservation of the king and government increased the strictness of the law of treason; and declared that no legislative power existed in the Parliament, except in conjunction with the king.† The Act for the command of the militia went rather beyond the constitutional principle of recognising the sole power of the Crown to command the forces by land or sea. It declared not only that neither House of Parliament could pretend to such power, but could not lawfully levy any war, offensive or defensive, against the king.‡ "These last words," says Mr. Hallam, "appeared to go to a dangerous length, and to sanction the suicidal doctrine of absolute non-resistance." Tumultuous petitioning was provided against by limiting the number to ten who should present a petition to the king or the Parliament; with some stringent regulations as to the mode of

<sup>\*</sup> "Memoirs of Grammont," Sir Walter Scott's Edition.

† 13 Car. II. c. 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, 2, c. 6.

signing petitions.\* The Corporation Act went much farther than justly attempting to restore the executive power to its due authority in the state. Mingling the political and religious principles of coercion, it required that all persons elected to corporate offices should have received the sacrament, according to the rites of the English Church, within one year before their election; and it required an oath from such officers that they believed it unlawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king; and required them to abjure the traitorous position of taking arms by the king's authority against himself or his officers.† In the municipal boroughs the supporters of the contest against Charles I. had been principally found—men equally resolved in their love of civil liberty and their hatred of prelacy. The Corporation Act put as strong a restraint upon them as an oath could effect. The restoration of the bishops to the House of Lords was accomplished without any opposition by this Parliament, in which the Presbyterians had lost all influence. The crowning measure of ecclesiastical polity was the Act of Uniformity.‡ By this Statute it was required that all the beneficed clergy, all fellows of colleges, and all schoolmasters, should declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, as amended in Convocation and approved by the king. By another clause in this Act, episcopal ordination was required of all persons holding ecclesiastical preferments. Those of the clergy who, previous to the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, had not declared their acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer, in the terms of the Statute, were to be absolutely ejected from their livings. On that day more than two thousand ministers of religion went forth into the world without any provision for their future support. They had received a striking example of conscientious integrity in the refusal of the episcopal clergy to take the Covenant in 1643.§ In that revolutionary crisis the ejected incumbents had not been wholly unprovided for; one-fifth of the income of the new incumbents having been allotted to them. Such a merciful consideration for men of piety and learning—and most of the Puritan clergy were zealous in their callings and pure in their lives—was not granted by this revengeful Parliament. Measures of absolute persecution against the ejected ministers were subsequently enacted—measures which, in their application to all non-conformity, it required a long and arduous struggle to obliterate from the Statute-book.

\* 13 Car. II. c. 5. † *Ibid.*, Session 2, c. 1. ‡ 14 Car. II. c. 4. § See vol. iii. p. 488.



## CHAPTER VII.

Scotland.—The Scottish Parliament.—Execution of Argyle.—Episcopacy restored in Scotland.—Temper of the English Parliament.—Trial of Vane and Lambert.—Execution of Vane.—Catherine of Braganza.—Marriage of the King.—Profligacy of the King and his Court.—Insurrection in the North.—Conventicle Act.—Repeal of the Triennial Act.—Dutch War.—The Plague.—The Five Mile Act.—The Settlement Act.

THE real spirit of the Restoration is more clearly illustrated by the proceedings of the government in Scotland than by its actions at corresponding periods in England. Practically, since the victory of Dunbar, Scotland had ceased to be an independent kingdom. For the true prosperity of both countries it was desirable that this union should have been continued. To give the Stuart a fair field for carrying matters with a high hand in his ancient kingdom, it was expedient again to isolate the smaller and poorer portion of the island from the larger and wealthier. Of course, when the survivors of the Committee of Estates, that had been nominated by Charles in 1651, were again called to resume the government of Scotland; when a Lord Commissioner and other high officers were appointed; when a parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh,—the national pride was abundantly gratified, and Charles the Second was the best of kings. The people soon found that they had to pay a heavy price for this nationality, which was to involve the loss of the civil and religious rights which were dearest to the nation.

The Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 1st of January, 1661, has been honoured with the name of "the drunken parliament." Burnet says, "It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance; and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk." In England, the passions of the Cavaliers were less fierce, and were held more in subjection by the obvious danger of provoking another Civil War. In Scotland, the dominant party had no thought beyond that of keeping its opponents under its feet. Argyle, as the great leader of the Covenanters, was now to offer the satisfaction of his head for the fall of

his rival Montrose. Upon the restoration of Charles, Argyle had hastened to London to offer his homage to the king. He was arrested; and then sent to Scotland, to be brought to trial for his alleged offences. When questioned before the Parliament he pleaded the amnesty of 1651, and the English government determined to admit the plea. He was then accused of having received a grant from Cromwell; of having aided the English invaders; and of having sat in Richard Cromwell's parliament, and voted for a bill which abjured the rights of the Stuarts to the Crown. The fate of Argyle was sealed when a packet arrived from England, containing letters from him to Monk, inimical to the king and favourable to Cromwell. To produce such private letters against an old associate in the same cause, was as base in Monk as it was infamous in the Parliament to be moved by such treachery to Argyle's condemnation. He was sentenced to be beheaded within forty-eight hours. He accepted his fate with courage and resignation. At the same time Guthrie, a Presbyterian minister, violent and uncompromising in his opinions, was put to death as an example to the clergy. He was personally obnoxious to Middleton, who in this, and in every other instance, went headlong to the gratification of his revenge. He procured the condemnation by the Scottish parliament of the son of the Marquis of Argyle, for writing a letter reflecting upon the acts of the government; and he would have put this nobleman to death, under the barbarous law of "leasing making"—sowing dissensions by falsehood—had not Clarendon interfered to stop the iniquity. Amidst these excesses against individuals, the more extensive tyranny of forcing Episcopacy upon a people so devoted to Presbytery was resolutely pushed forward. James Sharpe, who had been sent to London on a mission from his Presbyterian brethren, returned Bishop of St. Andrew's and Primate of Scotland. Other prelates were appointed, of whom four were consecrated in London. In the parliament of 1662, by the first Act of the session, "the whole government and jurisdiction of the church in the several dioceses was declared to be lodged in the bishops, which they were to exercise with the advice and assistance of such of their clergy as were of known loyalty and prudence: all men that held any benefice in the church were required to own and submit to the government of the church, as now by law established."\* The violence of the drunken Parliament was finally shown in the wanton absurdity of what was called the "Act Rescissory," by

\* Burnet, "Own Times," Book.

which every law that had been passed in the Scottish parliament during twenty-eight years was wholly annulled. The legal foundations of Presbytery were thus swept away. "The bill was put to the vote, and carried by a great majority; and the earl of Middleton immediately passed it without staying for an instruction from the king. The excuse he made for it was, that since the king had by his letter to the Presbyterians confirmed their government as it was established by law, there was no way left to get out of that, but the annulling all those laws."\*

The Parliament of England, as if to furnish a little excitement to the dull debates that had reference to non-conformity, in the beginning of 1662 turned its attention to the duty of shedding a little more blood, to expiate that of the royal martyr. The Parliament was hounded on to this work from the high places of the restored Church. The 15th of January was a general fast-day, "to avert God's heavy judgments on this land," the season being unusually rainy. Dr. Ryves, or Reeves, dean of Windsor, preached before the House of Commons, "showing how the neglect of exerting justice on offenders (by which he insinuated such of the old king's murderers as were yet reprieved and in the Tower) was a main cause of God's punishing a land."† His text was from Joshua, c. vii. v. 13, "There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies until ye take away the accursed thing from among you." In the week in which Evelyn coolly records this Christian exhortation to avert the judgments of God, he has looked upon "an accursed thing," against which the pulpit of Westminster has no denunciations—the passion of gaming "in a Court which ought to be an example of virtue to the rest of the kingdom." Mr. Pepys says of this roaring time,—“At Court things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it, but confusion.” Rumours of conspiracies were rife at this period; and the virtuous Cavaliers of the Lower House thought with Dr. Ryves, that it would be a salutary measure to execute all the regicides whose fate, after conviction, had been suspended for the decision of Parliament. The Commons passed a Bill for their immediate execution, in direct opposition to the feeling of the Convention Parliament that their lives should be spared. The Lords read this Bill a first time, and then let it drop. Charles, to his honour, said

\* Burnet, "Own Times," Book ii.

† Evelyn "Diary."

to Clarendon, "I am weary of hanging, except for new offences;" and he trusted that the Bill against the regicides would not come to him; "for," said he, "you know that I cannot pardon them." Some of the minor offenders who had been excepted from the penalty of death, were now degraded from honours, and deprived of their estates. Lord Monson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop, who were sentenced by Act of Parliament, \* to be drawn upon sledges with ropes about their necks from the Tower to Tyburn, and back again, suffered this indignity. The nineteen condemned regicides were confined in various prisons, and wore out their lives in such hopeless captivity as Henry Marten endured at Chepstow. Three regicides, Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead, who had not surrendered upon the king's proclamation, were captured in Holland, in March, 1662, by the agency of Downing, who had been Cromwell's ambassador at the Hague. "The Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so: though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains."† They were executed on the 19th of April, and died defending the justice of their actions. The compliance of the Dutch government in the surrender of political offenders, contrasted unfavourably with the sturdy independence of the little states of Vevay and Berne. Ludlow, and others, received ample protection and liberal hospitality in Switzerland; and the royalists thus failing to secure them, had resort to base attempts at assassination. One of these only was successful. John Lisle was shot at Lausanne, in 1664, as he was going to a church near the town-gate.

For some time after the promise of the king to the Convention Parliament that Vane and Lambert, in their exception from the Act of Indemnity, should not suffer death if found guilty of treason, they had remained prisoners in the Tower. On the 30th of October, 1661, Pepys enters in his Diary, "Sir Henry Vane, Lambert, and others, are lately sent suddenly away from the Tower, prisoners to Scilly: but I do not think there is any plot, as is said, but only a pretence." Vane solaced his captivity by compositions which show how earnestly he sought the one true and abiding comfort in misfortune. His enthusiastic religion, his ardent aspirations for civil liberty, his unselfish life, his eminent ability, render him the most interesting of the republican party. Clarendon

\* 13 Car. II. c. 15.

† Pepys, "Diary," March 17.

don sought his exemption from the Act of Indemnity because he was "a man of mischievous activity." On the 7th of March, 1662; in a letter to his wife, Vane writes, "They that press so earnestly to carry on my trial do little know what presence of God may be afforded me in it, and issue out of it, to the magnifying of Christ, in my body, by life or by death. Nor can they, I am sure, imagine how much I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which of all things that can befall me I account best of all."\* Thus fortified against the worst, he was arraigned before the Court of the King's Bench on the 2nd of June, 1662, as "a false traitor." The overt acts of treason alleged against Vane and Lambert were, their exercise of civil and military functions under the Commonwealth. When we consider the number of men who had filled high offices during the suspension of the monarchy, and yet had been active instruments in its restoration, we marvel at the effrontery which should wrest the law to the conviction of two men who had been faithful servants of their country. The condemnation of Vane and Lambert was wholly against the spirit, if not the letter, of the statute of Henry VIII., which declared indemnity for all persons rendering obedience to a king for the time being, although his title might be defective. By party reasoning, obedience to the Parliament, which stood in the place of the king, could not be deemed a crime against the king *de jure*. But the judges maintained that Charles the Second was a king *de facto*, and had never been out of possession. Vane, who defended himself throughout with marvellous ability, replied that if the king was never out of possession the indictment against him must fall to the ground; for it alleged that he endeavoured to keep out the king. The courage, the proud consciousness of right, the lofty principles of Vane, were the reasons which would have induced a high-minded sovereign to adhere gladly to his promise that his life should be spared in the event of his condemnation. Charles was not a high-minded sovereign—he was selfish, corrupt, faithless, shameless. The letter which he wrote to Clarendon the day after Vane's trial is as characteristic of the man as any other of the acts of his unworthy life:

"The relation that has been made to me of Sir Henry Vane's carriage yesterday in the hall is the occasion of this letter, which, if I am rightly informed, was so insolent as to justify all he had done, acknowledging no supreme power in England but a Parlia-

\* Quoted in Mr. Forster's "Life of Vane," p. 210.

ment, and many things to that purpose. You have had a true account of all; and if he has given new occasion to be hanged, certainly he is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way. Think of this, and give me some account of it to-morrow, till when I have no more to say to you.—C. R.

The deportment of a prisoner on his trial could not "give new occasion to be hanged," even if it had been most violent. Vane in his justification avoided every topic of offence to the king personally, as none of Vane's public acts had been marked by any personal hostility to him. The "if we can honestly put him out of the way," was not a scruple which Charles would long entertain. He was put out of the way on the 14th of June, dying with a courage which, says Pepys, "is talked on everywhere as a miracle." The life of Lambert was spared, according to that promise which the king did not scruple to violate when his victim was "too dangerous a man to let live." Vane was the last of the sacrifices on the scaffold to the revenges of the monarchy.

On the opening of the Parliament of 1661, the king announced that he was about to marry "a daughter of Portugal." This marriage had been advised by Louis XIV., who, although he had engaged to Spain to give no support to Portugal in its struggles to maintain its independence, saw in this English alliance a mode of strengthening Portugal against the power which entered into rivalry with him. The Spanish ambassador in London opposed the match, declaring that Spain would never cease to maintain her claims against the House of Braganza. Vatteville, the ambassador from Spain, and Bastide, the ambassador from France, each pressed their opinions upon the Council of Charles. When the Portuguese alliance was settled, they entered into a personal contest, which is an amusing variety of the dull battles of protocols. They resolved to fight out, in the streets of London, the claims of the two Crowns for precedency. Charles issued a proclamation forbidding his subjects to take part in the conflict which was to take place on the expected entry of the Swedish ambassador. On the Tower Wharf was drawn up, on one side of the stairs, the carriage of the Spanish ambassador; on the other side the carriage of the French ambassador. They were each surrounded by many liveried servants, on foot and horseback, fully armed. The Swede landed; and, occupying a royal carriage, went on his way. Then began the mighty strife of the representatives of the two greatest sovereigns in Europe, as to which should next follow. Their attendants

fought till fifty were killed or wounded; but the Spaniard won the race, by cutting the traces of the Frenchman's carriage. Why should not the quarrels of *courts* always be fought out in this fashion, which might give ambassadors some real business that would allow them less leisure to embroil *nations*?

In spite of the triumphant Vatteville, Charles married Catherine of Braganza. She was not remarkable for beauty, but she was sensible and amiable; and the king professed himself fortunate, and avowed his resolution to seek his future happiness in conjugal affection. His first act of devotion to his queen was to present lady Castlemaine to her in the midst of the Court. It was known to all, and to the queen herself, that "the lady" was his avowed mistress. Catherine suppressed her indignation; but the effort caused the blood to gush from her nose, and she was carried in a fit from the royal presence. The gracious king was indignant at the squeamishness of the queen; and insisted that Castlemaine should be one of the ladies of her bed-chamber. Clarendon remonstrated with his master, and ventured to compare royal harlots with other lewd women; but the remonstrances ended by the Chancellor undertaking to persuade the queen "to a full compliance with what the king desired." Catherine threatened to return to Portugal. Charles did more than threaten—he sent away her old servants, with the exception of a few, who were allowed to remain when the queen's spirit was humbled to ask a favour. Clarendon, in his 'Life,' tells the issue of this characteristic scoundrelism of "our most religious and gracious king"—the title which the discriminating bishops now gave Charles in the Liturgy: "The king pursued his point: the lady came to the court,—was lodged there,—was every day in the queen's presence,—and the king in continual conference with her, whilst the queen sat untaken notice of; and if her majesty rose at the indignity and retired into her chamber, it may be one or two attended her; but all the company remained in the room she left, and too often said those things aloud which nobody ought to have whispered . . . All these mortifications were too heavy to be borne; so that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the queen on a sudden let herself fall first to conversation and then to familiarity, and, even in the same instant, to a confidence with the lady; was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly."

The Infanta of Portugal brought to Charles three hundred and



fifty thousand pounds as her dowry. The English Crown also acquired Tangier, a fort on the coast of Africa. The possession of Tangier, which the nation regarded as worthless, was to compensate for the sale of Dunkirk, which the nation regarded as one of the chief triumphs of the foreign policy of the great Protector. Charles was more eager to put money into his purse, than to gratify the national pride; and Louis the Fourteenth was as desirous to obtain Dunkirk as Charles to convert the Gibraltar of that day into jewels for new mistresses. Louis made a cunning bargain. He gave four millions of livres in bills; and then employed his own ready money to discount his own bills, at a saving of half a million. According to Louis's own account of the transaction, his rival in the treaty was the city of London, the lord mayor having been deputed to offer any sum, that Dunkirk might not be alienated. Clarendon had advised the sale, although he had a little before, in a speech in Parliament, dwelt on the value of the place. The people, naturally enough, however unjustly, held that the Chancellor had been bribed. The magnificent palace that he was building near St. James's was popularly called "Dunkirk House;" and the national dislike of the sale of Dunkirk was one of the first symptoms that his power was on the wane. His participation in that sale subsequently formed an article of his impeachment. The popular opinion that the sale of Dunkirk was to supply new funds for the profligacy of the Court, was confirmed by the public demonstrations of that profligacy. Lord Buckhurst and Sir Charles Sedley had outraged all decency by an exhibition which Pepys recorded in cypher, but which his editor says is "too gross to print." Baxter gives us some notion of "the horrid wickedness" of these titled blackguards, "acting the part of preachers, in their shirts, in a balcony" in Covent Garden.\* With such companions was Charles now generally surrounded. All thoughts of business were abhorrent to him. To lady Castlemaine's lodgings he was followed by his "counsellors of pleasure," who laughed at the "old dotards" who presumed to talk in a serious vein. Rivals to "the lady" now sprung up, with the usual incidents of jealousies and poutings, to be averted by lavish presents to the old favourite, or heavier bribes to the new. The English Court became the ridicule of foreigners. The Dutch caricatured the king in various of his characteristic positions. In one print he was shown with "pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty;" in

\* "Life," Part iii. p. 13.

another, with two courtiers picking his pockets; in a third, leading two ladies, whilst other ladies were abusing him.\* The heartless swindler had appropriated great part of his queen's jointure to his rapacious mistresses. The people, who groaned under the tax of "chimney-money," and declared they would not pay it without force, were yet pleased with the gossiping familiarity of the king, as he sauntered among them, feeding his ducks in the new Canal in St. James's Park, or joining his nobles in a game at "Pell-Mell." The Chevalier de Grammont saw Cromwell, "feared at home, yet more dreaded abroad, at his highest pitch of glory." He then saw "an affectation of purity of manners instead of the luxury which the pomp of Court displays." He came to the Court of Charles II., and "accustomed as he was to the grandeur of the Court of France, he was surprised at the politeness and splendour of the Court of England." What that "politeness and splendour" really covered is disgusting to look back upon, when we know that we are beholding the manners of our own countrymen. There were other men than the republican John Milton, who felt that they had "fallen on evil days." There were others than Puritans who listened not to

"the barbarous dissonance  
Of Bacchus and his revellers."

But, taken as a whole, the nation was degraded. Its old spirit was gone. There was a feeble attempt at insurrection in the north in 1663. This outbreak was partly of a religious character, and partly of a political. The insurrection, which was put down by a few of the king's guards, was an excuse for persecuting some of the surviving republicans,—amongst others, colonel Hutchinson, whose quiet and decorous life was an offence which was to be expiated by his death in the damp vaults of Sandown castle. The day of retribution was not yet come: but the handwriting was on the wall. "We are much indebted," says Mr. Hallam, "to the memory of Barbara, duchess of Cleveland, Louisa, duchess of Portsmouth, and Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn. We owe a tribute of gratitude to the Mays, the Killigrews, the Chiffinses, and the Grammonts. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the Star-chamber and the High-commission court; they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate

\* Pepys, November 28, 1663.

security of English freedom, the expulsion of the House of Stuart."

The abortive insurrection of the autumn of 1663 was made the pretext for a new measure against non-conformists in the session of 1664; and for an important change in the constitution of Parliament. The king, in his speech on the opening of this session, said, "You may judge by the late treason in the north, for which so many men have been executed, how active the spirits of many of our old enemies still are. . . . It is evident they have correspondence with desperate persons in most counties, and a standing council in this town. . . . Some would insist upon the authority of the Long Parliament, of which, they say, they have members enough, willing to meet; others have fancied to themselves, by some computation of their own upon some clause in the Triennial Bill, that this present parliament was at an end some months since." The alleged connection of some Fifth Monarchy men with this trifling insurrection of Farnley Wood, near Leeds,—of which Bennet, one of Charles's ministers, said that the country was too ready to prevent the disorders—was made the pretext for "An Act to prevent and suppress seditious Conventicles."\* The preamble states that the Act is "for providing further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciencies do at their meetings contrive insurrections, as late experience hath showed." But, insolently assuming that all religious assemblies of non-conformists were seditious, it enacted that if five or more persons besides the household were present at "any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England," then every person so present should, upon record before two justices of the peace, or the chief magistrate of a corporate town, be liable to certain fines, imprisonment, or transportation, for a first, second, or third offence. Under this abominable statute, puritan ministers who had been ejected from their benefices, and their admiring followers, were thrown into prison. Baxter has related in his plain and forcible manner how this law interfered with the ordinary affairs of life amongst serious people: "It was a great strait that people were in, especially that dwell near any busy officer, or malicious enemy (as who doth not?). Many durst not pray in their families,

\* 16 Car. II. c. 4.

if above four persons came in to dine with them. In a gentleman's house it is ordinary for more than four, of visitors, neighbours, messengers, or one sort or other, to be most or many days at dinner with them: and then many durst not go to prayer, and some durst scarce crave a blessing on their meat, or give God thanks for it. Some thought they might venture if they withdrew into another room, and left the strangers by themselves. But others said, 'It is all one if they be but in the same house, though out of hearing, when it cometh to the judgment of the justices.' In London, where the houses are contiguous, some thought if they were in several houses, and heard one another through the wall or a window, it would avoid the law. But others said, 'It is all in vain whilst the justice is judge whether it was a Meeting or no.' Great lawyers said, 'If you come on a visit or business, though you be present at prayer or sermon, it is no breach of the law, because you meet not on pretence of a religious exercise.' But those that tried them said, 'Such words are but wind when the justices come to judge you.' And here the fanatics called Quakers did greatly relieve the sober people for a time: for they were so resolute, and gloried in their constancy and sufferings, that they assembled openly (at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate) and were dragged away daily to the common jail; and yet desisted not, but the rest came the next day nevertheless; so that the jail at Newgate was filled with them. Abundance of them died in prison, and yet they continued their assemblies still."\* For years were the persecutions under this Statute continued with all the severity that the government could call forth. Clarendon intimates that the Act was not rigorously executed, otherwise it would have produced a thorough reformation. Dr. Creighton, preaching before the king, said that "the greatest part of the lay magistrates in England were Puritans, and would not do justice; and the bishops' powers were so taken away and lessened, that they could not exercise the power they ought."† With accommodating magistrates, and a persecuting hierarchy, the times of the Star Chamber would soon have come back. But some magistrates were honest, and some church-dignitaries merciful and tolerant. The Parliament was still compliant enough. They were yet far from manifesting any serious doubts of the value of passive obedience. But their very intolerance towards Protestant dissenters was, in some degree, a result of their suspicion of the king's desire to show favour to the

\* "Life," p. 436.

† Pepys, "Diary," March 26, 1664.

Papists. He claimed a dispensing power as to the relaxation of penal laws in ecclesiastical matters. The Parliament gently denied the king's right to this dispensing power, and a Bill to confirm that power was dropped, to Charles's great displeasure. In the constitutional point of the duration of Parliaments, the Crown was more successful in carrying out its own desires. By the Triennial Act of 1641, in default of the king summoning a new parliament within three years after a dissolution, the peers might issue writs; or the sheriffs in default of the peers; or in default of constituted authorities the people might elect their representatives without any summons whatever. These provisions against such violations of the constitution as had been seen in the time of Charles I., could not affect a sovereign who desired to govern in connection with Parliaments. Charles, in his opening speech in the session of 1664, said, "I need not tell you how much I love Parliaments. Never king was so much beholden to Parliaments as I have been; nor do I think the Crown can ever be happy without frequent Parliaments. But, assure yourselves, if I should think otherwise, I would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that Bill." \* The first Charles, in the pride of his triumphant despotism, could not have made a more insolent avowal. The famous Triennial Act was repealed; all its provisions for holding Parliaments in defiance of an arbitrary power of the Crown were set aside; and yet it was declared that Parliaments should not be suspended for more than three years. Charles II. lived to violate this law.

The first war in which the government of the restored monarchy was engaged originated in the commercial rivalry of the English and the Dutch. The African Company of England and the African Company of Holland quarrelled about the profits derived from slaves and gold-dust. They had fought for some miserable forts on the African coast; and gradually the contests of the traders assumed the character of national warfare. The merchants petitioned Parliament to redress their injuries; the House of Commons listened with ready ear; the king saw plentiful supplies about to be granted him, some of which might be diverted from their destined use; the duke of York was desirous of showing his prowess as Lord High Admiral. War was declared; and on the 3rd of June, 1665, the fleets of the two great commercial nations were engaged off Lowestoffe. The victory was complete

\* "Parliament Hist.," vol. iv. col. 291.

on the side of England. The old sailors of the Commonwealth had still some animating remembrances of Blake, with which they inspired the emulation of their new comrades. The duke of York was not deficient in animal courage; and the courtiers who served as volunteers had not lost the national daring in their self-indulgence. But the victory raised no shouts of exultation in the marts and thoroughfares of London. The great City was lying under the dread of the most terrible infliction, which was approaching to sweep away a third of its crowded population. The destroying angel was abroad: his avenging weapon was The Plague!

The June of 1665 comes in with extraordinary heat. The previous winter and spring had been the driest that ever man knew. The summer was coming with the same cloudless sky. There was no grass in the meadows around London. "Strange comets, which filled the thoughts and writings of astronomers, did in the winter and spring a long time appear." The "great comet," says Burnet, "raised the apprehensions of those who did not enter into just speculations concerning those matters." The boom of guns from the Norfolk coast is heard upon the Thames; and the merchants upon Change are anxiously waiting for letters from the fleet. In the coffee houses, two subjects of news keep the gossipers in agitation—the Dutch fleet is off our coast, the Plague is in the City. The 7th of June, writes Pepys, was "the hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw." The red cross upon the doors was too familiar to the elder population of London. In 1636, of twenty-three thousand deaths ten thousand were ascribed to the Plague. The terrible visitor came to London, according to the ordinary belief, once in every twenty years, and then swept away a fifth of the inhabitants. From 1636 to 1647 there had been no cessation of the malady, which commonly carried off two or three thousand people annually. But after 1648 there had been no record of deaths from the Plague amounting to more than twenty, in any one year. In 1664 the Bills of Mortality only registered six deaths from this cause. The disease seemed almost to belong to another generation than that which had witnessed the triumph and the fall of Puritanism—which had passed from extreme formalism to extreme licentiousness. How far the drunken revelries of the five

years of the Restoration might have predisposed the population to receive the disease, is as uncertain as any belief that the sobriety of the preceding time had warded it off. One condition of London was, however, unaltered. It was a city of narrow streets and of bad drainage. The greater number of houses were deficient in many of the accommodations upon which health, in a great degree, depends. The supply of water was far from sufficient for the wants of the poorer population; and with the richer classes the cost of water, supplied either by hand labour or machinery, prevented its liberal use. The conduits, old or new, could only afford to fill a few water-cans daily for household uses. There was much finery in the wealthy citizens' houses, but little cleanliness. It is to be remarked, however, that the Plague of 1665 was as fatal in the less crowded parts of Westminster and its suburbs, as in the City within the walls. Building had been going forward from the time of Elizabeth in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, and in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; and we might conclude that the streets would be wider and the houses more commodious in these new parts than in the close thoroughfares, over which the projecting eaves had hung for many a year, shutting out air and light. But in these suburban liberties the Plague of 1665 first raged, and then gradually extended eastward. On the 10th of June the disease broke out in the City, in the house of Dr. Burnett, a physician, in Fenchurch Street. "I saw poor Dr. Burnett's door shut; but he hath, I hear, gained great good will among his neighbours; for he discovered it himself first, and caused himself to be shut up of his own accord—which was very handsome." This is a quaint comment upon the good doctor's voluntary subjection to misery worse than death—to be shut up—with the red-cross on the door; no one coming with help or consolation; all stricken with the selfishness of terror.\*

\* There is a remarkable picture of a solitary man abiding in a house whilst the plague was around him, written by one who has many of the qualities of the true poet. George Wither, during the Plague of 1625, resolved to remain in his lodging in London, and thus he describes a night of "darkness and loneliness:"—

"My chamber entertain'd me all alone,  
And in the rooms adjoining lodged none.  
Yet, through the darksome silent night, did fly  
Sometime an uncouth noise; sometime a cry;  
And sometime mournful callings pierc'd my room,  
Which came, I neither knew from whence, nor whom.

And oft, betwixt awaking and asleep,  
Their voices, who did talk, or pray, or weep,  
Unto my list'ning ears a passage found,  
And troubled me, by their uncertain sound."



Defoe's famous "Journal of the Plague Year" has made this terrible season familiar to most readers. The spirit of accuracy is now more required than when the editor of a popular work informed his readers that Defoe continued in London during the whole time of the plague, and was one of the Examiners appointed to shut up infected houses.\* Defoe, in 1665, was four years old. Yet the imaginary saddler of Whitechapel, who embodies the stories which this wonderful writer had treasured up from his childhood, relates nothing that is not supported by what we call authentic history. The "Citizen who continued all the while in London," as the title of Defoe's Journal informs us, and whose dwelling was "without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate church and Whitechapel bars," relates how, through May and June, the nobility and rich people from the west part of the city filled the broad street of Whitechapel with coaches and waggons and carts, all hurrying away with goods, women, servants, and children; how horsemen, with servants bearing their baggage, followed in this mournful cavalcade, from morning to night; how the lord mayor's doors were crowded with applicants for passes and certificates of health, for without these none would be allowed to enter the towns, or rest in any wayside-inn. The citizen of Whitechapel thought "of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those who would be left in it." On the 21st of June, Pepys writes, "I find all the town almost going out of town; the coaches and waggons being all full of people going into the country." In the country the population dreaded to see the Londoners. Baxter remarks, "How fearful people were thirty, or forty, if not an hundred miles from London, of anything that they bought from any mercer's or draper's shop; or of any goods that were brought to them; or of any persons that came to their houses. How they would shut their doors against their friends; and if a man passed over the fields, how one would avoid another, as we did in the time of wars; and how every man was a terror to another." The Broadstone of East Redford, on which an exchange was made of money for goods, without personal communication, is an illustration of these rural terrors. A panic very soon took possession of the population of London. They talked of the comet, "of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow." They read 'Lilly's Almanac,' and 'Gadbury's Astrological Predictions,' and 'Poor Robin's Almanac,' and these

\* "Beauties of England and Wales."

books "frightened them terribly." A man walked the streets day and night, at a swift pace, speaking to no one, but uttering only the words "O the great and the dreadful God!" These prognostications and threatenings came before the pestilence had become very serious; and they smote down the hearts of the people, and thus unfitted them for the duty of self-preservation, and the greater duty of affording help to others. Other impostors than the astrologers abounded. The mountebank was in the streets with his "infallible preventive pills," and "the only true plague-water." Pepys records that "my lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me." But gradually the astrologers and the quacks were left without customers, for London was almost wholly abandoned to the very poorest. Touchingly does Baxter say, "the calamities and cries of the diseased and impoverished are not to be conceived by those who are absent from them . . . . The richer sort remaining out of the city, the greatest blow fell on the poor." The Court fled on the first appearance of the disease. Some few of the great remained, amongst others the stout old duke of Albemarle, who fearlessly chewed his tobacco at his mansion of the Cockpit. Marriages of the rich still went on. Pepys is diffuse about a splendid marriage at Dagenham's, which narrative reads like the contrasts of a chapter of romance. "Thus I ended this month (July) with the greatest joy that ever I did any in my life, because I have spent the greatest part of it with abundance of joy, and honour, and pleasant journeys, and brave entertainments, and without cost of money." A week after, he writes, "Home, to draw over anew my will, which I had bound myself by oath to dispatch to-morrow night, the town growing so unhealthy that a man cannot depend upon living two days."

The narrative of Defoe, and other relations, have familiarised most of us from our boyhood with the ordinary facts of this terrible calamity. We see the searchers, and nurses, and watchmen, and buryers marching in ominous silence through the empty streets, each bearing the red wand of office. We see them enter a suspected house, and upon coming out marking the door with the fatal red cross, a foot in length. If the sick within can pay, a nurse is left. We see the dead-cart going its rounds in the night, and hear the bell tinkling, and the buryers crying "Bring out your dead." Some of the infected were carried to the established pest-houses, where the dead-cart duly received its ghastly load. The saddler of Whitechapel describes what he beheld at "the great pit.

of the churchyard of our parish at Aldgate:—"I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead-cart, as they called it, coming over the streets, so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. . . . It had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies; some were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked amongst the rest; but the matter was not much to them, nor the indecency to any one else, seeing that they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it, for here is no difference made, but poor and rich went together; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this." Soon, as Pepys tells us on the 12th of August, "the people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by day light, the night not sufficing to do it in." The terrors which the sleek Secretary of the Navy feels when he thus encounters a dead body are almost ludicrous. The Reverend Thomas Vincent, one of the non-conforming clergy who remained in the city, has thus described the scenes of August: "Now people fall as thick as the leaves in autumn when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets; every day looks with the face of a Sabbath-day, observed with a greater solemnity than it used to be in the city. Now shops are shut in, people rare and very few that walk about, insomuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places, and a deep silence in every place, especially within the walls. No prancing horses, no rattling coaches, no calling in customers nor offering wares, nor London cries sounding in the ears. If any voice be heard it is the groans of dying persons breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves. Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled among the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now, in some places where the people did generally stay, not one house in a hundred but what is affected; and in many houses half the family is swept away; in some, from the eldest to the youngest; few escaped but with the death of one or two. Never did so many husbands and wives die together; never did so many parents carry their children with them to the grave, and go together into the

same house under earth who had lived together in the 'same house upon it. Now the nights are too short to bury the dead: the whole day, though at so great a length, is hardly sufficient to light the dead that fall thereon into their graves." At the beginning of September the empty streets put on another aspect, equally fearful. The bonfire, which was the exhibition of gladness, was now the token of desolation. Every six houses on each side of the way were to be assessed towards the expense of maintaining one great fire in the middle of the street for the purification of the air,—fires which were not to be extinguished by night or by day. A heavy rain put out these death-fires, and perhaps did far more good than this expedient. As winter approached, the disease began rapidly to decrease. Confidence a little revived. A few shops were again opened. The York wagon again ventured to go to London with passengers. At the beginning of 1666 "the town fills again." "Pray God," says Pepys, "continue the Plague's decrease; for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to rack as to public matters." He rides in Lord Brouncker's coach to Covent Garden: "What staring to see a nobleman's coach come to town. And porters everywhere bow to us: and such begging of beggars." The sordid and self-indulgent now began to come back: "January 22nd. The first meeting of Gresham College since the plague. Dr. Goddard did fill us with talk, in defence of his and his fellow-physicians' going out of town in the plague-time; saying that their particular patients were most gone out of town, and they left at liberty, and a great deal more." This is Pepys' entry of the 4th of February: "Lord's day: and my wife and I the first time together at church since the plague, and now only because of Mr. Mills his coming home to preach his first sermon; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before anybody went, and now staying till all are come home: but he made but a very poor and short excuse, and a bad sermon." Mr. Mills, and his doings, and the doings of such as Mr. Mills, were not without important consequences, which bring us back to the political history of this time of suffering, in which the few manifested a noble devotion to their duty, and the many exhibited the more general characteristic of their generation—intense selfishness. Defoe tells, with the strictest accuracy, the mode in which the spiritual condition of the plague-struck city was attended to: "Though it is true that a great many of the clergy did shut up their churches, and fled as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all

did not do so ; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons, or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation, and this as long as they would hear them. And dissenters did the like also and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled ; nor was there any room for making any difference at such a time as this was." Baxter also relates that, when "most of the conformable ministers fled, and left their flocks in the time of their extremity," the non-conforming ministers, who, since 1662, had done their work very privately, "resolved to stay with the people ; and to go into the forsaken pulpits, though prohibited ; and to preach to the poor people before they died ; and also to visit the sick, and get what relief they could for the poor, especially those that were shut up." The reward which the non-conforming ministers received for their good work was "The Five Mile Act."

The Statute which popularly bore this name is entitled "An Act for restraining Non-conformists from inhabiting in Corporations."\* In consequence of the plague raging in London, the Parliament met at Oxford on the 9th of October. Their first Act was for a supply of 1,250,000*l*. Their second was this "new and more inevitable blow aimed at the fallen Church of Calvin."† All persons in holy orders who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity were required to take the following oath : "I, A. B., do swear, that it is not lawful, under any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king ; and that I do abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions ; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in Church or State." In default of taking this oath they were forbidden to dwell, or come, unless upon the road, within five miles of any corporate town, or any other place where they had been ministers, or had preached, under a penalty of Forty Pounds and six months' imprisonment. They were also declared incapable of teaching in schools, or of receiving boarders. This Act had for its object wholly to deprive the conscientious Puritans of any means of subsistence connected with their former vocation of Christian ministers or instructors of youth. Mr. Hallam truly says, "The Church of England had doubtless her provocations ; but she made the retaliation much more than commensurate to the injury. No severity comparable to this cold-blooded persecution had been inflicted by the late powers, even in the ferment and fury of a civil

\* 17 Car. II. c. 2.

† Hallam.

war." An attempt was made to impose the non-resisting oath upon the whole nation; but it was defeated by a small majority.

The extent of the miseries inflicted by the Plague in London was probably diminished by "The Settlement Act" of 1662.\* This was entitled "An Act for the better relief of the Poor." The preamble of the Statute declares the continual increase of the Poor, not only within the cities of London and Westminster, but also through the whole kingdom; but there is little reason to doubt that the main object of the Bill was to thrust out from the parishes of the metropolis, all chargeable persons occupying tenements under the yearly value of ten pounds. By this Act the power of removal was first established—a measure which, however modified, has done as much evil to the labouring population in destroying their habits of self-dependence, as a legal provision for their support, prudently administered, has been a national blessing. The Settlement Act was carried by the metropolitan members, with little resistance from the country members. "The habitual congregating of the vagrant classes in London, and the dread of pestilence likely to be thereby engendered, appear to have overborne or neutralised all other considerations at the time, and hastened the passing of the Act."† The united efforts made by the Londoners to carry this Bill, leave little room to doubt that they acted upon it very promptly and vigilantly; and thus some considerable portion of the indigent population must have been driven forth from London and Westminster, to seek their parishes under the old laws which determined their lawful place of abode. The ten pound rental, either in London or the country, could protect none of the really indigent. It gave a privilege only to the well-to-do artisan or tradesman who had no legal settlement by birth, apprenticeship, or other legal claim. In 1675, in a debate on a Bill for restraint of building near London, one member said that "by the late Act the poor are hunted like foxes out of parishes, and whither must they go but where there are houses?" Another declared that "the Act for the settlement of the poor does, indeed, thrust all people out of the country to London."‡ The intent of the framers of the Act had probably been defeated by the reprisals of the rural magistrates and overseers. The system of hunting the poor went on amidst the perpetual litigation of nearly two centuries; and it is not yet come to an end.

\* 14 Car. II. c. 12.

† Sir G. Nicholls: "History of the English Poor Law," vol. i. p. 297.

‡ "Parl. Hist." vol. iv. col. 679.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Naval affairs.—Annus Mirabilis.—France joins the Dutch against England.—The sea-fight of four days.—The London Gazette.—Restraints upon the Press.—Ravages of the English fleet on the Dutch Coast.—The Great Fire of London.—Note, on Wren's Plan for rebuilding the City.

THE naval victory of the 3rd of June, 1665, was a fruitless triumph, won at a lavish expenditure of blood. The most loyal of the subordinate administrators of public affairs considered that a great success had been thrown away. Evelyn writes, (June 8th) "Came news of his highness' victory, which indeed might have been a complete one, and at once ended the war, had it been pursued; but the cowardice of some, or treachery, or both, frustrated that." When the Dutch fled from off Lowestoffe to their own shores, the English fleet commenced a pursuit; but in the night the King Charles, the duke of York's ship, slackened sail and brought to. In a Council of War, as Burnet relates upon the authority of the earl of Montague, Admiral Penn affirmed that they must prepare for hotter work in the next engagement; for he well knew the courage of the Dutch was never so high as when they were desperate. The courtiers said that the duke had got honour enough, and why should he venture a second time. His royal highness went to sleep; and in the night Brunkhard, one of his servants, delivered an order to the master of the King Charles to slacken sail, which order purported to be written by the duke. The House of Commons instituted an inquiry; and it was alleged that Brunkhard forged the order. Burnet says, "Lord Montague did believe that the duke was *struck*, seeing the earl of Falmouth, the king's favourite, and two other persons of quality, killed very near him; and that he had no mind to engage again." Some members of the House of Commons thought it a very desirable thing for the nation that the king's brother should incur no more such dangers. The duke remained at home, to contribute his share to the scandals which the Court habitually provoked, whether at Whitehall or at Oxford.

The Plague-year has passed; the "Year of Wonders" is come.



Dryden called his *Annus Mirabilis* "an historical poem." In his preface he says, "I have taken upon me to describe the motives, the beginning, progress, and successes, of a most just and necessary War; in it, the care, management, and prudence of our king; the conduct and valour of a royal admiral, and of two incomparable generals; the invincible courage of our captains and seamen; and three glorious victories, the result of all. After this, I have, in the Fire, the most deplorable, but withal the greatest, argument that can be imagined: the destruction being so swift, so sudden, so vast and miserable, as nothing can parallel in story." The year 1666 is, indeed, an eventful year; and the relation of its miseries, so closely following upon the calamity of the Plague, carries with it the consolation that the spirit of the English people, founded upon their industrious habits and their passion for liberty, has always been able to surmount the greatest political evils, and to acquire, even under the severest dispensations of Providence, the courage and perseverance which convert chastisements into blessings.

At the beginning of 1666, Louis XIV., for objects purely personal, joined the Dutch against England, and declared war. This policy of the French Court had a tendency to make the war with the Hollanders more popular in England. Prince Rupert, who was now a resident in London, and who had a command in the engagement off Lowestoffe, was not regarded with any public confidence; and the king felt it necessary to associate the duke of Albemarle with him in the command of the fleet. On the 8th of May the two Generals were at the Nore with their squadrons. "I sailed to the buoy of the Nore to my Lord-General and Prince Rupert, where was the rendezvous of the most glorious fleet in the world, now preparing to meet the Hollander."\* The people of London, dispirited by the ravages of the plague, many outraged by the persecutions against the non-conformists, unable or indisposed to pay the taxes for the war, had little enthusiasm as to its results. The 29th of May came, and Pepys is heavily afflicted at beholding few bonfires on the east-side of Temple-bar. Clarendon says "Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the Plague had prevailed, which was over all the City, and over a great part of the country; the collectors durst not go to require it or receive it."† On the 31st a public Fast-day was appointed to pray for the success of the fleet; "but," says Pepys, "it is a pretty

\* Evelyn, "Diary," May 8.

† "Life."

thing to consider how little a matter they make of this keeping a Fast, that it was not declared time enough to be read in the churches, the last Sunday; but ordered by proclamation since: I suppose upon some sudden news of the Dutch having come out." The Dutch fleet had come out; and on the 1st of June it was in the Downs, with Monk in sight of their formidable line of fighting vessels. On the 2nd there is a curious spectacle at Greenwich. The king and the duke of York have come down the river in their barge; and they walk to the Park to hear the loud firing of the ships in the Channel. The group of lordly attendants on Greenwich-hill, whispering and pointing as the sullen boom of the guns comes up the Thames;—Charles and James standing apart in puzzled conference, or laughing at some ill-timed jest;—a bowing courtier approaching the royal presence to bring news just arrived at Whitehall,—this is a scene which painting might properly make its own. That distant roar of cannon was not imaginary. Monk and Rupert had separated. It had been believed that the Dutch fleet was not ready for sea; and Monk, with fifty-four sail, had floated calmly from the Nore; when behold, there are eighty Dutch men-at-war at anchor off the North Foreland. The surprise was unaccountable; but it is a proof how rashly naval warfare was conducted when landsmen were the chief commanders. The English courage was too much relied upon; the science and experience which can alone make courage truly efficient were thought subordinate requisites. Monk was a hardy soldier, but a very imperfect naval tactician;—moreover he was now elated and presumptuous. He dashed at the Dutch; fought all day; and at night looked round upon disabled ships. De Witt was in the fleet of Holland; and chain-shot, of which he was held to be the inventor, cut the English rigging to pieces. They fired at our towering sails; we at their high-raised decks. The battle was resumed at the early dawn of the 2nd of June. De Ruyter had received a re-inforcement of sixteen ships during the night. Monk was looking in vain for Rupert to come to his aid. Another day of terrible fight, with losses severe enough on the English side, to have driven to despair a commander less resolute than Monk. Dryden has pictured him at nightfall, standing upon deck, while "the moon shone clear on the becalmed flood," musing on the probable issue of another day, and mournfully preparing for an ocean grave. On the 3rd he burnt some of his disabled ships, and retreated, fighting De Ruyter's rear-guard. The noblest ship of the English navy ran on the

Galloper sand, and was lost. Late on the 3rd, Rupert arrived from St. Helen's; and the battle was renewed with more equality. The poet describes how the anxious prince had heard the cannon long, and drew dire omens of English overmatched.\* The historian says, "he had received orders to return from St. Helen's on the first day of the battle; nor was it ever explained why he did not join Albemarle till the evening of the third."† The Diarist divides the blame between the government at home, and the proud prince, whose obstinate self-reliance had produced so many of the royalist disasters in the Civil War; "I to sir G. Carteret, who told me there hath been great bad management in all this; that the king's orders that went on Friday for calling back the prince were sent but by the ordinary post on Wednesday; and come to the prince his hands but on Friday; and then, instead of sailing presently, he stays till four in the evening. And that which is worst of all, the Hampshire, laden with merchants' money, come from the Straits, set out with or but just before the fleet, and was in the Downs by five of the clock yesterday morning; and the prince with his fleet come to Dover but at ten of the clock at night. This is hard to answer, if it be true. This puts great astonishment into the king, and duke, and court, everybody being out of countenance. Home by the 'Change, which is full of people still, and all talk highly of the failure of the prince in not making more haste after his instructions did come, and of our managements here in not giving it sooner and with more care and oftener." The first desire of the court, and the more natural one, was to set forth that there had been a great victory. Newspapers, then, had no peculiar sources of information, to check the tendency of all governments to deceive the people as to the results of their warlike enterprises—a tendency which only makes disappointment more severe when truth comes out, and thus exhibits falsehood not only as a crime but as a fault. The court had now got its "Gazette," which was first published at Oxford on the 7th of November, 1665; and soon after became "The London Gazette." Roger L'Estrange, Esquire, had commenced his "Intelligence published for the satisfaction and information of the People," and his "Newes," in 1663; the one issued on a Monday, the other on a Thursday. What real satisfaction and information the public could derive from these productions may be gathered from the address of their conductor. He was "Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Presses;" and he tells his readers

\* "Annus Mirabilis," stanza cvi.

† Lingard.

that his sacred majesty has been pleased "to grant and commit the privilege of publishing all intelligence, together with the survey and inspection of the Press, to one and the same person. He candidly informs his subscribers that, "supposing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and news or no news to be the question, a public Mercury should never have my vote." He is of opinion that it makes the multitude "too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious; and gives them, not only an itch, but a colourable right and licence to be meddling with the government." To keep the multitude in the right course, he thinks "the prudent management of a Gazette may contribute to a very high degree." \* This worthy Licenser was preceded in his high endeavours for the reformation of the pragmatical and censorious multitude by the Licensing Act of 1662, by which all books, according to their subjects, were to be licensed by the chancellor, the secretary of state, the bishops, and other great personages. All these authorities, practically, became merged in Roger L'Estrange, Esquire. The number of master printers in London was limited to twenty; no books were allowed to be printed out of London, except at the two Universities and at York; and all unlicensed books were to be seized, and the publisher punished by heavy penalties. The Stationers' Company was made a principal agency for carrying through these despotic regulations. We may well judge, therefore, that the real issue of the four days' fight in the Downs would be explained to the multitude after a fashion which the "prudent management" of the virtuous licenser of the Press, and candid monopolist of all intelligence, would prescribe. When Mr. Pepys entered in cipher in his Diary, "Lord, to see how melancholy the Court is under the thoughts of this last overthrow, for so it is, instead of a victory, so much and so unreasonably expected," it was the duty of Roger L'Estrange to make the ignorant multitude very joyful. Still there were material evidences of the truth. There were no Dutch prizes in the Thames; and when Mr. Evelyn, with all his royalist devotion, went to Sheerness on the 15th of June, he made this record: "Here I beheld the sad spectacle—more than half that gallant bulwark of the kingdom miserably shattered; hardly a vessel entire, but appearing so many wrecks and hulls, so cruelly had the Dutch mangled us." The "sad sight" makes him acknowledge that none knew "for what reason we first engaged in this ungrateful war." There was a partial success when a portion

\* See Nichol's "Literary Anecdotes," 1812, vol. iv. p. 36.

of the two fleets met again on the 25th of July, each being refitted. The Dutch were chased to their ports; and Monk and Rupert kept their coasts in alarm. A squadron of boats and fire-ships entered the channel at Schelling; burnt two men-of-war and a hundred and fifty merchantmen; and, to the disgrace of civilised warfare, reduced to ashes the thousand houses of the unfortified town of Brandaris. For this success, a day of Thanksgiving was appointed. It was kept; "though many muttered that it was not wisely done, to provoke the Dutch, by burning their houses, when it was easy for them to do the like by us, on our sea-coasts." \* De Witt saw the havoc of Brandaris; and he swore a solemn oath, that till he had obtained revenge, he would never sheathe the sword. He kept his oath. The 'Annus Mirabilis' was at an end before the great Dutch statesman inflicted a terrible retribution. At the close of the year came Dryden, intent upon earning the laureate wreath, and proclaimed the glories of 1666, in magnificent quatrains:—

"Already we have conquered half the war,  
And the less dangerous part is left behind:  
Our trouble now is but to make them dare,  
And not so great to vanquish, as to find." †

The story of the Great Fire of London has been related with minuteness by many trustworthy observers. We can place ourselves in the midst of this extraordinary scene, and make ourselves as familiar with its details as if the age of newspapers had arrived, and a host of reporters had been engaged in collecting every striking incident. But it is not in the then published narratives that we find those graphic touches which constitute the chief interest of this event at the present time. Half a century ago the materials for a faithful record of the Great Fire were to be sought in the report of a Committee of the House of Commons, in the State Trials, and in various tracts issued at the period. There are also several striking passages of Baxter's "Life," which relate to the fire. But such notices are meagre compared with the personal records in the two remarkable Diaries which have been rescued from obscurity during our own day. We are with Mr. Pepys in his night-gown at three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 2nd of September, looking out of his window in Seething Lane, at the east end of the City, and, thinking the fire far enough off, going to sleep again.

\* Baxter, "Life," part iii. p. 16.

† "Annus Mirabilis," cccii.

We accompany him later in the morning to a high place in the Tower, and see the houses near London Bridge on fire. The weather is hot and dry, and a furious east wind is blowing. The active Mr. Pepys takes a boat from the Tower Stairs; and slowly sculling up stream, looks upon the burning houses in the streets near the Thames; distracted people getting their goods on board lighters; and the inhabitants of the houses at the water's edge not leaving till the fire actually reached them. He has time to look at the pigeons—of which the Londoners generally were then as fond as the Spitalfields weavers of our time—hovering about the windows and balconies till they burned their wings and fell down. There is nobody attempting to quench the fire in that high wind. Everything is combustible after the long drought. Human strength seems in vain, and the people give themselves up to despair. The busy Secretary of the Navy reaches Whitehall, and tells his story to the king, and he entreats his majesty to order houses to be pulled down, for nothing less would stop the fire. The king desires Pepys to go to the lord mayor and give him this command. In Cannon-street he encounters the lord mayor, who cries, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent. People will not obey me." He had been pulling down houses. He did not want any soldiers. He had been up all night, and must go home and refresh himself. There is no service in the churches, for the people are crowding them with their goods. The worthy Pepys had invited a dinner-party on this Sunday; and so he goes home; and, "we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at that time we could be." But he and his guests sit not long over their feast. He walks through the streets; and again he takes boat at Paul's Wharf. He now meets the king and the duke of York in their barge. They ordered that houses should be pulled down apace; but the fire came on so fast that little could be done. We get glimpses in this confusion of the domestic habits of the citizens. "The river full of lighters and boats taking in goods; and good goods swimming about in the water; and I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of virginals in it." The severer Puritans had not driven out the old English love of music; the citizens' wives and daughters still had the imperfect spinet upon which Elizabeth and her maids of honour played. That hot September evening is spent by our observer upon the water. Showers of fire-drops are driving in his face. He sees the fiery flakes shooting up

from one burning house, and then dropping upon another five or six houses off, and setting that on flame. The roofs were in many streets only thatched: the walls were mostly timber. Warehouses in Thames-street were stored with pitch, and tar, and oil, and brandy. The night came on; and then Pepys, from a little ale-house on the Bankside, saw the fire grow, and shoot out between churches and houses, "in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fire flame of an ordinary fire." And then, as it grew darker, he saw the fire up the hill in an arch of above a mile long. Then rose the moon shedding a soft light over the doomed city; and amidst the terrible glare and the gentle radiance the whole world of London was awake, gazing upon the conflagration, or labouring to save something from its fury.

We turn to the Diary of Mr. Evelyn—a more elegant writer than Pepys, but scarcely so curious an observer of those minute points that give life to a picture. He has seen the fire from the Bankside on Sunday afternoon; and on Monday he returns to see the whole south part of the city burning. It was now taking hold of the great cathedral, which was surrounded by scaffolds for its repair. "The noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm; and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did, for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds, also, of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day."

On Tuesday, the 4th, Evelyn saw that the fire had reached as far as the Inner Temple. "All Fleet-street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate-hill, Warwick-lane, Newgate, Paul's-chain, Watling-street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes; the stones of Paul's flew like grenades, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse, nor man, was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied; the eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward." On that day the houses near the Tower were blown up; and the same judicious plan was pursued in other places. On the 5th the Court at Whitehall was in unwonted bustle. The king



and his brother had set an excellent example of personal activity; and gentlemen now took charge of particular streets, and directed the means of extinguishing the flames. The people now began to bestir themselves. The civic authorities no longer rejected the advice, which some seamen had given at first, to blow up the houses before the flames reached them, instead of attempting to pull them down. The wind abated. Large gaps were made in the streets. The desolation did not reach beyond the Temple westward, nor beyond Smithfield on the north. On Wednesday, the 5th, the mighty devourer was arrested in his course. Three days and three nights of agony had been passed; but not more than eight lives had been lost. Mr. Pepys at last lies down and sleeps soundly. He has one natural remark: "It is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I forgot almost the day of the week."

The contemporary accounts of the Fire, such as we find in a sensible pamphlet entitled 'Observations on the Burning of London,'\* have little pretension to be picturesque in their details. The more elaborate passages of Evelyn's 'Diary' have been quoted again and again; and, grouped together, they form the best connected narrative of an eye-witness. There is one passage in Baxter's 'Life' which is not so familiar; but which, in its rapid eloquence, is as impressive as Evelyn, and more truly poetical than Dryden's vague sublimities: "It was a sight that might have given any man a lively sense of the vanity of this world, and all the wealth and glory of it, and of the future conflagration of all the world. To see the flames mount up towards heaven, and proceed so furiously without restraint: To see the streets filled with people astonished, that had scarce sense left them to lament their own calamity: To see the fields filled with heaps of goods; and sumptuous buildings, curious rooms, costly furniture, and household stuff, yea, warehouses and furnished shops and libraries, all on a flame, and none durst come near to receive anything: To see the king and nobles ride about the streets, beholding all these desolations, and none could afford the least relief: To see the air, as far as could be beheld, so filled with the smoke, that the sun shone through it with a colour like blood; yea, even when it was setting in the west, it so appeared to them that dwelt on the west side of the city. But the dolefullest sight of all was afterwards, to see

\* Reprinted in "Harleian Miscellany."

what a ruinous confused place the city was, by chimnies and steeples only standing in the midst of cellars and heaps of rubbish; so that it was hard to know where the streets had been, and dangerous, of a long time, to pass through the ruins, because of vaults, and fire in them. No man that seeth not such a thing can have a right apprehension of the dreadfulness of it."

Whilst indifferent spectators were gazing on the fire from Bank-side, and the high grounds on the south of the Thames, the fields on the north were filled with houseless men, women, and children. "I went," says Evelyn, "towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen two hundred thousand people, of all ranks and degrees, dispersed and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss; and, though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief." There were liberal contributions from the king, and the nobility, and the clergy. Collections were made and distributed in alms to the most needy. But the real difficulty must have been to ensure a supply of food, when all the usual channels of interchange were choked up. Proclamations were made for the country people to bring in provisions. Facilities were offered to the people to leave the ruins, by a command that they should be received in all cities and towns to pursue their occupations; and that such reception should entail no eventual burthen on parishes. No doubt it was necessary to strive against the selfishness that vast calamities too often produce in the sufferers and the lookers-on. The country-people for miles around had gazed upon the flames.\* There was an immense destruction of books; and their half-burnt leaves were carried by the wind even as far as Windsor. The dense cloud of smoke shut out the bright autumn sun from the harvest-fields, and upon distant roads men travelled in the shade. The extent of the calamity was apparent. Yet it may be doubted if many of the great ones received the visitation in a right spirit. Pepys says, "none of the nobility came out of the country at all,

\* The author of this History, talking of the fire of London with a friend, in his 88th year, whose intellect is as bright as his knowledge is extensive, was much impressed by the fact that an event happening two centuries ago may have come to the ear of one now living, with only a single person intervening between himself and an eye-witness. Such a fact ought to lead us not to reject traditional information as unworthy of historical record. Our friend was born in 1760. His aunt, who died at 84 years of age, was accustomed to talk with him about his great-grandfather, who died in 1739, at 93 years of age. That great-grandfather used to describe his impressions of the fire of London, which he saw from a hill at Bishop's Stortford.

to help the king, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire." Some of the insolent courtiers exulted in the destruction: "Now the rebellious city is ruined, the king is absolute, and was never king indeed till now."\* One profligate "young commander" of the fleet "made mighty sport of it;" and rejoiced that the corruption of the citizens' wives might be effected at a very reduced cost.†

The Monument erected in commemoration of the Fire has an elaborate Latin inscription, in which it is set forth that the destruction comprised eighty-nine churches, the city-gates, Guildhall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries; a vast number of stately edifices; thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, four hundred streets. An account, which estimates the houses burnt at twelve thousand, values them at an average rent of 25*l.* a year, and their value, at twelve years' purchase, at £3,600,000. The public buildings destroyed are valued at £1,800,000; the private goods at the same rate. With other items, the total amount of the loss is estimated at £7,335,000.‡

But the interruption to industry must have involved even a more serious loss of the national capital. We have stated, on the authority of Clarendon, how the Plague had rendered it difficult to collect the revenue. He says of the necessities of the Crown in 1666, "Now this deluge by fire had dissipated the persons, and destroyed the houses, which were liable to the re-imbursment of all arrears; and the very stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the trade."§

The Monument, which was erected on the spot where the fire first broke out, recorded that the burning of this protestant city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of a popish faction. The "tall bully" lifted his head and lied in choice Latin for a century and three-quarters; and when the majority of men had grown more truly religious, and did not hold it the duty of one Christian to hate another who differed from him in doctrines and ceremonies, the Corporation of London wisely obliterated the offensive record. In the examinations before the Committee of the House of Commons, there was nothing beyond the most vague babble of the frightened and credulous, except the self-accusation of one Hubert, a French working-silversmith, who maintained that he was the incendiary. He was hanged, much to the disgrace of the administration of justice. "Neither the judges," says Claren-

\* Baxter. † Pepys. ‡ "Harleian Miscellany," vol. vii. p. 331. § "Life."

don, "nor any present at the trial, did believe him guilty; but that he was a poor distracted wretch, weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way."

Dryden's stanzas on the Fire thus conclude, with reference to the popular superstition, which had its influence even upon the well-informed:

"The utmost malice of the stars is past,  
And two dire comets, which have scourg'd the town,  
In their own Plague and Fire have breathed their last,  
Or dimly in their sinking sockets frown."

A medal was struck in commemoration of the Plague and Fire. The eye of God is in the centre; one comet is showering down pestilence and another flame. The east wind is driving on the flames. Death in the foreground is encountering an armed horseman. The legend is "*Sic Punit*"—So He punishes.

## NOTE ON WREN'S PLAN FOR REBUILDING THE CITY.

OUR noble Cathedral of St. Paul's, and many Churches which exhibit the genius of sir Christopher Wren in many graceful and original forms of towers and spires, grew out of the Great Fire. But the occasion was lost for a nobler city to arise, of wide streets, and handsome quays. The old wooden fabrics were replaced by those of brick; but the same narrow thoroughfares were preserved as of old. The owners of property could not be brought to unite in any common plan; and each built his house up again, upon his own spot of ground. The constant labour of succeeding times, and of our own especially, has been to clear away, at enormous cost, what the fire had cleared away in three days and nights. This want of co-operative action was not the result of any ignorance of what required to be done. Wren's labours and wishes are thus recorded: "In order to a proper reformation, Wren, pursuant to the royal command, immediately after the fire, took an exact survey of the whole area and confines of the burning, having traced over with great trouble and hazard the great plain of ashes and ruins; and designed a plan or model of a new city, in which the deformity and inconveniences of the old town were remedied, by the enlarging the streets and lanes, and carrying them as near parallel to one another as might be; avoiding, if compatible with greater conveniences, all acute angles; by seating all the parochial churches conspicuous and insular; by forming the most public places into large piazzas, the centre of six or eight ways; by uniting the halls of the twelve chief companies into one regular square annexed to Guildhall; by making a quay on the whole bank of the river, from Blackfriars to the Tower. . . . The streets to be of three magnitudes; the three principal leading straight through the City, and one or two cross streets, to be at least ninety feet wide; others sixty feet; and lanes about thirty feet, excluding all narrow dark alleys without thoroughfares, and courts. . . . The practicability of this scheme, without loss to any man or infringement of any property, was at that time demonstrated, and all material objections fully weighed and answered. The only, and as it happened insurmountable, difficulty remaining, was the obstinate averseness of great part of the citizens to alter their old properties, and to recede from building their houses again on the old ground and foundations; as also the distrust in many and unwillingness to give up their properties, though for a time only, into the hands of public trustees or commissioners, till they might be dispensed to them again, with more advantage to themselves than otherwise was possible to be effected. . . . The opportunity in a great degree was lost of making the new City the most magnificent, as well as commodious for health and trade, of any upon earth."\*

\* Wren's "Parentalia," p. 269.

## CHAPTER IX.

Meeting of Parliament.—Discontents.—Public Accounts.—Insurrection of Covenanters in Scotland.—State of the Navy.—Dutch Fleet at the Nore.—Ships burnt in the Medway.—Blockade of London.—Peace with the Dutch.—Clarendon deprived of Office.—He is impeached.—He leaves England.—The Cabal Ministry.—Treaty of Triple Alliance.—Secret Negotiations of the king with Louis the Fourteenth.

THE flames of London were still smouldering when the Parliament met at Westminster on the 21st of September. The king said, "Little time hath passed, since we were almost in despair of having this place left us to meet in; you see the dismal ruins the fire hath made." There had been a prorogation for ten months. But money was wanting. "I desire," said Charles, "to put you to as little trouble as I can; and I can tell you truly, I desire to put you to as little cost as is possible. I wish with all my heart that I could have the whole charge of this war myself, and that my subjects should reap the benefit of it to themselves." No doubt it was very disagreeable that the king's subjects, being to be called upon to pay largely, should by any possibility take the liberty of asking what they were to pay for. Clarendon tells us of the somewhat dangerous temper which was spreading after the experience of six years and a half of the happy Restoration. "Though they made the same professions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the Court and the continual riotings there." \* They were tending to the accomplishment of Harrington's prophecy: "Well! The king will come in. Let him come in, and call a Parliament of the greatest Cavaliers in England, so they be men of estates, and let them sit but for seven years, and they will all turn Commonwealth's men." † A bill was brought in for the appointment of Commissioners "to examine all accounts of those who had received or issued out any moneys for this war; and where they found any persons faulty, and who had broken their trust, they should be liable to such punishment as the Parliament should think fit." Sir George Carteret, and lord Ashley, who were chiefly aimed at,

\* "Life."

† Aubrey's "Lives," vol. ii. p. 373.

"both applied themselves to the king for his protection in this point. His majesty was no less troubled, knowing that both had issued out many sums upon his warrant, which he would not suffer to be produced." To such a bill the king was resolved never to give the royal assent. This is Clarendon's relation of the matter; and yet he is not ashamed to say that he urged the king "to prevent the excesses in Parliament, and not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they have nothing to do with." Mr. Hallam says, "Such a slave was Clarendon to his narrow prepossessions, that he would rather see the dissolute excesses which he abhorred suck nourishment from that revenue which had been allotted to maintain the national honour and interests, and which, by its deficiencies thus aggravated, had caused even in this very year the navy to be laid up, and the coasts to be left defenceless, than suffer them to be restrained by the only power to which thoughtless luxury would submit."\* Every effort was made to oppose the bill; † and the Parliament was prorogued in 1667 without its being passed. Next year, 1668, the Parliament carried its salutary measure of control. A supply of £1,800,000 was granted; and at the prorogation the king said, "I assure you the money shall be laid out for the ends it is given."

The calamities which London had endured of Pestilence and Conflagration were not wholly unacceptable to the corrupt court. Clarendon informs us that there were those about the king, who assured him that the Fire "was the greatest blessing that God had ever conferred on him, his restoration only excepted; for the walls and gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the Crown, his majesty would never suffer them to repair and build them up again, to be a bit in his mouth, and a bridle upon his neck; but would keep all open, that his troops might enter upon them whenever he thought it necessary for his service, there being no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force." Charles was not pleased with these suggestions, adds Clarendon. Desirable as it might be to have the Londoners under his feet at this time of their desolation, there was still the old spirit abroad in England. "Mr. Williamson stood, in a little place, to have come into the House of Commons, and they would not choose him; they said 'No courtier.' And, which is worse, Bab. May went down in great state to Winchelsea with the duke of York's letters, not doubting to be chosen; and

\* "Constitutional History," c. 12.

† *Aule*, p. 137.



there the people chose a private gentleman in spite of him, and cried out they would have no court pimp to be their Burgess; which are things that bode very ill."\* The indiscretion of the king, to apply the least offensive term to his conduct, was sufficient to alienate the affection which had been so lavishly bestowed upon him, even if the people, with their bitter experience, stopped short of rebellion. There were large numbers of the humbler retainers of the royal household who, when Lady Castlemaine ordered of her tradesmen every jewel and service of plate that she fancied, and told her servant to send a note of their cost to the Privy Purse, were themselves absolutely starving. It sounds very like exaggeration when we read that one of the king's musicians, "Evans, the famous man upon the harp, having not his equal in the world, did the other day die for mere want, and was fain to be buried by the alms of the parish." But this is not idle gossip of Mr. Pepys. There is an account in existence of "The state of the Treasurer of the Chamber, his office, at Midsummer, 1665," which shows the yearly payments due to officers of the king's household, and of the sums "behind unpaid."† There were forty-two musicians, to whom their salaries had been due for three years and one quarter. High and low, the Bishop Almoner and the rat-killer, the Justice in Oyer beyond Trent and the bird-keeper, footmen, falconers, huntsmen, bear-warders, wardrobe officers, watermen, messengers, yeomen of the guard, and many others, useful or useless, had been "behind unpaid," some for five years, some for four years, some for three or two years, very few only for one year. To three apothecaries, more than 5000*l.* was due. That these persons, frequenting the coffee-houses or alehouses of London, did not spread abroad their griefs, cannot reasonably be imagined. A sullen discontent, a silent indignation, settled deep into the hearts of the whole community. If a sword had been drawn against the English people, there would have been another Civil War, with one certain result. Men were satisfied for twenty years longer to endure and murmur. "It is strange how everybody do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good-liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people,

\* Pepys, "Diary," October 12, 1666.

† Preface to "Secret Services of Charles II. and James II." Camden Society.

hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time." Not at all strange, Mr. Pepys, that the people looked back upon Oliver, and what brave things he did. But the vicissitudes of nearly twenty years—the dread of property becoming insecure—the religious divisions—the respect for the monarchical principle, however degraded in the immediate wearer of the Crown—the love for the ancient Church, amidst all its pride and intolerance—these considerations kept Englishmen quiet. The government, moreover, was corrupt, but in England it was not cruel, beyond the cruelty of preventing men's religious opinions by statute. On this side the Tweed the government provoked little more than the contempt of those whom it fined and imprisoned for non-conformity. In Scotland, it drove them to desperation; and when they rebelled the thumbikin and the boot were ready to be administered to the victims, under the forms of justice by the apostate Lauderdale, or they were shot down and hanged by the brute Dalziel. The archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow hounded on the persecutors.

The restoration of the monarchy was, to Scotland the establishment of a policy of unmitigated despotism. The orders of the king and council in matters ecclesiastical were to have the force of laws. A large army was raised to hold the people in subjection, whilst episcopacy, which they abominated, was established, without any modification by general assemblies. The churches were deserted; and the non-conforming preachers had immense congregations in barns and fields; on wild heaths and in the gorges of the mountains. The assemblies were dispersed by the soldiers; but no violence could put them down. Those who were most zealous had soldiers quartered in their houses, to grind out of them the fines which they were unwilling or unable to pay. In the West of Scotland, where the Non-conformists were most numerous and most determined, sir James Turner, a fitting instrument of tyranny, was sent to enforce obedience by mulcts and severer penalties, levied at his bidding by his rapacious dragoons. To a resolute and hardy population, maddened by injuries, and defiant of danger, resistance in arms seemed not only a worldly policy but a sacred duty. A body of Covenanters of the West marched to Dumfries, and seized sir James Turner. They were for the most part peasants, with a few Presbyterian ministers amongst them. But they were not ignorant of military discipline, and soon became alarming in their numbers and their subordination. About three thousand set off to

march from Lanark to Edinburgh, but these bands gradually dwindled to eight or nine hundred. When they had reached within four miles of the city, they learnt that it was fortified, and its gates shut against them. They retreated to the Pentland Hills. On the evening of the 28th of November, Dalziel came upon them with a body of horse. Twice the insurgents drove back the cavalry, but their ranks were at last broken and they were utterly dispersed. The slaughter was inconsiderable ; but many were executed, and some tortured. " One Maccail, that was only a probation preacher, and who had been chaplain in sir James Stuart's house, had gone from Edinburgh to them ; it was believed he was sent by the party in town, and that he knew their correspondents ; so he was put to the torture, which in Scotland they call the boots ; for they put a pair of iron boots close on the leg, and drive wedges between these and the leg. The common torture was only to drive these in the calf of the leg ; but I have been told they were sometimes driven upon the shin-bone. He bore the torture with great constancy ; and either he could say nothing, or he had the firmness not to discover those who trusted him. Every man of them could have saved his own life, if he would accuse any other ; but they were all true to their friends. Maccail, for all the pains of the torture, died in a rapture of joy : his last words were, farewell sun, moon, and stars—farewell kindred and friends—farewell world and time—farewell weak and frail body—welcome eternity—welcome angels and saints—welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God the judge of all ; which he spoke with a voice and manner that struck all that heard it." \*

On the 31st of December, 1666, the official person who had the most intimate knowledge of the affairs of the navy thus writes in his Diary : " Thus ends this year of public wonder and mischief to this nation. Public matters in a most sad condition ; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed : nor, as matters are now, can any fleet go out next year. . . . A sad, vicious, negligent court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year ; from which, good God deliver us." † Such ships as were in commission were commanded by haughty young nobles, wholly ignorant of naval affairs. One of these fair-weather captains, a son of lord Bristol, was heard to say that he hoped not to see " a tarpawlin " in command of a ship for a twelvemonth. The honest tarpawlins confessed that " the

\* Burnet's " History of his own Time."

† Pepys.

true English valour we talk of is almost spent and worn out."\* Direful calamities at the hands of the All-seeing had not broken the national spirit; but the infamous corruption of the higher classes was eating into the foundation of England's greatness. Her people were losing that masculine simplicity, that healthy devotion to public and private duties, that religious earnestness—intolerant, no doubt, but rarely simulated by the followers of Calvin or the followers of Arminius in the greatest heat of their conflicts—the English were losing that nationality, whose excess may be ludicrous, but whose utter want is despicable. Their high intellect was being emasculated by a corrupt literature. Science was groping in the dark under the auspices of the Royal Society; and Divinity was holding forth from orthodox pulpits on the excesses of the early Reformers, and the duty of non-resistance to kings deriving their power direct from Heaven. These follies probably did little harm; and men gradually shook off their delusions, and went forward to seek for experimental Science that had useful ends, and for practical Theology that would make them wiser and happier. But the corruptions of the Court soon worked upon the principles of the people, through a debasing popular Literature. The Drama had come back after an exile of twenty years. When the Drama was banished, Tragedy was still a queen wearing her purple and her pall; and the "wood-notes wild" of Comedy were as fresh and joyous as those of the lark in spring. The Drama came back in the shameless garb, and with the brazen look, and the drunken voice, of the lowest strumpet. The people were to be taught that Shakspeare was a barbarian, and not to be tolerated in his own simplicity. He was, if heard at all, to furnish the *libretto* of an opera, to be got up with dresses and decorations by sir William D'Avenant. "I saw," says Evelyn in 1662, "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, played; but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his majesty being so long abroad." This refined age, when it brought women to personate female characters, heard from the lips of Eleanor Gwynn and Mary Davis, the foulest verses, which they were selected to speak to furnish additional relish to the licentiousness of the poet. The theatre was at the very height of fashion when it was most shameless. The actresses were removed from "The King's House," to become the mistresses of the king, by their gradual promotion from being the mistresses of the king's servants. Nelly threw up her parts, and would act no more when

\* Pepys, October 29, 1666.

lord Buckhurst gave her a hundred a year, in 1667. In 1671, when Mr. Evelyn walked with the king through St. James's Park, Mrs. Nelly looked out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and there was "familiar discourse" between his majesty and the "impudent comedian," at which scene Mr. Evelyn was "heartily sorry." It was well for England that her salt had not wholly lost its savour; that the middle-class of London, though they rushed to the savage Bull-baitings of the Bear-garden, which had been shut up during the time of the Long Parliament, were too indignant at the costliness of the court to be enamoured of its gilded profligacy. It was better still for England that some little of the old Puritan spirit was left amongst the humblest classes—that the Bible was read by the poor, and Rochester and Shadwell were to them unknown.\*

Amidst the abandonment of the Court to its pleasures,—the rapacity of the royal favourites, who received gratuities and pensions not to be counted by hundreds but by thousands of pounds—the jealousy of the Parliament in granting money which they knew would be wasted—the spring of 1667 arrived, without any preparations for carrying on the naval war. When the king's treasurer had got some of the money which the House of Commons tardily voted, there were more pressing necessities to be supplied than the pay of sailors, or the fitting out of ships. The satirical verse of Andrew Marvell has represented this crisis with historic accuracy:

"Each day they bring the tale, and that too true,  
How strong the Dutch their equipage renew.  
Meantime through all the yards their orders run  
To lay the ships up, cease the keels begun.  
The timber rots, the useless axe doth rust;  
Th' unpractised saw lies buried in its dust;  
The busy hammer sleeps, the ropes untwine,  
The store and wages all are mine and thine;  
Along the coasts and harbours they take care  
That money lacks, nor forts be in repair."†

\* We recommend to the *genre* painters subjects for a Picture of two compartments, representing High Life and Low Life, after Sketches by Mr. Pepys, at Epsom, Sunday, the 14th of July, 1667:—

"By eight o'clock to the Well, where much company. And to the town to the King's Head; and hear that my Lord Buckhurst and Nelly are lodged at the next house, and Sir Charles Sedley with them; and keep a merry house. Poor girl! I pity her."

"I walked upon the Downs, where a flock of sheep was; and the most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life. We found a shepherd, and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the Bible to him."

† "Instructions to a Painter about the Dutch Wars."—Works, vol. ii. p. 101; 1726.

On the 23rd of January the sailors were in mutiny at Wapping, and the Horse Guards were going to quell them. They were in insurrection for the want of pay. When the money was obtained from Parliament they still mutinied, for they were still unpaid. On the 5th of June the Portuguese ambassador had gone on board 'The Happy Return,' in the Hope, ordered to sail for Holland; but the crew refused to go until they were paid. Other ships were in mutiny the same day. On the 8th of June the Dutch fleet of eighty sail was off Harwich. It was time to stir. The king sent lord Oxford to raise the militia of the eastern counties; and "my lord Barkeley is going down to Harwich also to look after the militia there; and there is also the duke of Monmouth, and with him a great many young Hectors, the lord Chesterfield, my lord Mandeville, and others;" but, adds Mr. Pepys, "to little purpose, I fear, but to debauch the country women thereabouts." On the 10th of June the Dutch were at the Nore. Then, indeed, the matter was past the skill of the "young Hectors." The enemy had advanced almost as high as the Hope. Monk has rushed down to Gravesend—"in his shirt," writes Marvell. Money is now forthcoming to pay the revolted seamen; but, sighs Pepys, "people that have been used to be deceived by us as to money won't believe us; and we know not, though we have it, how almost to promise it." The Dutch fleet has dropped down to Sheerness. "The alarm was so great," writes Evelyn, "that it put both country and city into fear—a panic and consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more; everybody was flying, none knew why or whither." Monk was at Gravesend, "with a great many idle lords and gentlemen." Opposite them was Tilbury. Did any of these "idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries," think of the time when the great queen stood like a rock upon that shore; and her people gathered round her with invincible confidence; and the greatest armament that ever threatened England was scattered by her true gentlemen—the Raleighs and Carews, who loved their country with a filial love, and hurled foul scorn at the invader? Charles, if not belied by the Dutch, was deliberating in Council on the propriety of a flight to Windsor, by way of example to his terrified people.\* On the 11th, news came to London that Sheerness was taken. The drums were beating all night for the trained bands to be in arms in the morning, with bullets and powder, and a fortnight's victuals. The Londoners were momentarily relieved of their panic;

\* "Correspondence of Evelyn," vol. iii. p. 213; 1852.

for the Dutch fleet had sailed up the Medway. Chatham was safe, the courtiers said. Monk had stopped the river with chains and booms; and Upnor Castle was fortified. Chains and booms, and Upnor Castle, availed not long against the resolution of Ruyter and De Witt, who were about to exact the penalty for the wanton desolation of the coasts of the Texel. They went about their work in a manly way—not burning Gravesend, which was really defenceless, but breaking through the defences of the Medway, behind which our ships lay unrigged. They were quickly set on fire. In Upnor Castle and the forts at Chatham, there was little ammunition; and the Dutch “made no more of Upnor Castle’s shooting, than of a fly.” The proud ship which bore the king to England, “the Royal Charles,” was secured by the invaders as a trophy; and when they had made their strength sufficiently manifest to the panic-stricken sycophants of the depraved court, they quietly sailed back to the Thames, and enforced a real blockade of London for many weeks. The spirit of patriotism was trodden out of the sailors by neglect and oppression. There were many of them on board the Dutch ships, who called out to their countrymen on the river, “We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars.” The sailors’ wives went up and down the streets of Wapping, crying, “This comes of your not paying our husbands.” Mobs assembled at Westminster, shouting for “a Parliament, a Parliament.” They broke the Lord Chancellor’s windows, and set up a gibbet before his gate. Had the Dutch gone up the Thames beyond Deptford, it is not impossible that the iniquities of the Stuarts might have more quickly come to an end. Such a consummation was not to be desired. The English people had to endure two more decades of misrule, that they might gather strength to fit themselves for constitutional government. Besides the disgrace and humiliation, England suffered little from the Dutch in the Thames and Medway. The Londoners were cut off from their supply of sea-borne coal—no irremediable evil in summer, but one that probably hastened a peace. On the 24th of June, Mr. Evelyn writes, “The Dutch fleet still continuing to stop up the river, so as nothing could stir or come out, I was before the Council, and commanded by his majesty to go with some others and search about the environs of the city, now exceedingly distressed for want of fuel, whether there could be any peat or turf fit for use.” The report was, that there was abundance. On the 28th the Dutch fleet was lying triumphantly at the Nore,—“a



dreadful spectacle," says Evelyn, "as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonour never to be wiped off." It was a spectacle of dishonour which has never been seen since, and will never be seen again, unless there should again be such a combination of anti-national elements as in the days of Charles the Second—a profligate and corrupt Court, avaricious and selfish ministers, a bribed Parliament, an intolerant Church, a slavish Bench of Justice. If such instruments of evil should again unite their forces, then the ordinary supineness of office may become a heartless indifference to every duty; then the pretensions of the high-born to engross all the functions of administration may become the most shameless avidity for the exorbitant pay of useless posts; then the people may be gradually brought to lick the dust like oriental slaves; then our soldiers and sailors may be marshalled in our enemy's ranks, and pilot our enemy's ships, and exult that they fight for dollars. The disgrace of 1667 will not have been in vain, if it teach the great lesson that the corruption of the high is the corruption of the national honour at its fountain head.

On the 29th of July a treaty of peace between England, Holland, and France, was concluded at Breda.

The fall of lord Clarendon from power, in 1667, is one of those events whose causes can only be adequately developed, if they can ever be fully and satisfactorily set forth, through an intimate acquaintance with the public documents and private memorials of the period. To attempt such an exposition here, even if the materials for it were at our hand, would manifestly be beyond the scope of a History so general as this. The intrigues of rival statesmen, the vacillations of the sovereign, the passions of parliamentary factions, require to be fully examined, if we would thoroughly comprehend the concurring influences which hurled the most eminent statesman of the Restoration from his high position. A faint outline of these combinations, in connection with an estimate of the character of the fallen man, is all that we can pretend to offer.

Sir Edward Hyde, of all the companions of the adversity of Charles, was by far the fittest minister to guide him through the extreme difficulties of his altered position. He was hated by the queen-mother. His habits of thought and action were diametrically opposed to the levities and vices of the king and the younger courtiers. He had many early associations with the struggle for civil rights, which made him a stumbling-block in the way of any

broad attempts to emulate the despotisms of other European monarchies. He was by principle and education devotedly attached to the Protestantism of the Church of England. He was thus no object of affection amongst many whose poverty he had shared, but from whose habits he was altogether alien. But his great abilities were indispensable to Charles; and thus sir Edward Hyde became the earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, and the real minister of England, all other administrative functionaries being subordinate to him. It was necessary to govern through Parliaments; and Clarendon, by his experience, his dignified carriage, his rhetorical and literary powers, was eminently fitted for the duties of a parliamentary minister. He was for a while all-successful. The rooted dislike of the queen-mother was neutralised, even to the point of her graciously receiving the plebeian duchess of York. The king and his associates were compelled to manifest respect to the decorous Chancellor, and to compensate their submission to his wisdom by their ridicule of his manners. Clarendon's notions of the prerogative, and of the rights of parliaments, were not in accordance with the vague schemes of being "every inch a king," that silly nobles and slavish churchmen whispered to Charles; but then Clarendon had imbibed none of the broader doctrines of civil liberty which had entered into the popular mind since 1640, and was heartily disposed to re-model the monarchy upon the precedents of the days of Elizabeth and the first Stuart. Charles was indifferent to the Church of England, for which Clarendon was strenuous; and Charles was for such a toleration of Protestant Dissenters as would include the Catholic; but when Clarendon equally persecuted Puritans and Papists, Charles let him have his way, for, a Papist at heart himself, if anything, he thought that a general persecution would hasten on a general toleration. There was thus, with the court, a perpetual compromise between the dislike of Clarendon's personal character and the desire to snatch from his policy such advantages as a less scrupulous minister could not have obtained from Parliament. He was hated by the king and the favourites because he had not, when the Parliament was lavish and the nation mad, extracted from the temper of the hour a far greater fixed revenue, such as would have made Parliaments less necessary for the king. But when Parliament had the presumption to ask for an account of the disposal of the sums that had been voted, then Clarendon's opposition to any interferences with the old power of the Crown made his conscientious scruples about

the limits of prerogative less obnoxious. The principles of the man were not fitted for the retrogressive objects of the Crown, or the progressive movement of the Nation. He was a Conservative, to use the party name of our own day, clinging to the non-essentials of old institutions and laws, with the obstinate tenacity which makes Conservatism a mere negation. The triumph of statesmanship are not to be accomplished like the victory of the deliverers of Gibeon, whilst the sun remains in the same place of the heavens.

As early as 1663, the earl of Bristol, a Catholic peer, in his seat in Parliament, attributing to the Lord Chancellor all the evils under which the country laboured, impeached him of high-treason. The opinion of the judges was required; and they answered, that by the laws of the realm no articles of high-treason could be originally exhibited in the House of Peers, by any one peer against another; and that the matters alleged in the charge against the Lord Chancellor did not amount to treason. Personal hostility appears to have provoked this ill-judged attack. Four years afterwards it was pretty well known that the king was alienated from his grave adviser. Clarendon had made enemies all around him by his faults as well as by his virtues. He was haughty and passionate. He was grasping and ostentatious. He had returned from exile in the deepest poverty. In seven years he had acquired a sufficient fortune to build a mansion superior to ducal palaces, and to furnish it with the most costly objects of taste and luxury. He was envied by the nobility. He was hated by the people; for in the grandeur of what they called "Dunkirk House" they saw what they believed to be the evidence of foreign bribery. The duke of Buckingham had been banished from court through a quarrel with lady Castlemaine; and revenge threw him into the ranks of those to whom the government was obnoxious. He became the advocate of the sectaries; he became the avowed and especial enemy of the Chancellor. For a short time he was sent to the Tower, upon the supposed discovery of some treasonable intrigues; but he soon regained his liberty, and his royal master was propitiated when the duke had made his peace with "the lady." She interceded for Buckingham; but at first was unsuccessful. The court tattle said that the king had called Castlemaine a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do with; and that Castlemaine called the king a fool, who suffered his businesses to be carried on by those who did not understand them.\* But very

\* Pepys, July 12.

soon "the lady" carried her point; Buckingham was restored to favour; Clarendon was sacrificed. Charges of the most serious nature were got up against him. The imputation of having sold Dunkirk for his private advantage was confidently maintained. It became known that whilst the Dutch were in the Thames, and the Treasury was without a guinea, he had resisted the advice of the Council that Parliament should be called together, upon the plea that it had been prorogued to a more distant day; but had recommended that money should be levied to pay the troops in the places where they were quartered, and that the sums so raised from individuals should be deducted out of their future taxes. That he had some schemes for forced contributions as a temporary expedient was admitted by himself. Other accusations, all of a very vague nature, were poured into the king's ear; who, no doubt, was not indisposed to get rid of one who was a severe monitor, and, though pliant in some things, was not an unscrupulous tool. Charles, through the duke of York, asked Clarendon to resign. He indignantly refused, saying, that his resignation would amount to a confession of guilt. After a conference of two hours the great minister saw that his disgrace was resolved upon—disgrace which "had been certainly designed in my lady Castlemaine's chamber." Her aviary looked into Whitehall garden; and when he went from the king, she rushed from her bed at twelve o'clock at noon—"and thither her women brought her her night-gown; and she stood blessing herself at the old man's going away; and several of the gallants of Whitehall,—of which there were many staying to see the Chancellor's return—did talk to her in her bird-cage."\* The king sent for the seals. Evelyn went to see Clarendon, and says, "I found him in his bed-chamber very sad. . . . He had enemies at Court, especially the buffoons and ladies of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them, and stood in their way." The Parliament had assembled. On the 15th of October, the two Houses voted an address of thanks to the throne for the removal of the Chancellor, and the king in his reply pledged himself never to employ lord Clarendon again in any capacity. This was not enough. Seventeen charges were prepared against him by a Committee of the Commons; and on the 12th of November, the House impeached him of high-treason at the bar of the Peers. There were animated debates in that House, in which Clarendon had

\* Pepys, August 27.

many supporters. The two Houses got angry. The court became alarmed. Clarendon was advised to leave the kingdom clandestinely, but he refused. Then the king sent him an express command to retire to the Continent. He obeyed; addressing a letter, vindicating himself, to the House of Peers. An Act was passed on the 29th of December, banishing him for life, unless he should return by the following 1st of February.

The close of the political career of Clarendon, under circumstances of punishment and disgrace so disproportioned to his public or private demerits, has left no stain upon his memory. Whatever were his faults as a statesman, he stands upon a far higher elevation than the men who accomplished his ruin. As to the king, his parasites and his mistresses, who were in raptures to be freed from his observation and censure, their dislike was Clarendon's high praise. In the encouragement which Charles indirectly gave to attacks upon the minister who had saved him from many of the worst consequences of the rashness of the royalists, and had laboured in the service of his father and himself for twenty-seven years, either in war, or in exile, or in triumph, with a zeal and ability which no other possessed, we see only the heartless ingratitude of the king, and his utterly selfish notions of the duties of a sovereign. Clarendon had become disagreeable to him, through the very qualities which made the government endurable to high-minded and sober men. Nor was it from any desire to carry out more tolerant principles of ecclesiastical rule, nor from any conviction that his Chancellor's notions of civil policy were antiquated and in many respects unsuited to the times, that the king sought other advisers. The men who succeeded the great minister made one attempt to remove some of the oppressions under which the Non-conformists laboured. They failed; and their failure was followed by a more indiscriminate persecution. They made one bold endeavour at a course of foreign policy which might have again placed England at the head of a union of Protestant free states. For a very brief period the influence of France was shaken off; and then England's king was the pensioner of Louis. Clarendon went into exile. He was some time before he was permitted to find a resting place; but he found it at last at Montpelier. He was probably never sincerely reconciled to the loss of power and grandeur; but he believed that he was reconciled; and in dedicating himself to a renewal of that literary employment which has given him the best title to the respectful remembrance of

mankind, he found that consolation which industry never failed to bestow upon a robust understanding, that was also open to religious impressions. He says of himself:—"It pleased God, in a short time, after some recollections, and upon his entire confidence in Him, to restore him to that serenity of mind and resignation of himself to the disposal and good pleasure of God, that they who conversed most with him could not discover the least murmur or impatience in him, or any unevenness in his conversations."

When the seals were taken away from Clarendon they were given to sir Orlando Bridgman. The conduct of affairs fell into new hands. Southampton, the most respectable of Charles's first advisers was dead. Monk was worn out. Buckingham first came into power with Arlington as secretary of state, and sir William Coventry. But soon the ministry comprised the five persons known as "The Cabal"—a name which signified what we now call The Cabinet; but which name was supposed incorrectly to have been formed out of the initial letters of the names of the members, —Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale. The word Cabal had been used long before, to indicate a secret council. Of the new advisers of Charles, Buckingham was the most influential at Court, and he made great efforts to be at the same time the most popular. When Buckingham was taken to the Tower, Clarendon was depressed by the acclamation of the people, who shouted round the prisoner. As Clarendon had supported the Church, Buckingham was the champion of the sectaries. Baxter says, "As the Chancellor had made himself the head of the prelatical party, who were all for setting up themselves by force, and suffering none that were against them, so Buckingham would now be the head of all those parties that were for liberty of conscience." The candid Non-conformist adds, "For the man was of no religion, but notoriously and professedly lustful;" but he qualifies his censure with this somewhat high praise,—"and yet of greater wit and parts, and sounder principles as to the interests of humanity and the common good, than most lords in the court."\* The duke lived in York House, the temporary palace which his father had built, of which nothing now remains but the Water Gate. Here he dwelt during the four or five years of the Cabal administration, affording, as he always continued to afford, abundant materials for the immortal character of Zimri:—

\* "Life," Part iii. p. 21.

"A man so various, that he seem'd to be  
 Not one, but all mankind's epitome:  
 Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong,  
 Was every thing by starts and nothing long;  
 But, in the course of one revolving moon,  
 Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon:  
 Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,  
 Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking." \*

Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury—the Antony Ashley Cooper of the Protectorate, who clung to the Rump Parliament till he saw that Monk had sealed its fate, and then made his peace with Charles with surprising readiness—the ablest, and in some respects the most incomprehensible of the statesmen of his time, has had the double immortality of the satire of Butler as well as of Dryden. In Thanet House, in Aldersgate-street, Ashley was at hand to influence the politics of the city. When the mob were roasting rumps in the streets, and were about to handle him roughly as he passed in his carriage, he turned their anger into mirth by his jokes. When the king frowned upon him, he went straight from office to opposition, and made the court disfavour as serviceable to his ambition as the court's honours and rewards;—

"For by the witchcraft of rebellion  
 Transform'd to a feeble state-cameleon  
 By giving aim from side to side  
 He never fail'd to save his tide;  
 But got the start of every state,  
 And at a change ne'er came too late." †

In a few years more Shaftesbury had earned the praise, or dispraise, of Dryden,

"A daring pilot in extremity,  
 Pleas'd with the danger when the waves run high."

The history of the Cabal ministry, which extends over a period of six years, is not the history of a Cabinet united by a common principle of agreement upon great questions of domestic and foreign policy. Nor is it the history of a Sovereign asserting his own opinions, and watching over the administration of affairs, under the advice of a Council, and through the agency of the great officers of State. The monarchs of England, from the Norman times, had been, for the most part, men of remarkable energy of character; and in default of their capacity for warlike action and public business, some representative of adequate qualifications wielded the executive power. The great kings of the Plantagenet

\* Dryden, "Absalom and Achitophel."

† "Hudibras," Part iii.



race were essentially their own ministers. Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, were remarkable for their laborious attention to the duties of their great office. Charles I., whether aiming to be despotic, or struggling for his crown and his life, was zealous, active, and self-confident. Charles II. was absolutely indifferent to any higher objects than personal gratification; and to this circumstance we must refer some of the extraordinary anomalies of the government after the fall of Clarendon. Abraham Cowley heard Tom Killigrew say to the king, "There is a good, honest, able man that I could name, that if your majesty would employ, and command to see all things well executed, all things would soon be mended; and this is one Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in employing his lips about the Court, and hath no other employment; but if you would give him this employment, he were the fittest man in the world to perform it." \* Killigrew's estimate of the character of his royal master was altogether false. He was neither honest nor able, with reference to any aptitude for the condition of life to which he was called. He did not desire, he said, to sit like a Turkish sultan, and sentence men to the bowstring; but he could not endure that a set of fellows should inquire into his conduct. Always professing his love of Parliaments, he was always impatient of their interference. There is something irresistibly comic in the way in which he tried to manage the House of Lords, in 1669, by being present at their debates. He first sat decently upon the throne, thinking to prevent unpleasant reflections by this restraint upon the freedom of speech. But what he commenced out of policy, under the advice of the crafty Lauderdale, he continued for mere amusement. "The king," writes Burnet, "who was often weary of time, and did not know how to get round the day, liked the going to the House as a pleasant diversion: so he went constantly. And he quickly left the throne, and stood by the fire, which drew a crowd about him, that broke all the decency of that House; for, before that time every lord sat regularly in his place; but the king's coming broke the order of their sitting as became senators. The king's coming thither had a much worse effect; for he became a common solicitor, not only in public affairs, but even in matters of justice. He would in a very little time have gone the round of the House, and spoke to every one that he thought worth speaking to. And he was apt to do that upon the solicitation of any of the ladies in favour, or of any that had credit with

\* Pepys, December 2, 1666.

them." With such a sovereign, as utterly indifferent to the properties of his public station as to the decencies of his private life, we can scarcely expect that there should have been any consistent principle of administration. The terrible experience of thirty years imposed upon Charles some caution in the manifestation of his secret desire to be as absolute as his brother Louis of France. The great Bourbon was encumbered with no Parliament; he had not to humble himself to beg for supplies of insolent Commons; he was not troubled with any set of fellows to inquire into his conduct and ask for accounts of expenditure; he had the gabelle and other imposts which fell upon the prostrate poor, without exciting the animosity of the dangerous rich; he was indeed a king, whose shoe-latchet nobles were proud to unloose, and whose transcendent genius and virtue prelates rejoiced to compare with the divine attributes. Such a blissful destiny as that of the Bourbon could not befall the Stuart by ordinary means. Charles would become as great as Louis, as far as his notion of greatness went, by becoming the tributary of Louis. He would sell his country's honour,—he would renounce the religion he had sworn to uphold,—for an adequate price. But this bargain should be a secret one. It should be secret, even from a majority of his own ministers. Upon this point hinges the disgraceful history of the Cabal.

But though Charles and two of his ministers, Arlington and Clifford, were ready to go any length to make the policy of Whitehall utterly subservient to the policy of the Louvre, and to bring the creed of Lambeth into very near if not exact conformity with the creed of the Vatican—though Buckingham and Shaftesbury had some complicity in these iniquitous purposes—yet there was a power in the State which had become too formidable for king and ministers utterly to despise. The Parliament, servile and corrupt in many compliances, was yet a power that might be roused into sudden indignation by any outrageous exercise of prerogative, and, above all, by any daring attack upon the Protestant tendencies of the nation. The shiftings of politicians, of whom Shaftesbury was the type, from courtiers one day to demagogues the next, were the natural result of the want, during the first ten years of the Restoration, of any great principle of action which would raise politicians on either side above the mere influences of personal ambition. The Monarchy was an accomplished fact: to fight again for a Commonwealth was no longer possible. The Church was re-estab-

lished, in triumphant intolerance: Presbyterians and Independents had no standing place for a new struggle. The Crown and the Parliament were both open to corruption; and their venality tainted, though not in an equal degree, the advocates of non-resistance and the enemies of that debasing principle. Placemen and patriots each held out the "itching palm" to France. There was no manifest struggle of opinion against power, till the design to bring back England to the communion of Rome became evident. The resistance to this attempt roused the nation out of its apparent apathy. The intolerant passion of the multitude—blind, cruel, frantic in its fears—was quickly absorbed into the general determination that England should be Protestant, which identified itself with civil liberty. Religious liberty grew slowly out of the contest, when the reign of the great enemies of all freedom was terminated by their own folly and bigotry.

The story of the next twenty years, which brings us to the great era of our modern history, would be incomprehensible, if we did not constantly bear in mind, that public opinion had become a real element in national progress. The Crown was constantly dreaming of the revival of despotism, to be accomplished by force and by corruption. Yet the Crown, almost without a struggle, was bereft of the power of imprisoning without trial, by the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act; and it lost its control over the freedom of the Press by the expiration of the Licensing system. The Church thought it possible to destroy non-conformity by fines and fetters. In its earlier Liturgy it prayed to be delivered from "false doctrine and heresy;" it now prayed for deliverance from "false doctrine, heresy, and schism." Yet when it had ejected the Puritans from the Churches, and had shut up the Conventicles, it laid the foundation of schisms which, in a few years, made dissent a principle which churchmen could not hope to crush and statesmen could not dare to despise. How can we account for the striking anomaly, that with a profligate Court, a corrupt Administration, a venal House of Commons, a tyrannous Church, the nation during the reign of Charles II. was manifestly progressing in the essentials of freedom, unless we keep in view that from the beginning of the century there had been an incessant struggle of the national mind against every form of despotic power? The desire for liberty, civil and spiritual, had become almost an instinct. The great leaders in this battle had passed away. The men who by fits aspired to be tribunes of the people were treacherous or inconstant.

But the spirit of the nation was not dead. It made itself heard in Parliament, with a voice that grew louder and louder, till the torrent was once again dammed up. A few more years of tyranny without disguise—and then the end.

The first movements of the Cabal ministry were towards a high and liberal policy—toleration for non-conformists, and an alliance with free Protestant States. A greater liberty to dissenters from the Church followed the fall of Clarendon. We see transient and accidental motives for this passing toleration, rather than the assertion of a fixed principle. The bishops had supported Clarendon, and the king and his new ministers and favorites were therefore out of humour with the bishops. The fire of London had rendered it impossible to carry on the spiritual instruction of the people by the established Clergy; and therefore assemblies to hear the sermons of Presbyterians and Independents were not visited with the penalties of the Conventicle Act. It was, says Baxter, "at the first a thing too gross to forbid an undone people all public worshipping of God, with too great rigour; and if they had been so forbidden, poverty had left them so little to lose as would have made them desperately go on."\* Sir Orlando Bridgman, now Lord Keeper, desired a conference with Baxter, "about a comprehension and toleration," in January, 1668. The Lord Chief Baron Hale, and Bishop Wilkins, were agreed with the Lord Keeper in promoting this salutary work. The king, says Burnet, "seemed now to go into moderation and comprehension with so much heartiness, that both Bridgman and Wilkins believed he was in earnest in it; though there was nothing that the popish councils were more fixed in, than to oppose all motions of that kind. But the king saw it was necessary to recover the affections of his people." The opportunity of recovering the affections of the great Puritan body, scattered, depressed, but still influential, was thrown away. There were propositions on the part of the non-conformists; and amendments were suggested and accepted. Baxter says that fourteen hundred non-conformable ministers would have yielded to these "hard terms;" but that when the Parliament met, the active prelates and prelatists prevailed to prevent any bill of comprehension or indulgence to be brought in; "and the Lord Keeper that had called us, and set us on work, himself turned that way, and talked after as if he understood us not." In the king's speech, February 10, 1668, he recommended

\* "Life," Part iii. p. 22.

that they would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of his Protestant subjects in matters of religion. On the 8th of April, a motion in the House of Commons that his majesty should send for such persons as<sup>e</sup> he should think fit, to make proposals to him in order to the uniting of his Protestant subjects, was negatived by 176 votes against 70.

At the opening of the Session of Parliament in 1668, the king announced that he had made a league defensive with the States-General of the United Provinces, to which Sweden had become a party. This was the Triple Alliance. The nation saw with reasonable apprehension the development of the vast schemes of ambition of Louis XIV. He was at war with Spain; but the great empire upon which the sun never set was fast falling to pieces—not perishing like a grand old house, overthrown by a hurricane's fury, but smouldering away with the dry-rot in every timber. France, on the contrary, was rising into the position of the greatest power in Europe. Her able but vain-glorious king already looked upon the Spanish Netherlands as his certain prey. The United Provinces were hateful to him as the seat of religious and civil liberty. The crisis was come when England, by a return to the policy of Cromwell, might have taken her place again at the head of the free Protestant states of Europe. Was there any real intention in the king or in his ministry to raise up England as a barrier against the designs of France? Or was the mission of Temple to the Hague, by which a defensive alliance was concluded with De Witt in five days, a mere blind to conceal the dark and dangerous schemes for a secret alliance with France? When Charles announced to Parliament this league with the United Provinces and Sweden, it was thought to be "the only good public thing that hath been done since the king came into England."\* It was a marvel of diplomacy. De Witt and Temple met as two honest men, without any finesse; and they quickly concluded a treaty which they believed to be for the honour and safety of both their countries. "Their candour, their freedom, and the most confidential disclosures, were the result of true policy."† This treaty, says Burnet, "was certainly the masterpiece of king Charles's life; and if he had stuck to it, it would have been both the strength and glory of his reign. This disposed the people to forgive all that was past, and to renew their confidence in him, which was shaken by the whole conduct of the Dutch war."

\* Pepys.

† Burke, "Regicide Peace."

At the very time when the ambassador of England was negotiating the treaty which promised to be "the strength and glory of his reign," the king was making proposals to Louis for a clandestine treaty, by which England was to be "leased out" to France,

"Like to a tenement or pelting farm."

## CHAPTER X.

Visit to England of the Duchess of Orleans.—Secret Negotiations of the king Louis XIV.—Renewed persecutions of Non-conformists.—Trial of William Penn.—The Coventry Act.—Assault on the Duke of Ormond.—Blood attempts to steal the Regalia.—The mystery of his pardon.—Shutting-up of the Exchequer.—Alliance with France.—War with Holland.—Naval War.—Invasion of the United Provinces.—Murder of the De Witts.—The Prince of Orange.—Shaftesbury Lord Chancellor.—Declaration of Indulgence.—The Test Act.

THERE is a brief record, in the Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, of an event, seemingly unimportant, which led to very serious consequences: "In the summer of 1670 the duchess of Orleans, the king's sister, came over to Dover, where she was met by the king, the duke of York, and the whole Court. Here it was that she confirmed his highness the duke in the Popish superstition, of which he had as yet been barely suspected." \* The duke of York required no confirmation in his belief. He had long been in secret a Roman Catholic, and attended the private rites of that religion; but at the same time he was in communion with the Church of England. A Jesuit missionary remonstrated with him against this double dealing. James communicated to the king his determination publicly to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. Charles professed the same desire. He, also, though known to be indifferent as to religious matters, had been suspected. Cosmo, the duke of Tuscany, came to England in 1669; and the author of the duke's travels says of Charles, that though he "observes with exact attention the religious rites of the Church of England, there is reason to believe that he does not exactly acquiesce, and that he may perhaps cherish other inclinations." Of the Cabal ministry Clifford and Arlington were attached to the Church of Rome. Charles and James took these ministers into their confidence at the beginning of 1669. The result was, a negotiation with France, which went on for many months; and of which the duchess of Orleans came over, in 1670, to urge the points which the French king was anxious to accomplish by irresistible temptations. The secret

\* "Travels and Memoirs of Sir John Reresby," 1831; p. 171.



treaty between Louis XIV. and Charles II. was concluded at Dover, on the 22nd of May, 1670.\* Its principal stipulations were, that the king of England should publicly profess himself a Catholic, when he should consider it expedient to make such declaration; that he should join with the king of France in a war against the United Provinces; that to enable Charles to suppress any insurrection of his own subjects, he should receive two millions of livres, and be aided with an armed force of six thousand men; that of the conquests arising out of the joint war Charles should be satisfied with a part of Zealand. The secret treaty having been accomplished, another treaty was prepared, in which the article concerning the king's change of religion was omitted; and to this Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and Lauderdale were privy. Charles and his ministers went back to London, to carry on a system of falsehood towards the nation, almost unmatchable amongst the frauds of Courts and Cabinets. The beautiful duchess of Orleans returned to France, to die a victim, as many believed, to the jealousy of her husband. At the meeting of Parliament in October, 1670, the Lord Keeper Bridgman—who we may conclude to have been ignorant of the atrocious confederacy of the king and his more confidential servants—set forth the advantages of the Triple Alliance, and the necessity of being prepared against the ambition of France, by an augmentation of the fleet. The Commons voted that “his majesty should be supplied proportionably to his present occasions;” and when a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds was obtained, the Parliament was prorogued.

The manifestation of a tolerant principle at home, at the beginning of 1668, was as short lived as the inclination to a high and honourable foreign policy. The Act of 1664 against Conventicles, which was about to expire in 1670, was renewed in a more stringent shape. The 12th Clause of this Statute threw down the barriers against the most illegal exercise of its severities: “That this Act, and all clauses therein contained, should be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of Conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof; and that no record, warrant, or mittimus to be made by virtue of this Act, or any proceedings thereupon, shall be reversed, avoided, or any way im-

\* It was published for the first time by Dr. Lingard, from the original in the possession of Lord Clifford. But the most important of the articles had long previously appeared in sir John Dalrymple's History.

peached, by reason of any default in form."\* Waller, who, at his advanced age, was still the wit of the House of Commons, said of the dissenters, "these people are like children's tops; whip them, and they stand up; let them alone, and they fall."† Calamy attributes the saying to bishop Wilkins, who, with one other bishop, opposed this Statute. Sheldon, the primate, urged the most vigorous execution of the penal clauses, which were to drive the non-conforming preachers from the boarded hovels, which they called tabernacles, fitted up by their congregations when the parish churches of London were in ruins. This Act, according to Burnet, "put things in such disorder, that many of the trading men of the city began to talk of removing with their stocks over to Holland." The spirit of too many of the higher clergy was in decided opposition to the temper of bishop Wilkins. Parker, chaplain to Sheldon, and afterwards bishop of Oxford, laid himself open to the lash of Andrew Marvell, when he proclaimed that "tender consciences, instead of being complied with, must be restrained with more peremptory and unyielding rigour than naked and unsanctified villainy."‡ Burnet says of this Statute against Conventicles, "the king was much for having it pass, not that he intended to execute it, but he was glad to have that body of men at mercy, and to force them to concur in the design for a general toleration." This was a part of the scheme, upon which the Secret Treaty with France was built. Severity at one time against non-conformists, indulgence at another time, had one sole object in view,—to prepare the nation for such an exercise of the prerogative as would dispense with the laws against Papists, and make the people indifferent to a Roman Catholic king, and a Roman Catholic heir-apparent. It was not that Charles cared for any form of religion; but he had an earnest longing for the wages of proselytism which Louis was to bestow.

The fines and imprisonments under the Conventicle Act fell, for the most part, upon obscure persons. But there was one young man, whose father was of historical celebrity, and of an elevated station, who came under the penalties for non-conformity, and fought the battle of dissent in a manner very embarrassing to intolerant churchmen and arbitrary lawyers. William Penn, the only son of the famous admiral, much to the annoyance of his

\* Statutes of the Realm, 22 Car. II. c. i. vol. v. p. 656.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. col. 445.

‡ See Marvell's "Rehearsal Transposed," vol. ii. p. 290, ed. 1673.

family, had embraced the principles of George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers. He had manifested his spiritual tendencies when a student at Oxford. He had been imprisoned in Ireland, in 1667, for attending the meetings of Friends; he had begun to preach and to publish in 1658. On the 14th of August, 1670, William Penn, who, in common with others of his fraternity, wholly disregarded the Conventicle Act, going to the Meeting-house in Gracechurch-street, found the door closed and guarded; and having addressed the people outside, was arrested. On the 1st of September, he, with William Mead, a linen-draper, was indicted at the Old Bailey for preaching and speaking, to the great disturbance of the king's peace. On the 3rd of September they were brought to trial. It was altogether a remarkable scene; in which the prisoners conducted themselves with unusual boldness; the lord-mayor and recorder manifested more than the common insolence of authority in bad times; and the jury could not be compelled to give a dishonest verdict. In the first instance the jury acquitted Mead, and found Penn guilty of speaking to an assembly in Gracechurch-street. They refused to find that it was an unlawful assembly, as the recorder insisted. They were locked up without fire or food through Saturday night. On Sunday, they again and again refused to amend their verdict. The recorder, Howel, a fitting predecessor of George Jefferies, who afterwards carried judicial infamy to its extreme height, in a paroxysm of fury declared it would be never well with England, till something like the inquisition was introduced. For another night the jury were locked up, to endure hunger and thirst. When they were brought into court on Monday morning, they still clung to their first verdict. But the recorder maintaining it was no verdict, they jointly and separately pronounced William Penn not guilty. The jury were each fined forty marks; Penn was fined for contempt of Court. All refused to pay the fines, and were imprisoned. The jury appealed to the Court of Common Pleas, and were released by a decision of the judges. Penn's fine was paid without his knowledge.\*

Doctor Parker, in his zeal for arbitrary power, had ventured to say "'Tis better to submit to the unreasonable impositions of Nero and Caligula, than to hazard the dissolution of the State." Marvell, with a terrible bitterness, pointed the moral of the crimes and

\* A full account of this trial is given in "William Penn, an Historical Biography," by W. H. Dixon.

the fates of Nero and Caligula.\* The profligacy of the Court had begun to show itself in more daring outrages than the indecencies and riots which rivalled the orgies of the lowest of mankind. "The jolly blades, racing, dancing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandoned rout than a Christian Court," might scandalise decent loyal gentlemen such as Evelyn.† The new concubine, Mademoiselle Querouaille, that Louis had sent over to confirm Charles in his proposed apostasy to his religion and his treason to his country, might suggest some fears to honest statesmen such as Temple. But the great majority of the Parliament, and especially of the House of Commons, chosen in the royalist excitement of the Restoration, had long looked upon such matters with indifference. Another feeling was now growing up. Suspicions attached to the foreign policy of the Court. The nation felt disgraced in its extravagant profligacy. Murmurs were heard even amongst the habitual supporters of the government. In a Committee of Ways and Means it was proposed in the Commons that a tax should be paid "by every one that resorts to any play-houses," of a shilling for a box-seat, sixpence for the pit, and three-pence for other places. It was urged that the Players were the king's servants, "and a part of his pleasure." Sir John Coventry, member for Weymouth, asked "If the king's pleasure lay amongst the men or the women players?"‡ The offence was visited with a very summary punishment, perpetrated under the order of the duke of Monmouth, the king's son, and, as was universally believed, with the king's connivance. As sir John Coventry was passing through the Haymarket, he was set upon by Sandys, lieutenant of Monmouth's troop, and a number of his men, and by these ruffians his nose was nearly cut off. The House had adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and upon its re-assembly the first business was to inquire into this breach of privilege. Some members wished the matter to be left to the course of law; but the great body were resolved to have reparation for this outrage. Strong words were spoken, such as indicated that the spirit of 1640 was not dead. Are we to be under proscriptions, as in the times of Sylla and Marius, asked sir John Hotham. Sir Robert Holt exclaimed that Prætorian guards had been the betrayers of the empire. He alluded to a recent assault upon the duke of Ormond, saying, "Lords' noses be as ours are, unless they be of steel."\* A Bill was passed "to

\* "Rehearsal Transposed," vol. ii. p. 155.

† "Diary," October 21, 1671.

‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. col. 461.

prevent malicious maiming and wounding." It recited the outrage upon sir John Coventry on the 21st of December; and setting forth that sir John Sandys and three others, who had been indicted for felony, had fled from justice, enacted that they should be banished for ever unless they surrendered by a given day. Other clauses of this Bill constitute what is known as the Coventry Act, by which malicious maiming is made a capital felony.\* The king, as if to show his resentment of the humiliation to which he was subjected in giving his assent to this Bill, had the indecency to grant a pardon to all the persons who, on the 28th of February, had assaulted the watch, and deliberately killed the beadle of the ward. His son, Monmouth, was the leader of that riot, as he was the contriver of the assault on sir John Coventry.

The outrage upon the duke of Ormond, to which allusion was made in the House of Commons, took place on the 6th of December, 1670. He was returning in his carriage from a city dinner. Two footmen at the side of the carriage were suddenly stopped; and the duke being dragged out, was placed on horseback behind a man to whom he was fastened by a belt. Onward they sped towards Tyburn; but the duke contrived to hoist his companion out of the saddle, and both coming to the ground together, the ruffian unloosed the belt, and fled upon the approach of some passengers. At Tyburn preparations were made for hanging the duke upon the common gallows. An inscrutable mystery surrounded this crime. Large rewards were offered, with pardon to accomplices. On the 9th of May, 1671, five months after the assault upon the duke, the famous attempt was made to steal the regalia in the Tower. It was not till after the Restoration that the crown jewels were exhibited to strangers. In April a man in a clergyman's cassock, with his wife, came to see the regalia. The lady being taken ill, was kindly accommodated in the house of Talbot Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office. An acquaintance commenced. The pious clergyman said the grace at dinner with the extremest unction; proposed that his wealthy nephew should marry the keeper's daughter; altogether a most fascinating man. The nephew was to come on a certain day. The clergyman was duly there, with three friends. One remained in the house, whilst the three others went with the keeper to behold the crown, and orb, and sceptre, and other regal splendours. They gagged the old man; beat him till he was senseless; began to file the sceptre into

\* 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 1

two pieces, but being disturbed by the unexpected arrival of Edwards' son, made off with the crown and orb. The alarm was given; and they were finally seized on the Tower Wharf. The matter being reported to the king, they were sent for to Whitehall; and Charles was himself present at their examination. The chief in the robbery of the regalia was found to be a man known as colonel Blood. He boldly avowed that he was the leader of the assault upon the duke of Ormond, and that he meant to have hanged him at Tyburn. He once, he said, had been prepared to shoot the king himself, but awed by the presence of majesty, the pistol dropped from his hand. He might be put to death; but there were three hundred ready to avenge his blood; who, if he were spared, would become the king's faithful followers. Charles pardoned him; asked the duke of Ormond to pardon him; and gave him a pension. The king told Ormond that he had certain reasons for asking him to pardon Blood. There were mysteries about that Court of which the good nature of "the merry monarch"—to use the dainty words of glib historians—was the convenient veil. It is difficult to believe in such a state of society as we find recorded by Evelyn: "Dined at Mr. Treasurer's, in company with Monsieur de Grammont and several French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steal the imperial crown itself out of the Tower." How he came to be pardoned, and received rewards, Evelyn says he could never come to understand. "This man," he adds, "had not only a daring but a villainous unmerciful look, a false countenance, but very well spoken, and dangerously insinuating."

A supply having been obtained, the Parliament was prorogued on the 22nd of April. The king candidly said it was not his intention that they should meet again for almost a year. The prorogation was hastened by the desire to put an end to a controversy between the two Houses, as to the right of the Lords to make alterations in Money-bills sent up from the Commons. The Lords had reduced the amount of an imposition on sugar. The Commons had established the right of originating money-bills, but the Peers contended that the power of alteration, as well as of rejection, remained with them.\* With the Parliament got rid of, at least for a year, the government had now a clear field for carrying

\* The arguments of the Conferences are given fully in the Parliamentary History, and there is a very able summary of the historical question as to this right in Mr. Hallam's "Constitutional History," Chap. xiii.

out their foreign policy. France was now to receive the fullest support in its designs upon the United Provinces. The Triple Alliance was to be flung to the winds. Temple had come home in the autumn of 1670; had been coldly received by the ministers and the king; and had been told by Clifford that he might declare publicly how the ministers of the States "were a company of rogues and rascals, and not fit for his majesty or any other prince to have anything to do with." \* Temple retired from public life to his garden and his books. Clifford was prepared to find resources for a war with Holland—a treacherous, wanton, and anti-national war—in an act compared with which Blood's stealing the crown was a small villainy. Bankers and other possessors of capital had been accustomed to make advancements to the Exchequer, upon receiving assignments of some portion of the revenue, to be set aside for paying the principal and interest of the money borrowed. One million three hundred thousand pounds, were at this time pledged for immediate payment. A proclamation was issued, suspending all payments for one year; but promising interest at the rate of six per cent. This interest was not paid for many years. The bankers made the advances to the government chiefly upon sums intrusted to them. Daniel Defoe, in 1671, was a boy of ten years' old; but he became early associated with trade, and he describes how the shutting the Exchequer came like a clap of thunder upon the city. The panic was universal. There was a run upon all the goldsmiths, whether their cash was in the Exchequer or in their own strong boxes. The most reputable traders were compelled to break. Private families were exposed to extreme distress. Widows and orphans were ruined, says Evelyn. The promise of payment in a year was, of course, not kept. There was not only the war to provide for; but a new mistress, exceeding in prodigality all who had gone before her. Mademoiselle de Querouaille, the agent and spy of the French king, became duchess of Portsmouth. The lady had been installed as chief "Miss," with ceremonies, short of those of the altar, "after the manner of a married bride." † "Rob me the Exchequer, Hal," said the king to Clifford; and then "all went merry as a marriage-bell." Clifford hinted the scheme to Evelyn, "but," says he, "it will soon be open again, and everybody satisfied." A scheme was concerted, as iniquitous as the shutting the Exchequer. At a

\* Letters of Temple in "Courtenay's Life," vol. i. p. 344.

† Evelyn, 10th October, 1671.



time when the confidence of the government of the States in the faith of England was not wholly destroyed, it was decided to capture a fleet of Dutch merchantmen from the Levant as it passed up the Channel. The scheme, worthy of a band of pirates rather than of a great nation, signally failed. The Hollanders, though not prepared for any act of hostility, appointed a convoy to the vessels which bore the rich Smyrna merchandise. Sir Robert Holmes and lord Ossory had been appointed to the command of the fleet that was to make prize of the Dutch merchantmen. Holmes had no desire to share the prize with any other admiral, and therefore in his cruise asked no assistance from sir Edward Sprague's fleet from the Mediterranean, that he met at the back of the Isle of Wight. The English admiral was unprepared for the Dutch convoy of seven men of war. He was gallantly met; and was repulsed, having captured only four sail out of sixty. The government of king Charles was not able to repay the subjects whom it had robbed, by the robbery of its neighbours, as it had proposed. The agents of this inglorious enterprise were ashamed of it. Lord Ossory deplored to Evelyn that he had been ever persuaded to engage in an expedition which revolted against his sense of honour and justice.

The declaration of war from England against Holland appeared on the 17th of March, 1672. That of France was issued at the same time. Some show was made in the English declaration of causes of offence—commercial injuries; refusal to strike to the English flag in the narrow seas; insults to the king by defamatory publications. Supporters of the government in England, as well as its opponents, felt that it was a war of wrong and tyranny. Evelyn writes that the pretended occasion was that, "some time before, the Merlin yacht chancing to sail through the Dutch fleet, their admiral did not strike to that trifling vessel. . . . Surely this was a quarrel slenderly grounded, and not becoming Christian neighbours." It was a corrupt attempt to aid the powerful in oppressing the weak. At first successful, it ultimately failed. At the beginning of May, the duke of York took the command of the English fleet. Having united with a French squadron, they found the Dutch fleet lying near Ostend. But the skill of De Ruyter avoided an engagement, and the English fleet returned to the coast to take in further supplies of men and provisions. De Ruyter came out, and a stubborn battle took place on the 28th of May, in Southwold bay. The French had little share in the

engagement. The fight lasted the whole day, with little advantage on either side. The earl of Sandwich and most of his crew were lost in the *Royal James*, which was blown up by a fire-ship. Evelyn insinuates that the earl was left to perish, fighting like a lion, though hating the war, "to gratify the pride and envy" of some that were not his friends.\*

Whilst England was battling at sea with little real advantage, the French armies were pouring into Holland. The fortresses on the Rhine were quickly in their possession; town after town of the United Provinces yielded without a struggle; the outposts of the French were seen from Amsterdam. Then was the great commercial republic on the point of becoming an easy prey to the ambition of that power that had already visions of universal dominion. The Government of the United Provinces was torn by factions. Petty oligarchies presided over the separate States. The dignity of Stadtholder had expired with Prince William II. in 1650. His widow, the daughter of Charles I., gave birth to a son, a few days after her husband's death. That son was now twenty-two years of age—the head of the illustrious house of Orange-Nassau, but without power in his own country. The highest duties of the first magistrate of the republic had been honourably discharged by John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary of the Province of Holland. When the French invasion filled the people of the Seven Provinces with terror, their rage was not directed against their enemies, but against their government. The popular feeling in favour of the prince of Orange broke forth in the blind hatred of an infuriated multitude against the statesmen who desired the permanent suppression of the office of Stadtholder, a dignity almost monarchical. The young prince William was called to the command of the forces when the French troops entered the States. Cornelius de Witt was arrested, upon an accusation of having plotted against the life of prince William. The accusation could not be established; and his brother John went to his prison at the Hague to convey him away. Both the brothers were murdered by an infuriated mob. Suspicious as was the commencement of his great career, the young prince of Orange proved the deliverer of his country. He roused the fainting courage of the Deputies in the States General. He rejected all the overtures of Charles and Louis. No terms of advantage to himself would induce him to compromise the honour of his nation. Relationship with the

\* Evelyn, "Diary," May 31.

Crown of England was to him nothing in comparison with saving the Seven Provinces from the yoke of France. The dykes were opened. The land was subjected to the dominion of the water, an enemy less to be dreaded than a foreign foe. There was no subsistence for the invading army in that desert of sand and sea. The French retreated. The guilty league of England and France was powerless. Louis returned to Paris, leaving some troops in the garrisons he had won. The Dutch admiral avoided another engagement with the English fleet. The war went on languidly for two years, amidst the dissatisfaction of the English people. The treasury of Charles was exhausted. The promised payment to the public creditors was postponed by proclamation. The Parliament had been prorogued from the 22nd of April, 1671. It was called together on the 5th of February, 1673. For twenty-one months the government had pursued an unmolested career. It had now to meet an opposition, jealous and indignant, but more factious than high principled.

In November, 1672, Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been created earl of Shaftesbury in the previous April, was raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor, upon the retirement, or dismissal, of Sir Orlando Bridgman from the office of Lord Keeper. The dislike which the lawyers of his time naturally felt at the elevation to the highest judicial office of a man not of the legal profession, may be found in the "Examen" of Roger North. His great offence was that he declaimed "against the tribe of the Court of Chancery, officers and counsel, and their methods of ordering the business of the Court. . . . For the Chancery, he would teach the Bar that a man of sense was above all their forms."\* Shaftesbury possibly saw that a servile adherence to forms was a real impediment to the course of equity; and by a vigorous demonstration against forms which ruined the suitors by delay, was enabled to earn the high praise as a judge of the poet who was employed to blacken his character as a statesman. "Discerning eyes;" "clean hands;" "Swift of despatch;" "easy of access;"

"Unbrib'd, unbought, the wretched to redress;"

are qualities which have some weight with us, although "the great poet probably never was in the Court of Chancery in his life, and, though the first of English critics in polite literature, he could not have formed a very correct opinion as to the propriety of an order or decree in Equity."† Dryden, as is reported, displeased the

\* "Examen," p. 46.

† Lord Campbell; "Lives of Chancellors," p. 310.

king by this tribute to the judicial virtues of Shaftesbury. Abhorring the statesman, he ought not to have praised the judge. Another contemporary writer is to be disbelieved, according to lord Campbell, because his estimate of Shaftesbury was unmixed panegyric. The enemy, and the friend, are equally untrustworthy. "Except being free from gross corruption, he was the worst judge that ever sat in the Court." \* How is this to be proved? "There are a few of his decisions to be found in the books, but none of them are of the slightest importance." † We still hold ourselves free to believe Dryden, and the other contemporary, who says that, under Shaftesbury, "justice ran in an equal channel, so that the cause of the rich was not suffered to swallow up the right of the poor;" that "the mischievous consequences which commonly arise from the delays, and other practices, of that Court were, by his ingenious and judicious management, very much abated." ‡ Nor do we consider that as Chancellor he "played fantastic tricks which could be expected only from a fool and a coxcomb," § because he revived the ancient form of the Chancellor and the Judges riding to Westminster Hall, on the first day of Hilary term, on which occasion Judge Twisden "was laid along in the dirt;" and because he sat upon the bench "in an ash-coloured gown, silver laced." These amusing characteristics of one who, not wholly different from subsequent Chancellors, possessed some of the eccentricities with the more sterling qualities of genius, are set forth with much vivacity by Roger North, who hated Shaftesbury with an intensity that the opposite opinions of factions alone can engender. Whenever we encounter this remarkable man in his future political career, we must judge him not uncharitably if we would judge him rightly. He was long made the scapegoat for the political offences whether of the Court party or the Country party. It is very difficult to understand his principles or his policy; but it is sufficient to make us cautious in his condemnation, to know that he was maligned by the supporters of arbitrary power, and looked up to by the advocates of freedom and toleration. Mr. Fox probably came to the safest conclusion upon his character when he said, "As to making him a real patriot, or friend to our ideas of liberty, it is impossible, at least in my opinion. On the other hand, he is very far from being the devil he is described." ||

The Parliament met on the 4th of February, 1673. In March,

\* Lord Campbell; "Lives of Chancellors," p. 311.

† *Ibid.*, p. 313.

‡ "Rawleigh Redivivus."

§ "Lives of Chancellors," p. 307.

|| Introduction to "History of James II."

1672, two days before the war was declared against the United Provinces, Charles had issued a Declaration of Indulgence in religion, in which he declared his "will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of non-conformists or recusants be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended." The relief to Protestant dissenters may be estimated from the fact that John Bunyan, who for twelve years had been confined in Bedford gaol, during which long period he had written "The Pilgrim's Progress," was almost immediately released. It would be difficult to understand how such a measure of justice and humanity should not have been universally acceptable to all but the most bigoted, unless we take into account that through its general operation the laws against Papists were relaxed, as well as those against Protestant non-conformists. But the Declaration of Indulgence produced a ferment in the nation which rendered it unpopular even amongst the numerous class who had been harassed by the Act of Uniformity, the Five Mile Act, and the Conventicle Acts. They were more favoured than the Roman Catholics, who were expressly refused public places for their worship, though its private exercise was indirectly sanctioned. In a tract, written by John Locke, the intimate friend of Shaftesbury, the arguments in favour of the Declaration of Indulgence are fully set forth. The writer of this "Letter from a Person of Quality to his friend in the country," says that he asked Lord Shaftesbury what he meant by supporting the Declaration, which seemed to assume a power to repeal and suspend all our laws, to destroy the Church, to overthrow the Protestant religion, and to tolerate Popery. He represents the earl to have contended that a government ought to be enabled to suspend any penal law, in the interval of the legislative power, but that the two Houses of Parliament ought to determine such indulgence, and restore the law to its full execution; that he had joined in the Declaration for preserving the Protestant religion, by opening a way for the English Church to live peaceably with the dissenters; that Papists ought to have no pressure laid upon them except to be made incapable of office; and he asked whether, in this age of the world, articles and matters of religion should become the only accessible ways to our civil rights? \* There was a passage in the Declaration which was sufficient to fill the people with

\* The letter is printed in Locke's Works; also in "Parliamentary History," Vol. IV., Appendix V.

alarm: "We think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognised to be so by several statutes and acts of parliament." Upon their meeting, the Commons voted, upon a division of 168 to 116, "that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament." Mr. Love, one of the members for the city of London, strenuously supported the address to the king to withdraw the Declaration. A member said to him, "Why, Mr. Love, you are a Dissenter yourself; it is very ungrateful that you who receive the benefit should object against the manner." Defoe, who calls Mr. Alderman Love "that truly English Roman," records his answer to the objection: "I am a Dissenter, and thereby unhappily obnoxious to the law; and if you catch me in the corn you may put me in the pound. The law against the Dissenters I should be glad to see repealed by the same authority that made it; but while it is a law, the king cannot repeal it by proclamation: And I had much rather see the Dissenters suffer by the rigour of the law, though I suffer with them, than see all the laws of England trampled under the foot of the prerogative, as in this example."\* The Parliament and the nation were not sufficiently advanced to repeal all penal laws that affected the exercise of religion. To prevent the dangers which were almost universally dreaded of the growth of Romanism, the principle of intolerance was still upheld. The Court, not indeed from any sense of justice, but for the advancement of its covert objects, for some time resisted this vote of the Commons. But the spirit of opposition was too strong to be rashly braved. The king withdrew the Declaration of Indulgence, after Shaftesbury, in the House of Lords, had turned to the popular side, and declared it illegal. But the Country party, as opposed to the Court party, were resolved to manifest their hostility to Popery by a practical measure which should reach the highest places. The duke of York's opinions were no secret; the king was suspected; the articles on religion in the treaty with France could not be shrouded in impenetrable mystery; the first duchess of York had died in the profession of Catholicism; another alliance was about to be formed with a young Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. The barrier to be raised against the great dangers to repel which the nation was rousing itself, was the Test Act. The House of Commons resolved on the 28th of February, 1673, "that all persons who shall refuse

\* See Wilson's "Life of Defoe," vol. i. p. 58.

to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, shall be incapable of all public employments, military and civil." On the 12th of March, the Test Act, entitled a "Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery," was read a third time. It required, in addition to the oaths, that a declaration renouncing the doctrine of transubstantiation should be made before admission to office. The proposed law affected the Puritans as much as the Papists, in the point of communion with the Church; but they made little opposition. They partook of the common dread that Romanism might come back in some bold or insidious form, and with it the arbitrary power which had so generally been its companion. An attempt to give them a special measure of relief was defeated by the prorogation of Parliament. The effect of the Test Act was decisive. The duke of York resigned his post of Lord High Admiral, and prince Rupert was appointed to the command of the fleet. Lord Clifford refused to take the test, and retired from his great office of Lord High Treasurer. The Commons voted the supplies with little reluctance, without going into the questions of the Dutch war or the shutting the Exchequer. There were six months of prorogation, during which the war was continued at sea with alternate success and defeat. At home the signs of an approaching storm were becoming manifest.



## CHAPTER XI.

The Danby Ministry.—State of Parties.—Separate Peace with Holland.—Charles pensioned by Louis XIV.—Popular Discontents.—Coffee-houses closed by Proclamation.—Re-opened.—Meeting of Parliament after fifteen months' prorogation.—Four Peers committed to the Tower.—Marriage of the Prince of Orange to the Princess Mary.—Violent contentions between the king and the Parliament.—Intrigues with France of the Parliamentary Opposition.—The Popish Plot.

THE Parliament had been prorogued to the 20th of October. The instant the Commons met they voted an address to the king, desiring that the intended marriage of the Duke of York with the princess of Modena should not take place. The Parliament was immediately prorogued for a week. On the 27th the king opened the Session in person; and his Chancellor, Shaftesbury, addressed the members in the usual terms of eulogy and hope. The address against the marriage of the Duke of York was presented; and Charles returned for answer that the alliance "was completed, according to the forms used amongst princes, and by his royal consent and authority." A spirit of decided hostility against the government was now evident in the Commons. They refused a supply until "this kingdom be effectually secured from the dangers of Popery, and Popish counsels and councillors." They voted that a Standing Army was a grievance. They resolved upon a second Address on the subject of the duke's marriage. It was to have been presented on the 4th of November, but the king came suddenly to the House of Lords, and ordered that the Commons should be summoned. A singular scene took place. The Speaker and the Usher of the Black Rod met at the door of the House of Commons; and the Speaker having entered, the door was shut, and he was hurried to the chair. It was immediately moved that the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king were a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance. The Black Rod was knocking at the door with impatient loudness; the House resounded with cries of 'question'; the Speaker leapt out of the chair, and in a wild tumult the members followed him to the House of Lords. The king then pro-

rogued the Parliament to the 7th of January. During the interval Shaftesbury was dismissed from the custody of the Great Seal; Buckingham retired; the Cabal ministry was broken up. Sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created earl of Danby, became the chief minister, and retained power till 1678; Shaftesbury became the great leader of the party opposed to the Court. The history of England for the next seven years is the history of a continual struggle between the Crown and the Commons, during which time we trace, amidst some honesty of purpose, an equal degradation of the principles of loyalty and of independence. Monarchical government was never more profligate and anti-national, and representative government was never more factious and corrupt, than in the years from 1673 to 1681. The House of Commons elected after the Restoration first met on the 8th of May, 1661. It continued to sit till the 25th of January, 1679. Vacancies had been filled up from time to time by new elections; and in these what was called the Country Party gradually preponderated. But the general composition of the House was a curious admixture of by-gone and current opinions. There is "A Letter from a Parliament Man to his Friend," published in 1675, and attributed to Shaftesbury, which describes with admirable humour, and probably with equal truth, the composition of the House of Commons: \*—"Sir, I see you are greatly scandalized at our slow and confused proceedings. I confess you have cause enough; but were you but within these walls for one half day, and saw the strange make and complexion that this house is of, you would wonder as much that ever you wondered at it; for we are such a pied Parliament, that none can say of what colour we are; for we consist of Old Cavaliers, Old Round-heads, Indigent Courtiers, and true Country-Gentlemen: the two latter are most numerous, and would in probability bring things to some issue were they not clogged with the humorous uncertainties of the former. For the Old Cavalier, grown aged, and almost past his vice, is damnable godly, and makes his doting piety more a plague to the world, than his youthful debauchery was: he forces his Loyalty to strike sail to his Religion, and could be content to pare the nails a little of the Civil Government, so you would but let him sharpen the Ecclesiastical talons: which behaviour of his so exasperates the Round-head, that he, on the other hand, cares not what increase the interest of the Crown receives, so he can but diminish that of the Mitre; so that the Round-head had rather en-

\* Printed in "Parliamentary History," vol. iv., Appendix IV.

slave the man than the conscience; the Cavalier, rather the conscience than the man; there being a sufficient stock of animosity as proper matter to work upon. Upon these, therefore, the Courtier usually plays: for if any Anti-Court motion be made, he gains the Round-heads either to oppose or assent, by telling them, If they will join him now, he will join with them for Liberty of Conscience. And when any affair is started on behalf of the country, he assures the Cavaliers, if they will then stand by him, he will then join with them in promoting a bill against the Fanatics. Thus play they on both hands, that no motion of a public nature is made but they win upon the one or other of them: and by this art gain a majority against the country gentlemen, which otherwise they would never have: wherefore it were happy that we had neither Round-head nor Cavalier in the House; for they are each of them so prejudicate against the other, that their sitting here signifies nothing but their fostering their old venom, and lying at catch to snap every advantage to bear down each other, though it be in the destruction of their country." The same letter does not spare the corruption of that very considerable body of members that it terms "Indigent;" a corruption which king Charles and king Louis each found availing with patriots as well as with placemen: "You now see all our shapes, save only the Indigents, concerning whom I need say but little, for their votes are publicly saleable for a guinea and a dinner every day in the week, unless the House be upon Money or a Minister of State; for that is their harvest; and then they make their earnings suit the work they are about, which inclines them most constantly as sure clients to the Court. For what with gaining the one, and saving the other, they now and then adventure a vote on the Country side; but the dread of Dissolution makes them straight tack about. The only thing we are obliged to them for is, that they do nothing gratis, but make every tax as well chargeable to the Court as burdensome to the country, and save no man's neck but they break his purse."

At the opening of the Session of Parliament in 1674, the king uttered these words with his own lips: "I know you have heard much of my alliance with France, and I believe it hath been very strangely misrepresented to you, as if there were certain secret articles of dangerous consequence; but I will make no difficulty of letting the treaties, and all the articles of them, without any the least reserve, to be seen by a small committee of both Houses, who may report to you the true scope of them." Charles I. did not

hesitate to employ indirect falsehood; but he never uttered such an audacious lie as his son now used, to stem the discontents which were gathering around him. Supplies were wanted to carry on the Dutch war; but the nation hated the war, and the Commons would not grant the supplies. To avert greater dangers a separate peace was made with Holland. The war went on between France and the United Provinces, who were now fully supported by Spain and the German powers. The noble resistance of the Prince of Orange to the ambition of Louis had saved his country; but had England taken a more honest course, future wars arising out of the same lust of dominion might have been effectually prevented. The Parliament was in some degree propitiated by the separate peace with Holland; but it was in a dangerous temper, and was quickly prorogued. It met again on the 13th of April, 1675. English troops under Monmouth had been left to assist the French, notwithstanding the English peace with Holland. The House of Commons demanded their recall. The violent scenes between furious partisans were suddenly mitigated, as if a god had descended to separate the combatants in a cloud. The god of money had effected this peacefulness. The English troops remained as auxiliaries of the French. After a protracted struggle to extend the oath required to be taken by officers of corporations to privy counsellors and members of parliament, which attempt was defeated by Shaftesbury, the Parliament was prorogued. There was another short Session. It was again prorogued for fifteen months on the 22nd of November.

The alternations of indulgence towards non-conformists and their persecution was one of the most striking symptoms of the utter want of principle in the conduct of public affairs. The sufferings of a large body of people were never taken into account when the Court and the Parliament were each striving to rule by factions. Defoe, who well knew the system which had been in operation from his boyhood, said, "the persecution of Dissenters has been all along the effect of state policy, more than error of zeal or a mistake of religion." Persecution "has very seldom been carried on any where from mere zeal, but with a complication of private ends, intrigues, and all kinds of abstracted villainy."\* Under Danby's administration, in 1675, the king issued proclamations enforcing the laws against non conformists. How these measures worked may be seen in Baxter's simple relation: "I was so long wearied

\* "Review," vol. ii. quoted in Wilson's "Life," vol. i. p. 60.

with keeping my doors shut against them that came to distrain on my goods for preaching, that I was fain to go from my house, and sell all my goods, and to hide my library first and afterwards to sell it." He shifted his abode. "When I had ceased preaching I was, being newly risen from extremity of pain, suddenly surprised in my house by a poor violent informer, and many constables and officers, who rushed in and apprehended me, and served on me one warrant to seize on my person for coming within five miles of a Corporation, and five more warrants to distrain for an hundred and ninety pounds, for five sermons."\* Though the king was straitened in his means of extravagance by the jealousy of Parliament, the prodigality of the Court was as manifest as ever. On the 10th of September, 1675, Evelyn writes in his Diary: "I was casually showed the duchess of Portsmouth's splendid apartment at Whitehall, luxuriously furnished, and with ten times the richness and glory beyond the queen's; such massy pieces of plate, whole tables, and stands of incredible value." The lady looked down with contempt upon her sister-strumpets. She affected a decency that was not characteristic of some other ladies. When the wit of Nell Gwynn was praised, "yes," exclaimed La Querouaille, "but any one may know she has been an orange-wench by her swearing." The great duchess was the arbitress of the destiny of statesmen. She quarrelled with Buckingham, and he was driven into opposition. She corresponded with the French monarch, who settled an estate upon her for her valuable aid in the degradation of England. Time did not diminish her influence over the besotted king. Incredible as it may appear, there is a record of particular payments to her out of the Secret Service Money in the one year of 1681, of 136,668*l.* 10*s.* † The most hidden crimes cannot wholly be concealed, especially when subordinate agents are connected with them. The long prorogation of the Parliament in November, 1675, was a specific arrangement between Charles and Louis, for which the unworthy king of England received five hundred thousand crowns. The two sovereigns, with the connivance of Danby and Lauderdale, concluded a formal agreement not to enter upon any treaties but with mutual consent; and Charles accepted a pension, upon his pledge to prorogue or dissolve any Parliament that attempted to force such treaties upon him. The money was regularly paid by the French minister to Chiffinch, the notori-

\* "Life of Baxter," Part iii. pp. 172, 191.

† "Monies received and paid for Secret Services;" Camden Society.

ous pander to the vices of his master; and the degraded king regularly signed a receipt for the wages of his iniquity. Such things could not go on without exciting some suspicion. How could the extravagance of the Court be maintained? Where did the money come from? The annual revenue was large, but all knew that it was insufficient to meet the riots and follies of Whitehall. Serious thinkers began to murmur. Gossiping loungers about the coffee-houses began to sneer and whisper. Coffee-houses were in those days what clubs are in our day—the great marts for the interchange of town talk, political, or literary, or fashionable, or scandalous, or simply stupid. A Coffee-house, says a tract of 1673, “is an exchange where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the public, with bottomless stories.”\* Roger North takes a more serious view of Coffee-house gossip, in 1675: “There was such licentiousness of seditious and really treasonable discourse, in coffee-houses, of which there were accounts daily brought to the king, that it was considered if coffee-houses ought not to be put down.”† Clarendon, in 1666, had proposed either to put down coffee-houses, or to employ spies to frequent them and report the conversation. If in 1675 the king had daily reports of “treasonable discourse,” we may presume that the spy-system had been tried, although it was not quite efficient. On the 29th of December, a proclamation appeared, recalling all the licences issued for the sale of coffee, and ordering all coffee-houses to be shut up, “because in such houses, and by the meeting of disaffected persons in them, divers false, malicious, and scandalous reports were devised and spread abroad, to the defamation of his majesty’s government, and the disturbance of the quiet and peace of the realm.” The licences were withdrawn, through a legal quibble upon the same Statute under which they had been issued. By the Act granting the king certain excise duties in perpetuity, ‡ a duty of fourpence was imposed “for every gallon of coffee made and sold, to be paid by the maker.” The licence to sell was under a subsequent Act, by which the Justices in Sessions, or the Chief Magistrate of a Corporation, were to grant Licences for the selling of Coffee, Chocolate, Sherbet, or Tea, no Licence being to be granted unless the retailer had first given security for the payment of the dues to the king. § There was no complaint that the securities had not been given, or that the

\* “Harleian Miscellany,” vol. viii. p. 7.

† 12 C. II. c. 12.

‡ “Lives of the Norths,” vol. i. p. 316.

§ 15 Car. II. c. 11.

dues were unpaid. The pretence under which the licences were recalled was, that as the Statute made no mention of a time for which the licences were granted, they might be recalled at any time by a higher authority than that of the magistrates who issued them. There never was a more flagrant violation of law under a show of some submission to law. The Coffee-houses were closed. "The great Coffee-house in Covent Garden" — Will's Coffee-house — where Mr. Pepys saw in 1664, "Dryden the poet, and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our college," was suddenly shut up at the merry Christmas time. Mr. Dryden had no longer there "his armed chair, which in the winter had a settled and prescriptive place by the fire."\* His opera of "The State of Innocence and Fall of Man" was his last previous dramatic production; and he could no longer tell to the groups around him, how when he went to the old blind schoolmaster in Bunhill-fields, and asked "leave to put his Paradise Lost into a drama, in rhyme, Mr. Milton received him very civilly, and told him he would give him leave to tag his verses."† Milton about a year before, had been carried to his last resting-place in Cripplegate-church; and amongst the "treasonable discourse" of the frequenters of the coffee-houses some might have uttered the thought that Milton was not far wrong when, in his last political treatise, he raised his warning voice against the way his countrymen were marching, "to those calamities which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgments under foreign and domestic slavery."‡ Probably no political measure was more indicative of a disposition in the government to attack the liberties of the people in their social habits than this shutting-up of the coffee-houses. The popular indignation soon compelled the government to retract its proclamation. "The faction was much incensed," writes North. "They said that Mr. Attorney [sir William Jones] should answer it in Parliament." Mr. Attorney was frightened; and possibly some higher authorities were not at their ease. Permission was given to re-open the houses for a certain time; under a severe admonition to the keepers, that they should stop the reading of all scandalous books and papers, and hinder every scandalous report against the government. Despotism would be more dangerous though not more odious than it is, amongst nations with pretensions to civ

\* "Johnson's Lives of the Poets;" Cunningham's edit. vol. i. p. 338.

Aubrey, "Lives," vol. iii. p. 444. † "Way to establish a free Commonwealth."

ilisation, if it had something less of the weakness and folly which always accompanies its measures for the repression of opinion.

At the opening of the Session of Parliament on the 15th of February, 1677, the Lord Chancellor, Finch, made an elaborate speech which, says Mr. Southey, "contains passages which are as worthy of attention now as they were when they were delivered."\* Such a passage as the following would be more worthy of attention, had it not been repeated, with very slight variation, by every parliamentary orator from that day to this, with whom the dead calm of national apathy is the perfection of national happiness—the highest glory of a sovereign to "be rowed in state over the ocean of public tranquillity by the public slavery."† The words of Lord Chancellor Nottingham are these: "It is a great and a dangerous mistake in those who think that peace at home is well enough preserved, so long as the sword is not drawn; whereas, in truth, nothing deserves the name of peace but unity; such an unity as flows from an unshaken trust and confidence between the king and his people; from a due reverence and obedience to his law and his government; from a religious and an awful care not to disturb the ancient landmarks."‡ These are the common-places which have been entered in many a book besides Mr. Southey's. "Trust and confidence between the king and his people" had been manifested by a prorogation of Parliament for fifteen months. A fierce debate took place on this question. The duke of Buckingham maintained that the prorogation for so long a time amounted to a dissolution, being contrary to the statutes of Edward III., which required the annual calling of Parliament. Lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton supported this opinion; and by way of silencing them were ordered to be sent to the Tower, unless they begged pardon of the king and the House. They refused, and were imprisoned. Such commitments by either House terminate with the Session; but the government contrived to keep these dangerous rivals out of the way for more than a year, by adjournments instead of prorogations. In the Commons, the Country party were in a minority upon this question. The bribery of the Lord Treasurer had been more effectual than the eloquence of the Lord Chancellor. The instalment of the king's pension from France, paid in February, was applied to get votes for a large grant. But the greater part of the supply was

\* "Southey's Common-place Book," vol. i. p. 106.

† Marvell. "Rehearsal Transposed," vol. ii. p. 295.

‡ "Parl. History," vol. iv. co. 80.



devoted to the support of the navy; and with this sum the Commons would not trust the Treasurer, but appointed their own receivers to superintend its disbursement. The French were now carrying all resistance before them in the Spanish Netherlands. The prince of Orange was defeated at Cassel. Valenciennes and Cambray were surrendered. The Commons voted an address praying the king to oppose the French monarch, and save the Netherlands from his grasp. Charles required an immediate grant as a preliminary to a declaration of war. The House refused it. Then was resorted to that disgusting system of foreign bribery by Spain to obtain the grant, by France to prevent it, which has brought such great disgrace upon many of the public men of this period, and which in some degree qualifies the same baseness in the king. The grant being refused, Charles adjourned the Parliament; obtained an increase of his pension, from Louis; and gave his promise accordingly that he would keep off the meeting of the troublesome representatives who urged him into war, and yet were afraid to give him the means of carrying it on.

When sir William Temple, in 1668, having concluded the Triple Alliance, returned to the Hague as Ambassador, he described the prince of Orange as "a young man of more parts than ordinary, and of the better sort; that is, not lying in that kind of wit which is neither of use to one's self nor to any body else, but in good plain sense." Temple adds, never any body raved so much after England, as well the language, as all else that belonged to it.\* William was then in his nineteenth year. When Temple went back to the Hague in 1674 the young man had applied his plain sense and his higher qualities—if most high qualities be not included in plain sense—to take the position of the deliverer of his country. He had measured his strength with the great Condé; and in the battle of Seneffe, disastrous as it was, had earned from the French veteran the praise that he had acted in everything like an old captain, except in venturing his person too much like a young soldier. Temple in his second embassy had hinted at the possibility of an union with the daughter of the duke of York. The proposal was renewed more formally, but the prince of Orange did not then respond. He suspected the disposition of the English government to favour the designs of Louis XIV. He was himself resolved to struggle, "as he had seen a poor old man tugging alone in a little boat upon a canal, against the eddy of a sluice.

\* Letter quoted in Courtenay's "Life of Temple," vol. i. p. 286.

This old man's business, and mine, are too like one another." \* But the desire for an English alliance overcame this repugnance to the union. Probably he looked far into the future. William came to England in 1677. On the 19th of October the marriage between him and Mary, the eldest daughter of the duke of York, was agreed upon. On the 4th of November it was solemnised—"to the great joy of the nation," says Reresby; "for his highness being a protestant prince, this match in a great measure expelled the fears that the majority had conceived concerning popery." † Dr. Edward Lake, who was chaplain and tutor to the princesses Mary and Anne, in his diary of the 16th of November, writes: "The wind being easterly, their highnesses were still detained at St. James's. This day the court began to whisper the prince's sullenness or clownishness, that he took no notice of his princess at the play and ball, nor came to see her at St. James's the day preceding this designed for their departure." ‡ With the usual earnestness of his character, William was labouring to induce the king his uncle to take a bold and honourable part in the negotiations for peace with France; and it is very likely that he neglected to pay to his bride those attentions which policy, if not love, would have demanded. In after life Mary showed the depth of her affection for her husband, so cold in his demeanour, so high-minded in real deeds. The sweetness of her nature was eminently fitted for his support and consolation in the great trials, and the arduous duties, of his life. The chaplain records that Mary wept incessantly all the morning of their departure. "The queen observing her highness to weep as she took leave of her majesty, would have comforted her with the consideration of her own condition when she came into England, and had never till then seen the king; to whom her highness presently replied, 'But, madam, you came into England; but I am going out of England.' " §

The marriage of the prince Orange with the princess Mary gave offence to the king of France. He regarded it as a breach of faith on the part of his pensioner, the king of England, and he stopped the payment of the sum for which Charles had agreed to prevent any meeting of Parliament till April, 1678. Before that time Louis expected to have been in a condition to dictate terms to the Allies. When the pensioner saw his pay stopped, he called the Parliament together, on the 28th of January. To attempt to unravel the knot

\* Conversation with Temple, "Life of Temple," vol. i. p. 488.

‡ "Camden Miscellany," vol. i.

† "Memoirs," p. 199.  
§ *Ibid.*

of the complicated intrigues of this period would be as wearisome to our readers as unsatisfactory to ourselves. The king announced to the Parliament that he had made such alliances with Holland as were for the preservation of Flanders, and had withdrawn the auxiliary English troops from the French service. The king further asked for money to carry on the war against France, so as to support a fleet of ninety sail, and an army of forty thousand men. The fast-and-loose game which was played throughout this Session has left a stain upon parliamentary government. It was impossible for the Dutch and their allies, and equally impossible for the English people, to understand the movements of the Court party and the Country party as exhibited in the votes of Parliament. Well might the prince of Orange say, "Was ever anything so hot and so cold as this Court of yours? Will the king never learn a word that I shall never forget since my last passage to England, when, in a great storm, the captain was all night crying out to the men at the helm, 'Steady! Steady! Steady!'" The independent members of the House of Commons knew that a prompt assistance to the Allies was absolutely necessary to control the ambitious designs of France. They urged the war, but they hesitated to vote the supplies, or clogged the vote by vexatious conditions. "Great debates," says Reresby, "had arisen upon this affair, and the reason of the violent opposition it met with was the desire in some to oppose the Crown, though in the very thing they themselves wished for, the nation being ever desirous of a war with France; and a jealousy in others that the king indeed intended to raise an army, but never designed to go on with the war; and, to say the truth, some of the king's own party were not very sure of the contrary."\* There was a violent debate on the 14th of March, very imperfectly reported. Reresby says of this debate, "Several speeches were made in the House, full fraught of jealousies and fears, and particularly with regard to the army at this time levying; as if it rather intended to erect absolute monarchy at home, than infest the enemy abroad."† The Commons on the 29th of April received a message from the king, desiring that the House would immediately enter into a consideration of a supply for him, for his majesty must either disband the men, or pay them. The king and the representatives of the people now came to violent issues. A supply was refused unless a war was declared against France; if not the army must be disbanded. The army had been raised, and was encamped on Hounslow

\* "Memoirs," p. 200

† *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Heath. Evelyn there looked upon these forces on the 29th of June: "We saw the new-raised army encamped, designed against France, in pretence at least; but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole army in battalia, a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers called grenadiers, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenades, every one having a pouch full." What Evelyn, a steady loyalist, thought a pretence, is the only justification for the undoubted fact that some of the opposition to the Court was the result of a secret connexion formed with the Ambassadors of Louis by some of the parliamentary leaders. Money was bestowed upon the more unscrupulous. We cannot think, even if the designs of Charles upon the liberties of his country had been manifest to Hollis, and Russell, and Sidney, instead of being merely suspected, that they were justified in their intrigues with any foreign prince, and especially with a monarch so opposed to freedom and national independence as Louis XIV. Undoubtedly their conduct was some apology for Charles in that policy of evasion and delay which allowed France to conclude a peace upon far more advantageous terms than Louis could have obtained if William of Orange had been adequately supported. The peace of Nimeguen, concluded on the 4th of August, left Louis a large portion of his gains in this war of aggression. England had the disgrace of the most complicated faithlessness to all honourable principle. She lost her national position in Europe, and became a by-word for despotic states, and a scandal to the few nations that were free. She stood alone in possessing a government in which the opinions of the people were supposed to have a voice through their representatives. These manifestations of weakness and dishonour were held to be inherent in a mixed constitution of king and parliament, and men were taught to think that arbitrary power was a safer and more glorious thing than regulated freedom. Despotism is always ready to rejoice when the due balance of representative government is disturbed by the violence or the corruption of selfish factions.

On the 8th of July an Act was passed for granting a supply to the king of upwards of £600,000, "for disbanding the army, and for other uses." On the 15th the Parliament was prorogued. Amidst the conflicts of party one Statute of this period marks the great fact that religious intolerance had assumed a milder form. "It is enacted "That the Writ commonly called Breve de Heret-

ico comburendo, with all process and proceedings thereupon, in order to the executing such Writ, or following or depending thereupon, and all punishment by death in pursuance of any Ecclesiastical Censures, be from henceforth utterly taken away and abolished:"\* But if the progress of opinion had wiped out of the Statute Book the horrible law that heretics should be burnt, the recollection of the days when that law was no dead letter was still strong and vivid as ever in the popular mind. The dread of Popery was the one inextinguishable spark in the temper of the people which the slightest breath might raise into a flame. The great bulk of the nation knew little of the vices of the Court; and even those who dwelt in and around Westminster looked with complacency upon the tall swarthy gentleman who walked up and down the Mall in St. James' Park at his "wonted large pace;" and who, when very humble strangers were presented to him in the Long Gallery at Whitehall, would give them his hand to kiss, and say "God bless you."† They were accustomed to hear of the duke of York's irregular life, and little heeded his private indiscretions; but when he became a declared Romanist and had married a Catholic princess, there were no bounds to their dislike and their suspicion. Dissenters from the Church, who practically knew all the hardships of exclusion from civil offices, and from the privilege of worship according to their own consciences, would hear of no scheme of toleration for Papists. Rousing themselves out of the apathy which had succeeded to their delirium of loyalty, the people had again begun to take a strong interest in public affairs. They felt that the nation had lost character in its foreign transactions. They saw the old principles of servile obedience, which had been struck down in 1640, again proclaimed as the duties of subjects. They believed, with lord Shaftesbury, that "popery and slavery, like two sisters, go hand in hand; and sometimes one goes first, and sometimes the other, but wheresoever the one enters the other is following close behind." In the temper that prevailed amongst the people in the summer of 1678, the excesses connected with what is known as the Popish Plot were, like Shakspeare's characteristic of murder, "most foul;" they were also "strange;" but they were not "unnatural." The nation was under a panic which manifested itself in a temporary insanity. But we are not therefore to conclude that the panic was wholly unreasonable; that the plot was a pure invention got up by witnesses altogether

\* 29 Car. II. c. 9.

† See "Diary of Henry Teonge," p. 232

false, at the instigation of Shaftesbury and other unprincipled politicians; that there was no design on the part of Romish intriguers to restore their religion in England, to which the near prospect of a Popish successor to the throne gave abundant encouragement. It is unquestionable that the Jesuits did believe, as was expressed in the letter of Coleman, the secretary of the duke of York, that for "the subduing of a pestilent heresy"—the "mighty work" on their hands—"there were never such hopes of success since the death of queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a prince who is become zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work." The zeal of James was neutralised by the indifference of Charles; and therefore it was maintained that the destruction of the king was the first object of the Plot. Charles himself ridiculed the notion; but that is no proof that he wholly disbelieved the existence of some wild scheme for his removal.

The rumours of a Popish plot burst upon the nation at the beginning of October. Evelyn records, under date of the first of this month, that he went to Dr. Tonge, the rector of St. Michael's Wood Street, to see and converse with him at Whitehall, and "with Mr. Oates, one that was lately an apostate to the Church of Rome, and now returned again with this discovery" of the Popish plot. "Oates was encouraged," continues Evelyn, "and everything he affirmed taken for gospel. The truth is, the Roman Catholics were exceedingly bold and busy everywhere." Reresby says that the first news of the plot, "a design of the Papists to kill the king," came to him in the country, on the 10th of October. "Nobody can conceive that was not a witness thereof, what a ferment this raised amongst all ranks and degrees." Burnet, who says that he was so well instructed in all the steps of the plot, that he is more capable to give a full account of it than any man he knows, records that three days before Michaelmas Dr. Tonge came to him—"a very mean divine, and seemed credulous and simple, but I had always looked on him as a sincere man. At this time he told me of strange designs against the king's person." Burnet communicated the information to the Secretary's office; but learnt that Tonge had been already "making discoveries there, of which they made no other account, but that he intended to get himself to be made a dean." Burnet told Tonge's story "to Littleton and Powell, and they looked on it as a design of lord Danby's, to be laid before the next Session, thereby to dispose them to keep up a greater force, since the papists were plotting against the king's

life." Roger North, on the contrary, suggests that Shaftesbury "was behind the curtain, and in the depths of the contrivance."\* The generally received account is that one Kirby, on the 13th of August, warned the king, who knew him, not to walk alone in the Park; that the same evening he brought Tonge to Charles, with a narrative of the plot; that the king referred it to the Lord Treasurer; that Charles was incredulous, and laughed at the simplicity of Danby in his wish to lay the narrative before the Privy Council. But it may occur to some, bearing in mind the time that elapsed between the first information to the king and the official notification to the Council, that there was some ground for the conjecture of Littleton and Powel that the Court had its own objects in raising the alleged Plot into importance, by encouraging the witnesses in their extravagant relations. The objection of lord Halifax to this theory was reasonable enough. He told Burnet that "considering the suspicions all people had of the duke's religion, he believed every discovery of that sort would raise a flame which it would not be easy to manage." But the objection assumed that the contrivers of such state-engines were duly sensible of the effects they might produce—that "the ingener might contemplate the possibility of being "hoist with his own petar." If Danby stimulated the revelations of the plot to alarm the Commons into granting supplies, it did not follow that he would foresee such a storm as would give a violent impulse to all the political movements of the next ten years. Shaftesbury, says Roger North, "was the dry-nurse, and took the charge of leading the monstrous birth till it could crawl alone." It is quite within the range of probability that the Court got up the Plot for its own purposes; and that "the discontented party" took it out of the Court's hands for its own purposes also.

Burnet, who relates conversations that he had with the king, represents Charles as saying that after Tonge's audience he did not know but some of the particulars related to him might be true, and sent him to lord Danby, "The matter lay in a secret and remiss management for six weeks," till, on Michaelmas eve, Oates was brought before the Council. He related many discourses he had heard among the Jesuits at St. Omer's of their design to kill the king; he named persons, places, and times almost without number; he accused Coleman, the duke's secretary. Many Jesuits were seized. Coleman removed the bulk of his letters previous to his

\* "Examen," p. 35.

apprehension; but two were accidentally left, addressed to the confessor of Louis XIV., which in some degree confirmed the belief of a design to overthrow the government. Burnet went to Whitehall, and there found Oates and Tonge under a guard. Previous to Oates being examined a second time by the Privy Council, he went before sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a zealous Protestant justice of peace, and made oath to the narrative which he afterwards published. A fortnight after, Godfrey was missing, having left his home on a Saturday morning. On the following Wednesday his corpse was found in a ditch at some distance out of the town, near Primrose-hill. His own sword was thrust through his body, but no blood was on his clothes; on his neck were the marks of strangulation. The Papists were, of course, suspected of his murder; although the motive was altogether a mystery. On the other hand it was maintained that he had committed suicide. A medal was struck ridiculing this notion, in showing the unfortunate Justice walking with a halter about his neck after he is dead, and St. Denis on the obverse, with his own head in his hand. There was another medal with a portrait of Godfrey, and a representation of the murderers carrying his body on a horse. Roger North, who labours in every way to fasten the invention of the Plot upon the party opposed to the Court, describes the fury of the people on the discovery of this supposed murder; and says that their leaders would have hounded them on to any massacre and destruction, had the military not been in good order. The popular notion was that the murder of Godfrey was to deter all men from any further inquiry into the Plot. There was great excitement at the funeral of the Protestant magistrate, which North has described with some humour. "The crowd was prodigious, both at the procession, and in and about the church; and so heated that anything called Popish, were it cat or dog, had probably gone to pieces in a moment. The Catholics all kept close in their houses and lodgings, thinking it a good composition to be safe there; so far were they from acting violently at that time. But there was all this while upheld among the common people an artificial fright, so as almost every man fancied a Popish knife just at his throat. And, at the sermon, besides the preacher, two other thumping divines stood upright in the pulpit, one on each side of him, to guard him from being killed, while he was preaching, by the Papists."\* In this feverish state of the popular mind, the Parliament met on the 21st

\* "Examen," p. 204.



of October. Charles alluded to information received by him of a design against his person by the Jesuits, but said he would leave the matter to the law. The Parliament immediately determined to take the subject into their own hands. They appointed a Committee to inquire into Godfrey's murder and into the Plot; they addressed the king to appoint a solemn fast; they further desired the removal of all Popish recusants from the metropolis and ten miles round; before a week had elapsed, a bill was passed by the Commons to exclude Catholics from both Houses. Oates was examined. Coleman's letters were read. On the 1st of November, the Commons came to a resolution, "That, upon the evidence that has already appeared to the House, this House is of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish Plot, contrived and carried on by Popish recusants, for the assassinating and murdering the king, and for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion." The Lords unanimously agreed in the Resolution of the Commons.

There are two descriptions by impartial witnesses which present striking pictures of the state of the popular mind at this season. On the 17th of November, queen Elizabeth's birth-day, there was a mock procession which Calamy, the son of the famous non-conformist, saw in his boyhood, and thus relates: "In the midst of vast crowds of spectators, who made great acclamations and showed abundance of satisfaction, there were carried in pageants upon men's shoulders through the chief streets of the city, the effigies of the Pope, with the representation of the devil behind him, whispering in his ear, and wonderfully soothing and caressing him (though he afterwards deserted him, and left him to shift for himself, before he was committed to the flames), together with the likeness of the dead body of sir Edmondbury Godfrey, carried before him by one that rode on horseback, designed to remind the people of his execrable murder. And a great number of dignitaries in their copes, with crosses; monks, friars, and Jesuits; Popish bishops in their mitres, with all their trinkets and appurtenances. Such things as these very discernibly heightened and inflamed the general aversion of the nation from Popery; but it is to be feared, on the other hand, they put some people, by way of revulsion, upon such desperate expedients as brought us even within an ace of ruin." Daniel Defoe, then also a youth, was greatly excited by the Popish plot, some of the credulities accompanying which he described in his maturer years: "I did firmly believe the reality

of the plot; yet, when we ran up that plot to general massacres, fleets of pilgrims, bits and bridles, knives, handcuffs, and a thousand such things, which people generally talk of, I confess, though a boy, I could not then, nor can now, come up to them. And my reasons were, as they still are, because I see no reason to believe the Papists to be fools, whatever else we had occasion to think of them. I cannot, indeed, spare room to examine the weakness of the notion of a general massacre in England, where the Papists all over the kingdom are not five to a hundred, in some counties not one, and within the city hardly one to a thousand. But, 'tis plain, these notions prevailed to a strange excess, made our city blunderbusses to be all new burnished, hat and feathers, shoulder-belt, and all our military gew-gaws come in mode again, till the city trained-bands began to be so rampant, that, like other standing armies, they began to ride upon their masters, and trampled under foot the liberty of that very city they were raised to defend. They were made engines of oppression and disorder, disturbed meeting-houses, possessed the Guildhall, chose sheriffs, got drunk upon guard, abused the citizens upon their rounds, and their prodigal drunken sentinels murdered several people upon pretence they would not stand at their command. In a populous city, it was impossible but innocent people, either ignorant or perhaps in drink, might run themselves into danger, not imagining they had to do with brutes that would kill their fellow-citizens for such trifles, with the same severity as if in an enemy's country, or on the frontiers."

As there was nothing in the terrors of massacres and invasions; of burnings of London and of the shipping in the Thames; of Jesuits about to rule the land under the seal of the Pope,—too absurd for the multitude to credit; so there was no eminent person, however loyal and peaceable, who might not become a victim to the accusations of those men who had brought a whole nation into a condition of senseless panic. "All Oates' evidence," says Burnet, "was now so well believed that it was not safe for any man to doubt any part of it." He named peers to whom the Pope had sent over his commissions. He accused Wakeman, the queen's physician, of a project to poison his sovereign. Bedloe, a man of notorious evil life, surrendered himself at Bristol, pretending that he was cognisant of the murder of Godfrey, and could point out the murderers and instigators; and he then came forward in support of the accusations of Oates against certain peers who had

been apprehended on Oates's charges. The consummation of the impudence of Oates was his attempt to involve the harmless queen in a charge of having concerted the murder of her husband. He told a story that the queen had sent for some Jesuits to Somerset House; that he went with them, and standing behind a door, heard one in a woman's voice, there being no other woman in the room than the queen, assure them that she would assist in taking off the king. North relates that Oates, at the bar of the House of Commons, said, "*Aye, Taitus Oates, accuse Catherine, Queen of England, of Haigh Traison.*"\* Burnet has a curious relation of his own conversation with the king on this delicate subject. The good bishop's relations have been considered, though perhaps unjustly, a little open to doubt; but we are not entitled to question what he relates of his personal knowledge. "The king spoke much to me concerning Oates's accusing the queen, and acquainted me with the whole progress of it. He said she was a weak woman, and had some disagreeable humours; but was not capable of a wicked thing; and, considering his faultiness towards her in other things, he thought it a horrid thing to abandon her. He said he looked on falsehood and cruelty as the greatest crimes in the sight of God: he knew he had led a bad life, of which he spoke with some sense; but he was breaking himself of all his faults; and he would never do a base and a wicked thing. I spoke on all these subjects which I thought became me, which he took well; and I encouraged him much in his resolution of not exposing the queen to perish by false swearing."

We have thus shown some ludicrous aspects of this famous Plot. The horrible realities connected with it present a fearful example of the atrocities that may be committed under the excitement of religious animosity. The trials of the accused persons commenced in November. Stayley, a Catholic banker, was first sacrificed, upon a ridiculous accusation brought forward by Carstairs, a Scotchman, who saw that the trade of false witness was prosperous. He swore that he heard the banker say in French, that the king was a rogue, and that he himself would kill him, if nobody else would. Burnet gave offence by shewing that Carstairs was an infamous character; and Shaftesbury, as the bishop relates, told him "that all those who undermined the credit of the witnesses were public enemies." The poor banker was tried and was hanged. Coleman was next brought to trial upon charges

\* Scott, from this hint, has given Oates his peculiar dialect in "*Peveril of the Peak.*"

made against him by Oates and Bedloe. The evidence was very inconclusive; but his letters were against him, although he maintained that he had no idea of bringing in the Catholic religion, but by a general toleration. He was convicted of high treason, and executed. Three Jesuits, Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, were the next victims. Green and Hill, two Papists, and Berry, a Protestant, were then convicted of the murder of sir Edmondbury Godfrey, upon the testimony of Bedloe, and the pretended confession of Prance, a silversmith. The prisons were filled with hundreds of suspected traitors. Five peers were confined in the Tower under impeachment. Scroggs, the Chief Justice, conducted himself, in all the trials, with the most ferocious determination to procure a verdict against the prisoners. Oates in a few months was at the height of his greatness. "He walked about," says North, "with his guards assigned for fear of the Papists murdering him. He had lodgings in Whitehall, and 1200*l.* per annum pension: And no wonder, after he had the impudence to say to the House of Lords, in plain terms, that, if they would not help him to more money, he must be forced to help himself. He put on an episcopal garb, except the lawn sleeves; silk gown and cassock, great hat, satin hatband and rose, long scarf, and was called, or most blasphemously called himself, the Saviour of the nation. Whoever he pointed at was taken up and committed; so that many people got out of his way, as from a blast, and glad they could prove their two last years' conversation. The very breath of him was pestilential, and if it brought not imprisonment, or death, over such on whom it fell, it surely poisoned reputation, and left good protestants arrant papists, and something worse than that, in danger of being put in the plot as traitors."\*

We have dwelt at some length upon this Popish Plot; and in their order of time we shall have to give a few other details. It may be thought that such an occurrence might be more briefly related; but it is not only strikingly illustrative of the temper of the people, but was really pregnant with important consequences. Dr. Wellwood, who wrote his 'Memoirs' some twenty years after these events, has expressed, with tolerable impartiality, the view in which they were regarded after the Revolution:—"A great part of the Popish Plot, as it was then sworn to, will in all human probability lie among the darkest scenes of our English history. However, this is certain: the discovery of the Popish Plot had great and

\* "Examen."

various effects upon the nation; and it's from this remarkable period of time we may justly reckon a new-era in the English account. In the first place, it awakened the nation out of a deep lethargy they had been in for nineteen years together; and alarmed them with fears and jealousies that have been found to our sad experience but too well grounded. In the next, it gave the rise to, at least settled, that unhappy distinction of Whig and Tory among the people of England, that has since occasioned so many mischiefs. And lastly, the discovery of the Popish Plot began that open struggle between King Charles and his people, that occasioned him not only to dissolve his first favourite parliament, and the three others that succeeded; but likewise to call no more during the rest of his reign. All which made for bringing in question the Charters of London, and other Corporations, with a great many dismal effects that followed."\*

\* "Memoirs of the most material Transactions," &c. 1736, p. 111

## CHAPTER XII.

Discovery of the intrigues of the king with France.—Impeachment of Danby.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Elections.—The duke of York goes abroad.—Pretensions of Monmouth to legitimacy.—The king's declaration as to his marriage.—The new Council upon Temple's plan.—The Exclusion Bill passed in the Commons.—The Habeas Corpus Act.—Continued trials for the Popish Plot.—Analysis of Payments to the Witnesses.—Persecutions of Covenanters in Scotland.—Murder of archbishop Sharp.—Claverhouse defeated at Drumclog.—Monmouth sent to Scotland as General.—Battle of Bothwell Bridge.—Whig and Tory.—York and Monmouth rivals for the Succession.—Proclamation against Petitions.—Abhorrrers.

THE political excitement of the Christmas time of 1678 had not been equalled since the early days of the Long parliament. In the very height of the fever of the Popish Plot a discovery was made of the intrigues of the king with France, which very soon led to the ruin of the Lord Treasurer, Danby. In the secret treaty between Charles and Louis in May, 1678, it was agreed that the English army should be disbanded. The French ambassador, Barillon, pressed its reduction to 8000 men; which Charles as constantly evaded; and he is said to have exclaimed, "God's fish! are all the king of France's promises to make me master of my subjects come to this? or does he think that a matter to be done with 8000 men?" Louis was out of humour with Charles, who appeared disposed to set up for a despot without his brother despot's aid; and he urged Ralph Montague, the English minister at Paris, to betray the secrets of their intrigues. Montague was also out of humour with his own government. He came home, and was elected a member of parliament. The Lord Treasurer dreaded Montague's disclosures; and ordered his papers to be seized, under pretence that he had held private conferences with the Pope's nuncio. A royal message to this effect was sent to the Commons. "But Montague," says Burnet, "understood the arts of a Court too well to be easily caught." He had put a box, in which certain letters were, "in sure hands, out of the way." The object in endeavouring to obtain possession of these papers was to destroy the evidence of the transactions of May, 1678. Montague, in his place in the House said, "I believe that the seizing my cabinets

and papers was to get into their hands some papers of great consequences, that I have to produce, of the designs of a great minister of state." The box containing these was opened in the House; and Montague read two letters, one of which, signed Danby, empowered him to stipulate for a payment to the king of six hundred thousand livres annually for three years, as the price of his neutrality. At the bottom of the letter were these words: "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." Mr. Hallam has forcibly observed of the conduct of the king, as indicated by this letter, that it "bears date five days after an Act had absolutely passed to raise money for carrying on the war; a circumstance worthy of particular attention, as it both puts an end to every pretext or apology which the least scrupulous could venture to urge in behalf of this negotiation, and justifies the Whig party of England in an invincible distrust, an inexpiable hatred, of so perfidious a cozeners." \* There was a passage in this letter of instructions to Montague, which gave dire offence to those in the House of Commons who felt as Englishmen. Charles asked for the pension, "because it will be two or three years before he can hope to find his Parliament in humour to give him supplies, after your having made any peace with France." One member, Mr. Bennet, exclaimed, "I wonder the House sits so silent when they see themselves sold for six millions of livres to the French." Another, Mr. Harbord, said, "I hope now gentlemen's eyes are open, by the design on foot to destroy the government and our liberties." Sir Henry Capel, calling upon the House to impeach Danby of treason, said, "This minister has let the French king grow upon us, and let our king take money from him, to lay aside his people." † From this time the unity which the Lord Chancellor Finch so earnestly implored was impossible. The arts of the Court were met by counter-arts of the Opposition; the craft of the despot was resisted by the turbulence of the demagogue; the same foreign hand which had bribed the king to degrade his country now bribed the Parliament to contend against the king. It is a sickening spectacle. The only consolation is that ultimate good came out of the instant evil. Danby was impeached of high treason. He had reluctantly written this letter at the command of his unworthy master; but the penalty constitutionally fell upon the minister. He defended himself upon the plea that upon the matter of peace and war the king was the sole judge, and that he ought to be obeyed by his minis-

\* "Constitutional History," chap. xiii.

† "Parl. Hist." vol. iv.

ters of state, as by all his subjects. It is now well understood that the commands of the sovereign furnish no justification for evil measures of the Crown; that the minister must have the responsibility. Danby, though a mere accomplice in guilt, was the one guilty minister; for the letter said "To the Secretary [sir W. Coventry] you must not mention one syllable of the money." The continuance of proceedings against the Lord Treasurer was interrupted by the prorogation of Parliament on the 21st of December, and by its dissolution on the 24th of January, 1679. This was the last Session of the Parliament that had continued since 1661. It commenced in a frenzy of loyalty; it ended in all the embitterment of discontent at the present, and in dread of the future.

Roger North says that the vacation of Parliament "was indeed a dismal one. . . . All populous places were made unquiet with artificial fears and jealousies. . . . All incidents were made wonders, and odd accidents right down prodigies." The Londoners were frightened, as if it were a terrible omen, by a great darkness in London on a Sunday morning, "so that the people in church could not read in their bibles." North asks a question which shows that our metropolitan atmosphere has not much changed during two hundred years. "To what end is this magnifying, so prodigiously, a common accident in London, there being seldom a winter without it; for when a common mist mixes with the coal-smoke it must be so; and out of town, where is no smoke, it is not half so much."\* It was fortunate that the elections came to stir the people into real political action, instead of their yielding to vain delusions and idle fears. It seems, indeed, to have been a most stirring time. There is a striking picture of an election scene at Norwich, in sir Thomas Browne's letters. The return for the county of Norfolk was contested; and a new election took place: "I do not remember such a great poll. I could not but observe the great number of horses which were in the town; and conceive there might have been five or six thousand, which in time of need might serve for dragoon horses; besides a great number of coach-horses, and very good saddle-horses of the better sort. Wine we had none but sack and Rhenish, except some made provision thereof beforehand; but there was a strange consumption of beer, and bread, and cakes. Abundance of people slept in the market place, and lay like flocks of sheep in and about the cross."† Evelyn laments that so many from the country came in to vote for his brother as knight of

\* "Examen," p. 524.

† Sir T. Browne's Works, 1836, vol. i. p. 241.



the shire for Surrey, "that I believe they ate and drank him out near to £2000, by a most abominable custom." Burnet says, "The elections were carried with great heat, and went almost everywhere against the Court."

The duke of York, two days before the Parliament met on the 6th of March, was persuaded to go abroad. His absence might allay the heat which was manifested against him in the last Parliament, when there was a violent debate upon the proviso of the Lords, in the Bill for excluding Catholics from both Houses, that the duke should be exempted.\* But the duke of York, before he left the country for a temporary exile, required that his interests in the succession to the Crown should be protected against the pretended claims of the duke of Monmouth. This supposed eldest of the many illegitimate children of Charles II. was born at Rotterdam, in 1649. James II. in his "Advice to his Son" in the Stuart Papers, says, "All the knowing world, as well as myself, had many convincing reasons to think he was not the king's son, but Robert Sidney's." His mother, Lucy Waters, who was known as Mrs. Barlow, was a lady of somewhat disreputable life; but Charles seems to have clung to her with unusual fidelity. She lived on terms of friendly intercourse with the sister of Charles, the princess of Orange, who in writing to her brother says, "your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you." The term "wife" was probably used in jest by Charles's sister. Mrs. Barlow came to England with the boy in 1656; and is said to have been received by some Cavaliers with attentions paid to royalty. Cromwell had her, in the first place, apprehended, and then sent an order to the Lieutenant of the Tower to release "the lady of pleasure and the young heir." She went to Paris, and soon after died. The son was received with favour by the queen dowager, Henrietta Maria, and came with her to England in 1662. He was called Master Crofts, from having resided with lord Crofts, and is described by Evelyn as "a pretty spark." In 1663 he was created duke of Monmouth, and was ordered "to take place of all dukes." He was also married at the same time to the young countess of Buccleugh, a lady of immense fortune. Monmouth did not deserve "the finest lady in the three kingdoms," for he became an abandoned profligate. Charles appears to have been more constantly attached to him than to any other human being; and to this circumstance may be proba-

\* Catholics had been excluded from the Lower House previous to the statute of 1678 excluding peers.

bly attributed the very general belief that the king had been married to his mother. The high offices bestowed upon Monmouth were far above his deserts or abilities; although he had exhibited bravery and judgment in the war of 1673, in which the English assisted Louis XIV. in his campaign. In 1677 he served on the other side, under the prince of Orange. The notion was either put into his head by the enemies of the duke of York, or he indulged in the delusion through some mysterious stories about documents in a black box, that he was the legitimate heir to the throne. The opinion was too general to be despised; and it is not surprising, therefore, that before the duke of York went abroad he should have required his brother to set the matter at rest by a solemn affirmation to the contrary. Charles, on the 3rd of March, declared to his Council, "in the presence of Almighty God, that he had never given or made any contract of marriage, nor was married to any woman whatsoever but his wife, queen Catherine, then living." James, with the duchess of York, then departed for Brussels.

The resumption of the impeachment against lord Danby, upon the meeting of Parliament involved two great constitutional questions. One was, whether an impeachment by the Commons in one Parliament could be continued in another Parliament. The Lords resolved that "the dissolution of the last Parliament did not alter the state of the impeachments brought up by the Commons in that Parliament."\* The other question was on the right of the king to grant a pardon pending an impeachment. Danby, when he saw the proceedings revived against him, obtained a pardon under the great seal, which the king affixed without the knowledge of the Chancellor. The Commons declared that a pardon to set aside an impeachment could not be pleaded. After various contests, Danby was committed to the Tower, and when a prorogation took place, the impeachment fell to the ground.

After the fall of Danby, a great experiment in Administration was resolved upon, on the suggestion of sir William Temple. His notion was that any select body of ministers, such as was known then as a Cabal, and is now called a Cabinet, should not be the principal advisers of the king; that the Privy Council should be dissolved, and a Council smaller in number should be appointed, with which the management of affairs should be entrusted, the king pledging himself to submit all matters to their advice. This

\* There were subsequent reversals of this decision; but in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the resolution of 1679 was affirmed in 1791.

new Council was to consist of thirty members, fifteen being high officers of state, and fifteen noblemen and gentlemen of wealth and independence. The wealth was an essential condition in the notion of the projector. The thirty members were to possess estates or revenues amounting to £300,000, a sum equal to three-fourths of the income, as then estimated, of the whole House of Commons. The principle was evidently to interpose some great authority in the State between the king and the representatives of the people—something that would be a counterpoise to the vast development of the power of the Lower House.\* As an administrative body it is evident that Temple's Council would prove a failure. It could not essentially differ from the old Privy Council; for thirty members would be as unfit for the united action of an executive as fifty. The Privy Council of Elizabeth and of James I., as in earlier times, gave orders and signed dispatches. When sovereigns were their own ministers, the inconvenience of a large executive body would interfere little with the rapid and secret conduct of affairs. There was a natural jealousy of Cabal or Cabinets; but they had become indispensable in the time of Charles II. The opinions of the Lord Keeper Guilford upon the Cabinet Council, are illustrative of this gradual change in the functions of Administration. Roger North says that his relative intended to describe the transactions of the Court, and the state of the empire, during his ministry as Lord Keeper: "He begins with the state of the Cabinet Council, that consisted of those great officers, and courtiers, whom the king relied upon for the interior dispatch of his affairs. . . . This council was derived from the Privy Council, which, originally, was the same thing, and derived out of the *magnum concilium*. . . . Assemblies at first reasonably constituted of a due number and temper for dispatch of affairs committed to them, by improvident increase came to be formal and troublesome, the certain consequence of multitude; and thereby a new institution becomes necessary; whereupon it is found easier and safer to substitute than to dissolve. Thus the Cabinet Council, which at first was but in the nature of a private conversation, came to be a formal Council, and had the direction of most transactions of the government foreign and domestic."† This opinion of Lord Guilford was formed subsequent to the experiment of 1679, and had no reference to the newly constituted advisers of the Crown. But it is clear that

\* The design of Temple is most ably elucidated in Lord Macaulay's "Essays," vol. iii.

† "Lives," vol. ii. p. 50.

Temple's Council would have been as unmanageable as an executive body as the Privy Council, which had become unfit for dispatch of affairs "by improvident increase." Some of the popular leaders were of this new Council, such as Russell. Shaftesbury was proposed by the king, and was nominated president. There was great rejoicing at the formation of this Council. The people thought they should be better governed. The Parliament looked coldly upon the project. The ministers very soon formed into *juntos*. There was a Cabinet of four members within the Council. None of the hostility of the Commons to the duke of York was disarmed by this nominal union of men of conflicting opinions. The thirty had violent contentions; and in a short time Shaftesbury appeared in the anomalous character of President of the Council, and leader of the parliamentary Opposition. The conduct of the king in this Council is recorded by the great eulogist of the Court, with singular admiration of the royal cleverness. The rolls of justices were laid before the Council, in order to be reformed. "It was pleasant to see with how much wit and good humour the king ordered affairs, to disappoint these reformers. He would not suffer the roll, that was begun with, to be out of his own hand, but pretended to mark the alterations upon it himself. Then, as many of the Council moved for alterations upon the account of good or bad men (terms of art, which for brevity, they used to signify such as the party liked, or would have put out, or not), if the king was content a man should out, he made a mark at his name; but, if he would not part with him, he found some jocular reason to let him stand; as that he was a good cocker, understood hunting, kept a good house, had good chines of beef, kept good fox-hounds, or some such indifferent matter, which it was ridiculous to contradict or dispute upon. And, in this manner, he frustrated all their intent as to removes."\* With such a Council and such a sovereign, it is manifest there could be no abatement of a violent temper in Parliament. The confirmed hostility to the duke of York was manifested in a Bill for his exclusion from the succession to the throne. To prevent this passing, the Parliament was prorogued on the 26th of May to the 14th of August. The king took this step without communicating with his Council. The Exclusion Bill had passed a second reading of the Commons, and its clauses were being discussed in Committee. But there was a measure of greater importance to the real and permanent interests of the country than this

\* "Examen," p. 77.

premature attempt to disturb the Succession. A great legal reform had been carried through both Houses, and waited the Royal Assent. On that 26th of May Charles, however reluctantly, sanctioned the utterance of the three old words which make legislation law, when the Bill was presented to him, which now stands in our Statute Books as "An Act for the better securing the Liberty of the Subject, and for Preventing of Imprisonments beyond Seas." \* This is the Habeas Corpus Act, the noble enactment which made that clause of the Great Charter which secures the personal liberty of every Englishman a living principle instead of a dead letter. By the Common Law no subject could be illegally imprisoned, for he might sue for the writ of Habeas Corpus, and be heard in open court. But judges, sheriffs, gaolers, used every art to refuse and to evade the writ. The Privy Council would cause men to be confined beyond seas, in the king's foreign dominions, out of the jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice. Political offences, real or pretended, were thus punished more severely than the laws could punish. Suspicion stood in the place of evidence. Unhappy men lingered out years in distant prisons; and their wrongs were never known except to their oppressors. The strictness and promptitude of the proceedings under the Habeas Corpus Act struck the old weapon of tyranny out of the hands of the powerful. To Shaftesbury, whatever may have been his demerits, we mainly owe the triumph of this great measure. On the same morning that the king gave his assent to the Habeas Corpus Act, he knocked off, perhaps unconsciously, the shackles of the Press. The Licensing Act of 1662 was to continue till the end of the next session of Parliament. All books had been under the control of the Licensor for seventeen years. By the prorogation of the 27th of May, that system came to a temporary close. There was many a struggle yet to be made before Englishmen could point to their own condition, and exultingly say,

"This is true Liberty, when free-born men  
Having to advise the public, may speak free." †

The Parliament was dissolved by proclamation before the 14th of August, to which day it had been prorogued. The fourth Parliament of Charles II. met on the 7th of October, 1679, but it was prorogued, again and again, for more than a year. During the summer of 1679 the trials for the Popish Plot went forward, with no abatement of the

\* 31 Car. II. c. 2.

† Milton's motto to, "Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," from Euripides.

popular outcry against the unhappy Roman Catholics. In June, two Jesuits, Whitbread and Fenwick, who had previously stood at the bar, and had been illegally remanded to prison in defect of evidence, were again indicted, with three others. The cross-swearing on these trials was astounding. The evidence of Oates went to prove a conspiracy of which he became cognizant in London in April 1678. Sixteen of the inmates of St. Omer's came over to the trial, and swore that Oates resided amongst them, uninterruptedly, from January to June. On the other side, eight persons swore that they had seen him in England at the beginning of May. The accused were all found guilty. Langhorne, a Catholic lawyer, was also tried and condemned. The six were executed on the 20th of June. The grossest partiality was manifested from the judgment seat in these trials. Scroggs, the Chief-Justice, kept no bounds of decency in urging the jury to convict. The other judges sat by his side, and interposed no opinion as to the credibility of the evidence. Roger North offers this excuse for his relative, and the rest of the ermined tools: "Nothing can qualify the silence, but the inconceivable fury and rage of the community, gentle and simple, at that time, and the consequences of an open opposition to the Chief, whose part it was to act, as he did, demanding no assistance of any of them; which opposition might have been fatal in many respects: for the credit of the witnesses must have been impeached, which the time would not bear; and it was not in their office to intermeddle; for, as to the fact, the jury is to answer. When it is so done by the co-assessors, it is for discretion, and not duty; the most cogent reason was, that the prejudice was so universal, and strong, that if an apostle had spoken against, no impression had taken place, nor had it done the prisoners any service; but on the other side, not only the rabble, but even the parliament itself, had flounced at it; which consideration turned the scales of the discretion, and made those judges rather let a vessel drive, which they could not stop, and reserve themselves for fairer opportunities, when such might happen, for them to do some good, without pretending to remove mountains." \*

There was a stop at last to these disgraceful exhibitions. The English "rabble" are violent, but they are not blood-thirsty; and the executions of men who maintained their innocence to the last wrought pity and disgust even amongst the most prejudiced. The trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, came on in

\* "Life of Lord Keeper Guilford," vol. i. p. 327.

July. Oates and Bedloe were as positive in their testimony, as on former trials where they easily obtained convictions. But now, to their great astonishment, the bench allowed their assertions to be questioned; and thus, after Oates had gone through his course of bold accusations against Wakeman, the Clerk of the Privy Council came forward, and testified that when the confident witness was asked by the Lord Chancellor if he knew anything personally of the queen's physician, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and protested he did not. Three Benedictine monks were indicted as accomplices with Wakeman in the design to poison the king. After a trial of nine hours the whole were acquitted. The believers in the plot gradually diminished. "The witnesses," says Burnet, "saw they were blasted; and they were enraged on it, which they vented with much spite against Scroggs." The trials of common men were now laid aside. But Stafford and the four other lords were still in the Tower, waiting to be tried by their peers. The dissolution and repeated prorogations left their fate doubtful. In the meanwhile Oates and Bedloe were in comfortable quarters, and were receiving handsome gratuities, as well as Dugdale, another of their tribe. There are records of many payments to these worthies, under the heads of "free gift and royal bounty;" "for diet;" for "charges about several witnesses;" for "expenses about the plot;" for "maintaining witnesses in town about the plot;" for "a further discovery of the plot;" for "expenses in prosecuting;" for "discovering a Jesuit;" for "journeys;" for "discovering Papists harboured in Court;" for "lodgings in Whitehall;" extending over a period from March 30, 1679, to March 4, 1683. Of the previous payments to the "witnesses" during half a year, we have no record. We have made a careful analysis of about a hundred and twenty entries of payment to Oates, Bedloe, Tonge, and Dugdale as they appear in the accounts of moneys paid for Secret Services; and we find that up to the 7th of September, 1681, Oates received 1660*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*; Bedloe, to July 1680, received 80*l.*; Tonge, who died in January, 1681, received 344*l.*, and for his funeral was also paid 50*l.*; and Dugdale, who kept drawing the wages of iniquity to the 4th of March, 1683, received 1138*l.* 15*s.*\* After April, 1681, Oates and Dugdale, instead of being allowed to "sit at ten pounds a-week" like Falstaff, were reduced to a very ignoble two pounds for allowance. Dugdale seems to have held on, and received large sums, long after the supposed instiga-

\* "Moneys for Secret Services," Camden Society, pp. 3 to 67.

tors of a pretended Plot—Shaftesbury and his friends—had lost power or parliamentary influence.

Whilst these fearful exhibitions of the dire effects of religious animosity were passing in England, there were even more signal displays of the same spirit, though in an entirely opposite direction, manifested in Scotland. We turn with equal loathing from the corrupt judgments of Scroggs, to the brutal slaughters of Claverhouse. And yet these events must be recorded for instruction and for warning. Religious hatreds have not so entirely died out amongst us, that we can be quite sure that disputes about candles and flowers, about the Judaical observance of the Lord's day, about Jews in Parliament, about Maynooth, might be wholly settled by furious orators and writers, without the sword and the halter, unless the darkness which surrounds such controversies were somewhat dispersed by the light of History. Men can only effectually learn to be tolerant and loving, by seeing what monsters bigotry has made of their forefathers.

\* After the suppression of the insurrection of Covenanters, in 1666,\* Scotland continued in an unquiet state; not openly resisting the government, but nourishing many elements of future disturbance. Archbishop Sharp was especially feared and hated by the stricter Presbyterians. The most fanatical believed him to be the enemy of God, and that his destruction would be an acceptable service. In July, 1668, as the archbishop was getting into his coach, he was shot at; and his companion, the bishop of Orkney, was wounded. No one attempted to seize the offender; but the archbishop had noted his features and general appearance. He wandered about the country for a long time, and then returned to Edinburgh. Six years afterwards, Sharp fancied that a shopkeeper who lived near him was the man who fired at him. His name was Mitchell. He was brought before the Council, and after a solemn promise that his life should be spared, he confessed his guilt. The Council doomed him to perpetual imprisonment on the Bass Rock, after having subjected him to the torture of the boot. Mitchell had been confined here three or four years when it was determined to bring him to trial, for his crime committed in 1668. Upon the duke of Lauderdale's becoming supreme in Scotland, in connexion with the Cabal ministry, he attempted to carry out the same policy of a compromise with non-conformists as was being attempted in England. Many Presbyterian ministers con-

\* *Ante*, p. 189.



formed under the Declaration of Indulgence. Burnet says that it was part of the plan to put "all the ousted ministers by couples in parishes;" but that Lauderdale, who governed by fits, "passing from hot to cold ones," neglected this precaution, and that many of the deprived ministers went about, holding conventicles. Very soon the principles of severity trampled down any disposition to moderate courses. Indeed the more violent of the Covenanters utterly despised any measure which would stop short of re-instating their church in triumphant domination. The Black Indulgence, as they termed the healing declaration, was denounced as a bait for the worldly-minded and ungodly. There were large assemblies in wild and solitary places, to which many came armed. The government went about the repression of these meetings with a frantic violence. To strike terror into the Covenanters they removed Mitchell from his wave-beaten rock in the Frith, and brought him to Edinburgh for trial. His own confession was urged against him. The promise upon which that confession was extorted was suppressed. The archbishop, who had first employed an agent to obtain this confession, denied any promise. The lords Lauderdale, Rothes, and Halton, swore that no such promise had been made by the Council. The Council books were not allowed to be produced; and the man was convicted. The distinct record of the promise was found in the Council books immediately after the conviction; and yet the man was executed. "This action," says Burnet, "with all concerned in it, was looked at by all people with horror; and it was such a complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known." The Covenanters were not deterred by this manifestation of vindictiveness, but continued to assemble, particularly in the western counties. Lauderdale determined to act as if the whole district were in rebellion. He required all the land-owners to execute bonds, not only for their own conformity in attending the church service and avoiding conventicles, but for their servants, tenants, and residents on their property. They refused, and Lauderdale asked for authority to reduce them to submission by military force. Charles consented. The Highlanders were brought from their mountains to live at free quarters, and to plunder, in the devoted district. The inhabitants were disarmed. Lauderdale's excesses became at last too much even for the government of Charles to bear. The king could not wholly justify the acts of his minister. "But when May, the master of the privy purse, asked him in his

familiar way, what he thought now of his Lauderdale, he answered, as May himself told me, that they had objected many damned things that he had done against them, but there was nothing objected that was against his service: such are the notions that many kings drink in, by which they set up an interest for themselves, in opposition to the interest of the people.\* Hume terms the opinion of the king "a sentiment unworthy of a sovereign." It was a sentiment worthy of a captain of banditti.

There are no historical events with which the most cursory reader is more familiar, than the murder of archbishop Sharp, and the battles of Loudon Hill and Bothwell Bridge. The narratives of the atrocious tyranny which led to these events are sufficiently obscure, whether they issue from the persecuted or the persecutors; but they present a sufficiently distinct picture which scarcely requires the colouring of romance to command our interest. That ancient hunter of Covenanters, Captain John Creighton,—who was introduced by Swift to the notice of the world in 1731, as "a very honest and worthy man, but of the old stamp," and who himself laments over "the wonderful change of opinions,"—relates with the extremest glee his various exploits in dispersing conventicles, in apprehending preachers, and in delivering them to the proper authorities to be tortured and hanged. He attempts no sort of excuse for using deceptions, to find out his victims, quite unworthy of the fighting cavalier. He hunts "the rogues" as if he thoroughly enjoyed the chase. He cannot justify his "rashness" in such adventures, except that it manifests his loyalty to his prince, his zeal for the church, and his detestation of all rebellious principles. These narratives of Creighton precede his account of the insurrection of 1679. It was in the western counties that "the booted apostles of prelacy" chiefly exercised their dragoonings. There the Covenanters were most numerous and most persevering. But in the eastern districts there was the same spirit, though less openly displayed. In the county of Fife, a few religious enthusiasts, encouraging each other in their secret prayer meetings, and accepting the stern denunciations of the Hebrew scriptures to smite the wicked as holy impulses to murder the enemies of their own form of worship, resolved upon the sacrifice of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and of Carmichael, the commissioner of the Council. Ten of this band of fanatics went forth in search of their intended

\* Burnet. Book iii.

victims. John Balfour, known by the name of Burly, and his brother-in-law, Hackston of Rathillet, were the leaders in this design. Carmichael escaped. But they accidentally encountered archbishop Sharp; and at once considered, in their savage enthusiasm, that God had delivered their great enemy into their hands. Dragged from his carriage as he was passing, in company with his daughter, over Magus Muir, near St. Andrew's on the 3rd of May, 1679, he was inhumanly butchered, his unhappy child struggling with the murderers to save her aged father. The leaders fled into the west. Assembling some of the more violent of their own persuasion, their contempt of the civil government was manifested by their extinguishing the bonfires which had been lighted on the 29th of May, in honour of the king's restoration, in the burgh of Rutherglen. They also burnt the Acts of Parliament for restoring prelacy and suppressing conventicles. On the 1st of June, being Sunday, they held a field conventicle at Loudon Hill. John Graham, of Claverhouse, marched out from Glasgow with about a hundred and fifty cavalry, for the suppose of dispersing them. The number of the Covenanters had increased to five or six hundred; armed chiefly with pikes and pitchforks. They had a few horse amongst them. On a marshy ground near the village of Drumclog, Claverhouse charged this irregular force. He was utterly discomfited, and was compelled to retreat to Glasgow. The insurgents followed the fugitives, their ranks receiving constant accessions, not only of the Cameronians who would admit no compromise of the Solemn League and Covenant, but of moderate Presbyterians, who were indignant at the tyranny under which the country groaned. But their camp was divided into rival sects, each despising the other as much as they hated their common oppressor. At Glasgow they were repulsed, in their first attack, by Claverhouse, who had raised barricades within the city; but their numbers becoming more and more formidable, he withdrew his forces towards Edinburgh. What was at first the desperate revolt of a few became a vast tumultuous outbreak, approaching very nearly to a rebellion. The Council in London were in alarm. It was determined to send the Duke of Monmouth to Scotland to take the command of the government troops. There was no want of energy in the movements of Monmouth. He set out from London on the 18th of June. On the 22nd he was at the head of the royal army on Bothwell-moor, a few miles from Hamilton. The insurgents were encamped on the opposite side of the Clyde. They were dispirited and irresolute—

neither prepared to fight nor to yield. A deputation from the more moderate had an audience of the duke; at which they limited their demands to the free exercise of their religion, and would submit all matters of difference to a free Parliament, and a General Assembly of the Church. The duke called upon them to lay down their arms, but refused to treat except after their implicit submission. Roger North has a curious relation of a secret arrangement for the employment of the duke as general of the forces, which appears to him a wonderful proof of the statesmanship of the duke of Lauderdale and of his royal master. Monmouth was first appointed with a latitude of power to fight, or treat, as he thought fit. The majority at the Council board "approved of such a trust in the General; for why, said they, should so much blood, and of these deluded miserales, be spilt, if they are willing to lay down their arms on fit terms?" None spoke to the contrary. "When the king rose from Council, the duke of Lauderdale followed him into the bedchamber, where, having him alone, he asked his Majesty if he intended to follow his father? Why, said the king? Because, sir, said the duke, you have given the General orders to treat; the consequence of which is—encouraging and enlarging the rebellion in Scotland, and raising another, by concert, in England, and then you are lost. Therefore, if you do not change your orders, and send them positive to fight, and not to treat, the mischiefs that befell your father, in like case, will overtake you." These two worthies, according to North, then clandestinely altered the orders which had been approved in Council, and gave directions that they should not be opened but at a Council of War, and in sight of the enemy. "The event," says the sympathising chronicler of this duplicity, "sufficiently applauded this counsel."\* That event was the slaughter at Bothwell Bridge. The Covenanters had exhibited one commendable point of strategy in guarding this passage of the Clyde. But Hackston of Rathillet, who defended the bridge, was not adequately supported. The mass of the insurgents were panic-stricken when they saw the king's troops advancing upon them, whilst the artillery from the opposite bank of the river was breaking their ill-formed ranks. They fled on every side, Claverhouse exhorting his men to avenge their defeat at Loudon Hill. All accounts agree that Monmouth laboured to stop the butchery that this worst of miscalled heroes commanded:—

\* "Examen," p. 8r.

"Taking more pains when he beheld them yield,  
To save the fliers than to win the field." \*

From the name of contempt which was bestowed upon the poor Western Covenanters was derived the great party name of *Whig*. The nicknames of opposite factions are necessarily obscure in their origin, and the attempts at their explanation partake of the same party character as the names themselves. The nicknames which will live for ever in English history had each a very humble origin. *Tory*, according to North, came in about a year before *Whig*. In 1679 the discussions on the Exclusion Bill were accompanied with great heats in Parliament, and "without doors, the debates among the populace were more fierce, and agitated with extremity of opposite talk." The use of opprobrious words became common. The anti-exclusionists were first called *Yorkists*. Then *Tantivy* became a bye-word against them. The duke and the Irish were for the most part in agreement; so the duke's supporters were first called *Bogtrotters*; and then "the word *Tory* was entertained, which signified the most despicable savages amongst the wild Irish." North says, that "according to the common laws of scolding," the loyalists now looked out for rival nicknames, "to clear scores." Their adversaries were first called *True Blues*—not satisfied with the plain Protestant blue of the Church; then *Birmingham Protestants*, "alluding to false groats counterfeited at that place. That term was "not fluent enough for the hasty repartee; and, after divers changes, the lot fell upon *Whig*, which was very significative, as well as ready; being vernacular in Scotland, from whence it was borrowed, for corrupt and sour whey." † Defoe accepts this derivation of *Whig*; and says, the use of it began in Scotland "when the western men, called Cameronians, took arms frequently for their religion. . . . It afterwards became a denomination to the poor harassed people of that part of the country." ‡

The further we advance in the history of this miserable reign, the more are we perplexed by intrigues and counter-intrigues, indicating the universal political corruption. After the dispersion of the Covenanters, duke of Monmouth is suddenly sent for from Scotland. Sir John Reresby goes to meet him at Doncaster on the 9th of July. "It happened to be understood, that after his victory he was about laying a foundation whereon to succeed in that kingdom,

\* Waller.

† "Examen," p. 32 a.

‡ "Review," quoted in Wilson's "Life of Defoe," vol. 1. p. 73.

and by the industry of his agents making himself popular.\* Charles was ill at Windsor. Monmouth was about his sick bed. "He thought," says Reresby, "he had the king to himself." Suddenly the duke of York, who had travelled from Brussels in disguise, presented himself: The Court was in commotion. The king's brother, and the king's illegitimate son, had come to be considered as rivals for the succession. To preserve some tranquillity they were then both sent away—Monmouth to Flanders, James to Scotland, as Lord High Commissioner. At Edinburgh, this Papist prince manifested the sincerity of his desires for general toleration, by superintending with the most anxious vigilance the punishment of the Covenanters. Charles reproached Monmouth for having given the government so much trouble with prisoners after the fight of Bothwell Bridge, and Monmouth answered, that he could not kill men in cold blood. James exhibited a worse trait of Stuart nature by presiding over the examinations of prisoners under torture. Under his administration the Presbyterians were subjected to the grossest violence of a licentious soldiery. The military despots had full power to exercise the privileges of the inquisition in the most summary manner. Do you renounce the Covenant? Do you admit that it was murder to kill the archbishop of St. Andrew's? Will you pray for the king? To hesitate was to incur not only imprisonment but instant death. This violation of every form of law and every principle of justice went on for several years. The story of John Brown, "the Christian carrier," has been honestly told by Scott, in spite of his lurking admiration of Claverhouse.† The poor peasant, who had indeed been out with the insurgents of 1679, was again in his home. He is seized by dragoons as he is going to dig in some peat ground, and by the command of Claverhouse he is shot in the presence of his wife. To her the gallant butcher addressed himself: "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" She replied, "I thought ever much of him, and now as much as ever." He said, "It were but justice to lay thee beside him." She said, "If ye were permitted, I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length; but how will ye make answer for this morning's work?" He said, "To man I can be answerable; and for God I will take him in my own hand." Such were the scenes that Scotland witnessed in these days of her desolation. Unquestionably the duke of York

\* "Memoirs," p. 229

† Compare "Tales of a Grandfather," chapter lii., with "Old Mortality."

instigated the worst persecutions ; and the wretched instruments of tyranny, such as Claverhouse, thought that their atrocities would best exhibit their love and loyalty. Whilst James was doing his congenial work in Scotland, the efforts of the faction opposed to his succession to the crown were conducted with few conscientious scruples. All the prejudices of the people were still stimulated into an unchristian hatred of Roman Catholics. The processions of the 17th of November, were repeated amidst the blaze of a thousand torches, lighting up the hideous representations of nuns, and priests, and cardinals ; and the effigy of the pope was burnt at Temple Bar amidst the shouts of an enormous multitude, encouraged by men of rank, who huzzaed from the balcony of the King's Head Tavern. These were known as the King's Head Club ; and then as the Green Ribbon Club. The annual pope-burnings were afterwards imitated at Edinburgh. The processions of Guy Fawkes on the 5th of November, and the processions of the pope on queen Elizabeth's coronation-day, kept alive the intolerant spirit towards Roman Catholics long after their original party-objects had passed away. Shaftesbury is represented as the grand contriver of these demonstrations of 1679 and 1680. But the demagogue contrives in vain unless he has popular materials to work with. No doubt he well handled the multitude, which at that period first acquired the name of *mob*. They were the *mobile vulgus* of these exhibitions. Shaftesbury had now been dismissed from the Presidency of the Council ; and was the moving spirit of the popular party. On the 28th of November, Monmouth suddenly returned from Holland. The bells of the city welcomed his arrival. The bonfires were again lighted. Charles was angry, or affected to be so, at his son's disobedience. He deprived him of his offices. He ordered him to quit the kingdom, or incur the penalty of exclusion for ever from the royal presence. Monmouth obstinately remained. It was the policy of the king to prevent the Parliament assembling, for he had another scheme in hand to obtain a sum from the king of France, which would enable him to dispense with the advice of his troublesome subjects. The treaty failed ; but Charles had boldly prorogued the Parliament on its meeting in October. The Country party now set on foot all the powerful machinery of petitioning. Grand Juries, Common Councils, provincial Corporations, were suddenly moved, as by one impulse, to petition the king that the Parliament should meet at the end of the first short prorogation. Charles became alarmed. He pub-

lished a proclamation, vague and absurd enough, against subscribing petitions against the known laws of the land. What these laws were, the proclamation did not set forth. But there was a reaction. The timid were alarmed; the servile were zealous. Men who stood aloof from parties dreaded the signs of another Civil War. They joined in declarations of *abhorrence* of petitions for assembling of Parliament; and those who supported the king in what they considered his prerogative of calling a Parliament when he pleased, of acting without parliamentary advice, and without reference to public opinion, were denominated *abhorrrers*. The name *abhorrrer* soon became merged in that of *Tory*.

*Tory—Whig*—in a few years forgot that they each owed their birth to “the common laws of scolding.” The Irish savage grew up into a fine gentleman; the sour whey became the richest cream. The names of opprobrium blossomed into names of honour. They flourished in full glory for about a century and a half; and then passed into other distinctive titles, not so “fluent for the hasty repartee.” Whatever may be said for or against party distinctions—and there is a great deal to be said in either view of the question—one thing is clear: the invention of *Tory* and *Whig* has been a very pleasant boon for the writers upon politics and history. These once rival nicknames save many circuitous expletives; and, if they do not exactly define political principles, they answer as well as if one large section of public men and their followers had been called red, the other blue—or one big-endians, the other little-endians. The terms of *Whig* and *Tory* are vernacular; and we are thankful for their help in the labour that is before us.



## CHAPTER XIII.

Charles the Second's alterations at Windsor.—The Duke of York presented as a Romish Recusant.—Progress of the Duke of Monmouth.—James leaves for Scotland.—Parliament.—The Exclusion Bill.—Trial and execution of Lord Stafford.—The Parliament dissolved.—The Oxford Parliament.—Its sudden dissolution.—The King's Proclamation.—The Whig Vindication.—State Prosecutions.—Stephen College—Shaftesbury indicted for high treason.—The Ignoramus.—Court manœuvres for the choice of a sheriff of London.—Shaftesbury flies to Holland.—Persecutions of the Scotch Covenanters.

WINDSOR CASTLE was now the summer residence of Charles II. In August, 1678, Evelyn went with the duke of Norfolk to Windsor, "where was a magnificent Court, it being the first time of his majesty removing thither since it was repaired." Charles had changed the whole aspect of the Castle. By his command the palatial fortress had been adapted for those state-displays which were to rival the splendours of the Court of the great Bourbon. A new building, forming the most imposing feature of the north front, called the Star-building, had been erected from the plans of Wren; and by the connexion of the suit of rooms thus obtained with the older portion, that splendid series of state apartments was produced which terminated in St. George's Hall. But in these alterations the ancient character of the proud dwelling of the Plantagenets was utterly destroyed. If Wren had not had a violent distaste of Gothic architecture; if his royal employer had not been wholly wanting in that patriotism which would have preserved the main features of the Windsor of Edward III. and of Elizabeth, as associated with the glorious days of the monarchy—his incongruous pile would not have remained for a century and a half a significant monument of the corrupt taste of the latter days of the Stuarts. To Frenchify Windsor Castle was worthy of the king who needed French gold to pay for his buildings and his mistresses; to reward Signor Verrio for seating him enthroned amongst the cardinal Virtues, or as the grand arbiter of the destinies of Europe. Catherine of Braganza sits in serene majesty, surrounded by the gods, on one of Verrio's ceilings. Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn had the more solid honour of dwelling within view of the Castle,

at Burford House, so called after her son, lord Burford, afterwards the duke of St. Albans.\* Windsor is as characteristic of the age as Whitehall. Reresby describes Charles in 1680 as living an unusually quiet life whilst Wren was building and Verrio painting: "The king shewed me a great deal of what he had done to the house, which was indeed very fine, and acquainted me with what he intended to do more; for then it was he was upon finishing that most majestic structure. He lived quite privately at this time; there was little or no resort to him; and his days he passed in fishing or walking in the park."†

Charles was thus "sauntering" at Windsor when the *denouement* of the great drama of his house was rapidly approaching. Evelyn has this record in his Diary, on the 24th of July, 1680: "Went with my wife and daughter to Windsor, to see that stately court, now nearly finished. There was erected in the court the king on horseback, lately cast in copper, and set on a rich pedestal of white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, at the expense of Toby Rustat, a page of the back stairs, who, by his wonderful frugality, had arrived to a great estate in money, and did many works of charity, as well as this of gratitude to his master, which cost him 1000*l*. He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature." There were many others of the simple, ignorant, honest, and loyal of Charles's subjects who would be ready to aver, with Toby Rustat, as the Latin inscription on the pedestal of this statue avers, that Charles II. was not only the most merciful of masters but the best of kings. The page of the back stairs who witnessed his never-failing urbanity would receive that quality as the evidence of every other merit. But from the more rational thinkers a severer judgment was to be expected. The duke of York "now reigned absolute in the king's affairs," writes Reresby.‡ Against the duke was all the Whig hostility now concentrated. The tale of Monmouth's legitimacy was revived. The king, on the 3rd of June, renewed his declaration that he was never married to any other than the queen. On the 26th of June, Shaftesbury, accompanied by several lords and commoners, came before the Grand Jury at Westminster, and presented the duke as a Popish recusant. The chief justice defeated this bold measure by discharging the jury, whilst

\* Windsor has at length found fit chroniclers of its various subjects of historical interest, as well as of the minuter topographical details which illustrate manners and customs, in the elaborate work of Mr. Tighe and Mr. Davis—"Annals of Windsor," 2 vols. 1858.

† "Memoirs," p. 231.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

Shaftesbury was in consultation with some of the judges. The Parliament had been summoned to meet on the 21st of October. The great question of the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession to the throne was sure to be renewed. It was thought that the king could be gained over to consent to this departure from the principle of hereditary right. The duchess of Portsmouth had been induced by the Whig leaders, by threats and promises, to undertake the recommendation of the exclusion to the king, he having the right of naming his successor by will. He was to receive an ample grant of money; he might secure the power of naming his favourite son, Monmouth, to wear the crown after his decease. Burnet says that he was assured that the duchess of Portsmouth "once drew the king to consent to it." James in his *Memoirs* implies this, when he found that "his being sent away again began to be more discoursed of than ever." He suspected that "the king himself began to waver; and accordingly he soon found by discoveries on that subject that his majesty now doubted whether he could stand by him or no. The duke represented to him his constant and late engagement to the contrary, but found him so changed that it gave him great reason now at last to apprehend what he had been oft told, but never believed, that his majesty would abandon him in the end." \* The day before the meeting of Parliament the duke of York sailed for Scotland. The French ambassador, Barillon represents James as declaring that he would make his enemies repent—"as much as to say that he hopes to be able to excite troubles in Scotland and Ireland." Even in England his cause would not have been without supporters. "The papists lifted up their crest in great arrogance." † It was a moment of deep anxiety. Two of Charles's ministers, Godolphin and Sunderland, advised him to consent to a Bill of Exclusion. The duchess of Portsmouth had bribes and blandishments to mould that royal will upon whose consistency there could be no reliance. But the intrigue failed. The king wanted the vote of money to precede the Exclusion Bill. The Whig leaders wanted his assent to the Bill before the vote of money. The Session was opened on the 21st of October—that first meeting of the new Parliament which had been prorogued seven times. Charles in his speech promised to support the Protestant religion "against all the conspiracies of our enemies." He

\* Clarke's "Life of James II."—Extract from James's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 595.

† Reresby, p. 232.

would concur "in any new remedies which shall be proposed, that may consist with preserving the succession of the Crown in its due and legal course of descent." On the 26th lord Russell moved "that we may resolve to take into our consideration how to suppress Popery, and to prevent a Popish successor." On the 2nd of November, the Bill of Exclusion was brought in.

With the projected exclusion of the duke of York was intimately associated the design to set up the duke of Monmouth as the future heir to the Crown. The king's declaration of his son's illegitimacy was little heeded by the people. "This duke, whom for distinction they called the Protestant duke, though the son of an abandoned woman, the people made their idol."\* Dryden has painted Shaftesbury remonstrating with Monmouth on his doubts and apprehensions, when a crown was within his view:

"Did you for this expose yourself to show,  
And to the crowd bow popularly low?  
For this your glorious progress next ordain,  
With chariots, horsemen, and a numerous train." †

The "glorious progress" of Monmouth was in the West of England, in August, 1680. The country people came from miles round to see him in his way to Longleat. At Ilchester the streets were strewn with flowers. At White Lackington House, near Ilminster, he was met by two thousand horsemen. A woman pressed upon him, and touched his hand, to be cured of the king's evil, as if he already sat in the chair of Edward the Confessor. A thousand young men, all clothed uniformly in white linen, went three miles out of Exeter to meet him, and preceded him, hand in hand, as he entered their city.‡ There were no riotous proceedings; but these demonstrations were very significant of the feelings of the middle classes towards the duke of York. The Protestant duke and the Papist duke were in direct antagonism. Monmouth understood how to keep alive this political cry. Ralph Thoresby went to see him at Whitehall after his progress. Being told "that we came from Leeds, the great clothing-place, he answered, with a smile, we were not for Popery there, no more than they in the West, alluding to his extraordinary kind entertainment there, as in the public news."§ There was no political dishonesty in thus appealing to popular opinion against the dreaded predomi-

\* Evelyn, "Diary," November 28, 1679.

† "Absalom and Achitophel."

‡ "Life of James, Duke of Monmouth." By George Roberts, vol. i. chapter vii.

§ Thoresby's "Diary," vol. i. p. 66.

nance of Popery. But to set up the son of Lucy Waters as a pretender to the Crown was a great mistake of some of the Whig statesmen—a mistake which inevitably tended to disgust the sober-minded, and to lead to that re-action which enabled Charles to walk once more in the old ways of despotism.

After many days' debate in the House of Commons, a Bill was passed on the 15th of November, "for securing of the Protestant religion, by disabling James, duke of York, to inherit the imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging." It was carried to the Peers by lord Russell. "A great number of members accompanied him and it; and as soon as it was delivered gave a mighty shout; which tumultuous and barbarous way of proceeding had too great a resemblance of forty-one, not to convince all judicious persons that this would prove a prelude of the same tragedy, if not timely prevented."\* The debate of the Lords was carried on with unusual heat. The two great orators, Shaftesbury and Halifax, were pitted against each other in this contest, although their general principles were the same. All accounts of this debate assign to Halifax the honour of having thrown out the Exclusion Bill, by his almost unexampled eloquence. It was rejected on the first reading by a majority of 33—63 dividing against 30. Halifax and others who opposed the exclusion of the duke of York, desired to enact limitations of the sovereign power, should he succeed to the Crown. The constitutional difference between these two propositions has been forcibly put by Mr. Fox, in his History of James the second: "The question of what are to be the powers of the Crown is surely of superior importance to that of who shall wear it? Those, at least, who consider the royal prerogative as vested in the king, not for his sake but for that of his subjects, must consider the one of these questions as much above the other in dignity, as the rights of the public are more valuable than those of an individual. In this view, the prerogatives of the Crown are in substance and effect the rights of the people; and these rights of the people were not to be sacrificed to the purpose of preserving the succession to the most favoured prince, much less to one who, on account of his religious persuasion, was justly feared and suspected."

When Charles opened the Parliament on the 21st of October, he said, to give "the fullest satisfaction your hearts can wish for the security of the Protestant religion, I do recommend to you to

\* "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 617.

pursue the further examination of the Plot, with a strict and an impartial inquiry. I do not think myself safe, nor you neither, till that matter be gone through with; and therefore it will be necessary that the lords in the Tower be brought to their speedy trial, that justice may be done." In his private conversation at this period he expressed the utmost contempt of the witnesses for the Plot. He "proved to a demonstration that many articles they had given in evidence were not only improbable but quite impossible." \* To turn the wrath of the Parliament against his brother to some humbler personages, there were victims in the Tower ready for the sacrifice. The first and only victim selected from these prisoners was lord Stafford. This nobleman, illustrious in the blood of the Howards, venerable for his age and infirmities, was impeached by the Commons, and brought to trial before his Peers on the 30th of November. It was his sixty-ninth birthday. Westminster Hall had been fitted up with a more than ordinary preparation. Places were assigned to the king and queen, to the Peers, to the members of the House of Commons, to the managers of the impeachment, to the judges. "I think it was the deepest solemnity I ever saw," writes Reresby. The same forms were gone through, with the same arrangements, as when Pym confronted Strafford, and the father of the peer now accused presided as High Steward. The forms and the arrangements of benches were the same; but the spirit was essentially different. It was not a trial which was to determine whether England was to be a free monarchy or an absolute monarchy. It was the struggle of a faction for a temporary triumph, to assert a power which was unable to reach the great delinquent. The witnesses against Stafford were Oates, and Dugdale, and Turberville. The accused peer defended himself with unexpected ability. He pointed out how unworthy Oates was of belief—one who pretended that he was never a Papist though he had gone over to the Church of Rome; who avowed himself a spy at St. Omers, though he went through all the discipline of a proselyte. Evelyn, who was present, was much struck by this, and thought "such a man's testimony should not be taken against the life of a dog." But Dugdale and others positively swore to Stafford's participation in a plot to assassinate the king. The majority of the peers, eighty-six to fifty-five, pronounced him guilty, each giving his judgment, with his hand upon his breast, "upon my honour." The unfortunate nobleman was condemned on the 7th of December, and he was

\* Reresby, p. 234.

executed on the 29th. Though on the day of his trial he was assailed by popular invective, when he protested his innocence on the Scaffold the spectators cried, "We believe you, my lord—God bless you, my lord." The king, at the prayer of the House of Lords, had remitted that part of the sentence of a traitor upon which the most brutal could not look without disgust. The sheriffs raised a question, which they addressed to the House of Commons, whether the king could dispense with these barbarities. The House resolved that it was content that execution should be done upon lord Stafford by severing his head from his body. Lord Russell has been accused, upon the assertion of the historian Echard, of having sanctioned this interference with the dispensing power—of having, according to Hume, "seconded in the House the barbarous scruple of the sheriffs." There is no proof that Russell took any part in the debate upon the queries of the sheriffs. We scarcely think that lord John Russell, whatever impartiality he may thus show to the memory of his ancestor, is quite warranted in thinking the testimony of Echard sufficient to give probability to the assertion of a circumstance regarding Russell which is, "if true, the most to be lamented in his whole life."\* In the reign of James the Second, a Bill was passed by the Peers, for reversing the attainder of Stafford. It was interrupted in the Commons by more urgent matters. It was not till the reign of George the Fourth, when religious animosity, if not wholly passed away, had lost their ancient character of vindictiveness, that by a special statute the attainder was annulled, and the descendants of lord Stafford were restored to the honours of their house. Whilst Stafford's blood was being shed upon evidence which the king considered that of false witnesses, he felt none of the qualms which his father felt when he consented to the death of the great earl who said "Put not your trust in princes." No one put any trust in the second Charles. Himself a Papist, he saw the Papist noble hunted to death without even a tear for his fate. On the 24th of December, says Reresby, "I was at the king's couchée, when there were but four present. His majesty was in a very good humour, and took up some time in displaying to us the fallacy and emptiness of those who pretend to a fuller measure of sanctity than their neighbours, and pronounced them to be, for the most part, abominable hypocrites and the most arrant knaves." Even mitred heads came in for the royal sarcasms. "He was that night

\* "Life of William Lord Russell," vol. i. p. 235.

two full hours in putting off his clothes, and it was half an hour past one before he went to bed. He seemed to be quite free from care and trouble; though one would have thought, at this time, he should have been overwhelmed therewith.\* There was enough, indeed, to overwhelm a king who would take any matter seriously to heart. The levity of Charles was his shield and buckler. The Commons were not only resolute in their persistent hostility to the duke of York, but manifested an arbitrary violence in the arrest of some who had signed the declaration of "abhorrence." They exercised a more constitutional power in the impeachment of Chief Justice Scroggs for dismissing the Grand Jury when the duke of York was presented as a Romish recusant; for stopping the publication of a newspaper called "The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome;" and for inflicting enormous fines upon publishers of news, and requiring excessive bail, declaring "he would have regard to persons and their principles in imposing of fines." The House at last resolved that until the duke of York was excluded from the succession, they would not grant any supply. This impracticable Parliament was dissolved on the 18th of January, 1681.

The distracted condition of public affairs at this juncture excited so great alarm, that superstitions, arising out of unwonted natural appearances, produced the same effect, even amongst the educated, as in the days before scientific knowledge, although of the humblest kind, had taught men to separate the aspects of the physical world from their supposed connexion with moral causes. On the 12th of December, 1680, Evelyn writes, "This evening, looking out of my chamber-window towards the west, I saw a meteor of an obscure bright colour, very much in shape like the blade of a sword, the rest of the sky very serene and clear. What this may portend God only knows. But such another phenomenon I remember to have seen in 1640, about the trial of the great earl of Strafford, preceding our bloody rebellion. I pray God avert his judgments." The danger of another Civil War was not altogether to be associated with popular credulity. That great danger seemed approaching when the new Parliament met at Oxford on the 21st of March. Some covert design on the part of the Crown was apprehended in thus departing from the ancient custom of assembling the Parliament at Westminster, except in times of the plague. The Oxford Parliament of Charles the First was no precedent for this meeting-place of a new Parliament elected by the general voice of the nation.

\* "Memoirs," p. 238.



The king went to Oxford surrounded by his guards. The Whig members went to Oxford accompanied by armed bands of retainers, wearing in their hats ribbons inscribed "no Popery, no slavery." Charles was indifferent as to the temper of the Parliament on the question of supplies. On the day that he went to Oxford he had concluded a treaty with Louis XIV. for a new subsidy of French gold. King James the Second records this transaction with the utmost *nonchalance*: "The king's necessities had been long so great, and the Parliament so refractory and insolent, that he had no way left of relieving one, without consenting to the unreasonable demands of the other, but by a private treaty with France. The duke first put the king in the way of it, which the French at first answered only by compliments and in general terms. But at last it was concluded they should give the king fifty thousand pounds every quarter, the first payment to be at the end of June, 1681, without any condition on the king's side but that of friendship, but promises on the French part not to disturb Flanders nor Holland."\*

The Parliament of Oxford lasted seven days. The king and his Court were at Christchurch. The Commons sat in the Schools. Charles, in his opening speech, spoke in a bolder tone than had been his wont: "The unwarrantable proceedings of the last House of Commons were the occasion of my parting with the last Parliament; for I, who will never use arbitrary government myself, am resolved not to suffer it in others . . . . What I have formerly, and so often, declared touching the succession, I cannot depart from. But to remove all reasonable fears that may arise from the possibility of a Popish successor's coming to the Crown, if means can be found, that in such a case the administration of the government may remain in Protestants' hand, I shall be ready to hearken to any such expedient, by which the Religion might be preserved, and the Monarchy not destroyed."† The "expedient" which was proposed, with the sanction of the king, was to this effect—that the duke of York should be banished during his life to the distance of five hundred miles from the British dominions; that certain Roman Catholics of considerable estates should also be banished; that on the decease of the reigning monarch the duke should assume the title of king, but exercise no sovereign power, the government being administered by a regent—the princess of Orange being the first regent, and the lady Anne regent after the princess. The

\* "Life of James II.," p. 715. † "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. col. 1303:

expedient was rejected. The Commons again resolved, "That a Bill be brought in to exclude James, duke of York, from inheriting the imperial crowns of England and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging." The refusal of the Commons to agree to the proposed compromise is regarded by some as factious, by others as imprudent. James himself thought the expedient, which originated with Halifax, "fully as pernicious" as the Bill of Exclusion.\* The majority of the Parliament thought the expedient futile. In a "Vindication" which we shall presently notice, it was said, "The Parliament, observing the precedents of former ages, did wisely choose rather to exclude him, than to leave him the name, and place the power in a regent. For they could not but look upon it as folly to expect that one of his temper, bred up in such principles of politics as made him in love with arbitrary power, and bigoted in their religion which always propagates itself by blood, would patiently bear these shackles, which would be very disgustful unto a prince of the most meek disposition. . . . This would certainly have bred a contest; and these limitations of power proposed to keep up the government must unavoidably have destroyed it." During the eventful week of the Session at Oxford, the Commons were not only agitated by this great question of the succession, but the apple of discord was thrown between the two Houses, by the refusal of the Lords to entertain an impeachment by the Commons for high treason of an impudent spy and libeller, Fitzharris. The story of this man is merely the story of one of those miserable games of plot and counter-plot which disgraced these times. Being in the pay of the Court, he wrote a violent libel against the king, which it is conjectured that he intended to put into the pocket of some Whig leader, to implicate him in a treasonable design. Lady Russell, in writing to her husband, bids him look to his pockets. Fitzharris next pretended he had important discoveries to make of Court secrets; and the Whigs turned to him as a valuable auxiliary. The Attorney-General then having been ordered to prosecute him at law, the Whigs resolved to save him by an impeachment from the certain destruction of a trial at law. The Lords voted that Fitzharris should be left to the ordinary course of justice. The Commons asserted their right to impeach any peer or commoner for high-treason, and held that the refusal of the Lords to proceed upon this impeachment was a vio-

\* "Life of James II., vol. i. p. 670.

lation of the constitution of Parliament.\* This dispute between the two Houses was a sufficient pretence for a dissolution. Charles accomplished this measure with a decision very unusual with him. The Theatre had been ordered to be fitted up for the Commons, who required more space than they found in the Schools. On Saturday, the 26th of March, the king was exceedingly busy amongst the workmen in the Theatre. On Sunday evening, he was describing to the circle about him how admirably his faithful Commons would be accommodated. On the Monday morning two sedan-chairs were moving out of Christchurch. At the door of the House of Lords the king got out of the first chair; his robes were taken out of the second chair. But "the Garter robes were put up instead of the robes of State; so the chair must go back, with an officer to bring the right." † A peer who saw the manœuvre was forcibly detained till the robes of State arrived. Then the king went into the chamber of the Peers; the Black Rod summoned the Commons; and these unexpected words came from the royal mouth: "My lords and gentlemen: That all the world may see to what a point we are come, that we are not like to have a good end when the divisions at the beginning are such, therefore, my Lord Chancellor, do as I have commanded you." My Lord Chancellor dissolved the Parliament. "The king immediately departed with all speed to London," says Reresby. "It was not to be expressed," writes North, "what clutter there was in town about getting off. The price of coaches mounted cent. per cent. in a quarter of an hour. It was the conceit of a foreign minister that the town looked as if it had been besieged, and just surrendered upon articles forthwith to remove." On the 8th of April the king published a Declaration of the causes for the dissolution of the two last Parliaments. Undutiful as was the behaviour of those Parliaments, his majesty declared, "That nothing should ever alter his affection to the Protestant religion as established by law, nor his love to Parliament: for he would still have frequent Parliaments." During the four remaining years of the life of Charles no other Parliament was summoned. The royal Declaration was answered in a very elaborate "Vindication of the proceedings of the two last Parliaments"—a calm and logical paper, which assumed the existence of a real

\* Mr. Hallam maintains that the "inadvertent position of Blackstone, that a commoner cannot be impeached for high treason, is contrary to the latest determination of the supreme tribunal." "Constitutional History," chap. xii. Lord Campbell is opposed to this opinion of Mr. Hallam; "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. ii. p. 357, edit. 1845.

† North, "Examen," p. 104.

conspiracy for the establishment of Popery.\* The king's Declaration was read in the churches. The arguments of the Vindication, set forth by Sydney, Somers, and Jones, produced little effect. The terrors of the Popish plot had passed away. The danger of another Civil War excited, with few exceptions, an apprehension that the Whig leaders were looking beyond a constitutional resistance to arbitrary government and to a Popish successor. Addresses of attachment and confidence were now as unmeasured in their servility as in the days of the first James. Learned bodies sent their deputations to Whitehall to tell the king that he derived not his title from the people, but from God; that to God only are kings accountable; "that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault, no forfeiture, can alter or diminish."† Thus encouraged, it can scarcely appear surprising that the king should have followed up his triumph at Oxford—his *coup de maître*, as North terms the sudden dissolution,—by governing without Parliaments; and by calling in all the machinery of tyrannous judges and corrupt juries to crush the leaders of the Opposition; that he should have deprived adverse Corporations of their Charters; that he should have dispensed with the laws that interfered with his Papist brother; and have himself died with the avowal on his lips that contradicted the lie of his life,—the avowal that he belonged to the Romish Church.

The lawyers had ample business on their hands immediately after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament. Fitzharris was put upon his trial in the Court of King's Bench. He pleaded his impeachment in bar of the jurisdiction of that court. The judges evaded the plea; and he was convicted of a treasonable libel, and was executed. Plunket, the titular archbishop of Armagh, was at the same time convicted of an Irish Popish plot. There is no infamy of the reign of Charles II. greater than this. The innocence of the Roman Catholic prelate was believed even by his persecutors; but he was sacrificed by the Court, that the popular suspicion of the Popish tendencies of the king might be removed by an ostentatious piece of bloodshedding. Thus far the law went in the old direction of religious intolerance. But the re-action of

\* It is printed in the "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. Appendix, No. xv.

† Address of the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, quoted from Wilkins' "Concilia," by Dr. Lingard.

public opinion was not to be left unused. Some of the witnesses for the Plot were still in hand; and they were now as ready to give evidence against Protestants as they had been to swear away the lives of Papists. Stephen College, a London joiner, commonly known as "the Protestant Joiner," had been swaggering at Oxford with sword and pistol. He was accused of a treasonable attempt to seize the person of the king. The evidence against him was chiefly that of Dugdale. A London grand-jury ignored the indictment. College was then indicted in Oxfordshire, where a jury was more compliant. He was tried on the 17th of August, and on the trial Oates contradicted the evidence of Dugdale. We have shown the amount and duration of the payments to these witnesses.\* It is to be observed that Oates ceased to be paid at this exact period. "To punish Oates for his conduct at this trial, his pension was taken from him, and he was turned out of his lodgings at Whitehall," says Dr. Lingard. The documents we referred to show that Dugdale received his wages for a year and a half longer. In spite of the contradictory evidence Stephen College was hanged; the Lord Chief-Justice Guilford having manifested his fitness for the dirty work of the government by intercepting the papers that were handed to the prisoner as materials for his defence, and withholding some that he asserted were libellous. "It had been a prime jest," says Roger North, "if, under the pretence of a defence, the criminal should be allowed to vent seditious libels, full of mutiny and reflection to amuse the people; and so to come forth and be published in print."† Burnet says of this trial, "North's behaviour in that whole matter was such, that, probably, if he had lived to see an impeaching Parliament, he might have felt the ill effects of it."

A man of far higher mark than "the Protestant Joiner" was now to be assailed through the great engine of the law. The Irish witnesses who came over to give testimony against the Roman Catholic primate had been believed by an English jury. Would they be less worthy of credit when they swore that they had been suborned by the earl of Shaftesbury to give false testimony against the queen, the duke of York, and other personages? Shaftesbury was sent to the Tower in July. In November he was indicted of high-treason before a London grand-jury, preparatory to a trial by his Peers in the Court of the High Steward. Had a true bill been found Shaftesbury would unquestionably have finished his career

\* *Ante*, p. 253.

† "Life of Lord Keeper Guilford," vol. i. p. 301

on the scaffold, whether guilty or not. His judges would have been selected by the king; "his subsequent trial would have been mere matter of form, as much as after sentence the warrant to behead him." \* During the five months of his imprisonment, Shaftesbury, through his counsel, repeatedly applied for the protection of his own Habeas Corpus Act. The judges evaded the application. His character was to be blasted, so that the indictment should come before a jury sufficiently prejudiced against the accused. Every weapon of abuse was employed against him. He was denounced from the pulpits as "the Apostle of Schism;" he was characterised, in doggerel verse which preceded Dryden's immortal satire, as Machiavel, as the devil's foster-brother, as Achitophel; the hint was taken, and a week before the indictment was presented at the Old Bailey, came out "Absalom and Achitophel." The king at this time "was more than usually serious, and seemingly under a greater weight of thought than had been observed of him on account of the most important business." Reresby, who notices this unusual demeanour of the king, says that Halifax maintained that it would be prudent to set Shaftesbury at liberty, upon terms; but that "the king was resolved to prosecute him to the utmost" was the information of one of the secretaries. On the 24th of November the indictment was presented to the Grand Jury at the Old Bailey. North and Pemberton sat on the Bench; and, contrary to all precedent, it was resolved that the examination of the witnesses should be in open court. The foreman of the jury contended that they were sworn to keep the king's counsel, their fellows' counsel, and their own, secret. North maintained that the king could dispense with the secrecy. The object of these tools of power was to help out the witnesses in their contradictions, and to awe the jury. The evidence of the charge "for compassing and imagining the death of the king" was attempted to be supported by a paper, "containing no less than matter of high treason, which was sworn to have been found amongst the papers in his closet." † It was a plan of an association, not in his handwriting, and without a signature. "The witnesses," says Burnet, "swore many incredible things against him, mixed with other things that looked very like his extravagant way of talking." The jury retired for a short time, and brought back the indictment, with "*Ignoramus*" written on the back. A shout of joy went up in the hall, and was re-echoed through the streets. Bonfires were

\* "Lives of Chancellors," vol. ii. p. 362.

† Reresby, p. 251.

lighted. A medal was struck to celebrate the triumph. The king discoursed to the foreign ambassadors "on the subject of the hard measure dealt to *him* by Lord Shaftesbury's jury;" and, in a more sensible spirit, gave Dryden the hint for his poem of "The Medal." The poem made the Medal more popular; and men proclaimed their opinions by wearing it hanging at the button-hole.

The refusal of the Grand Jury to find a true bill against Shaftesbury was imputed to the selection of jurymen by the Whig sheriffs. To obtain obedient sheriffs who would summon pliant jurymen was now the great aim of the Court. This scheme was carried into effect in a very remarkable manner. The Lord Mayor of 1682, sir John Moor, was a more than average example of the weakness and vanity that sometimes clings to civic dignitaries. There was an old custom of the city which is thus described by Roger North. "At the Bridgehouse feast which is sometime before the 24th of June, the day of the election at Guildhall, the Lord Mayor takes his time, and, out of a large gilt cup, drinks to some person he names by the title of Sheriff of London and Middlesex, for the year ensuing. If the person be present, the cup is immediately borne to him, and he pledges my Lord Mayor: if he be not present then the cup is conveyed in the great coach, with the sword-bearer and officers, openly, and in state, to the house of the person drunk to, and the officer declaring the matter, presents the cup to him; and then he is called my Lord Mayor's Sheriff, and not long after he is summoned to the court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and there, if he holds, he enters into bond to take upon him the office at the time; and if he fines off, then, in a like method, the cup is sent to another, till the person is pitched upon that will hold: and this way of drinking and fining off is of great use to the city, for it brings money into the chamber; and it is called going a birding for sheriffs. At Midsummer-day, when the Common Hall meets for the election of sheriffs, and the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen are come upon the Suggestum, called the Hustings, the common sergeant, by the common crier, puts to the hall the question for confirming the Lord Mayor's sheriff, which used to pass affirmatively of course. After that, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen rise and go up into the room they call the court of aldermen, leaving the floor or body of the livery men below to choose another sheriff by themselves, without their interposing or being concerned in the choice." This is, in part, a misrepresentation. For forty years the custom of nominating one of

the sheriffs by the cup had been laid aside, and both sheriffs had been elected, without such nomination, by the Common Hall. The Lord Mayor had been sent for by king Charles; and "the king himself encouraged him, with expressions not only of protection but command; and at last, after much hesitation, he determined roundly to conform, and all at once promised the king to send his cup to any citizen his majesty should nominate to him. He was slow, but sure"\* Jeffreys, the recorder, suggested that there was a rich Turkey merchant recently arrived from Constantinople, who was the very man. Dudley North, the brother of the Chief Justice, was a person of eminent ability, who had sounder notions of commerce and finance than most men of his time; and it is painful to find one of such talent and knowledge listening to these arguments of his cunning and servile brother: "He was made to understand what an advantage such an opportunity was to oblige a king who had power to gratify by employment any fit persons, such as he was."† And so the cup was sent, "in full parade and form" to Mr. Dudley North. Midsummer Day, June 24, witnessed a tremendous uproar in Guildhall. The refusal of the Lord Mayor's cup-sheriff was unmistakeable. The Lord Mayor retired. He came again and again to put the question, but with the same result. He then adjourned the Common Hall. It was contended that the adjournment was illegal. Counsel were brought on a subsequent day to argue the point, amidst the uproar of contending factions; "This was midsummer work indeed, extreme hot and dusty; and the partisans strongly disordered every way, with crowding, bawling, sweating and dust; all full of anger, zeal, and filth in their faces. They ran about up and down stairs, so that any one, not better informed, would have thought the place rather an huge Bedlam than a meeting for civil business. And yet, under such an awkward face of affairs as this was, the fate of the English government and monarchy depended but too much on the event of so decent an assembly."‡ Roger North, the encomiast of every measure that tended to convert the English monarchy into a pure despotism, has no hesitation in acknowledging that the fate of the existing government depended upon having a sheriff who would return corrupt jurymen. He says of the Court party, "If one good sheriff were gained, they did not fear what hurt the other alone could do; for both sheriffs made but one officer." The contest went on for several months. The city

\* "Examen," p. 600.

† *Ibid.*, p. 601.

‡ "Examen," p. 606.



was in a continued fever. The Lord Mayor opened a poll at which North and another Court candidate were elected; the sheriffs opened a poll at which two popular candidates were elected. The Chief Justice and his tool Jeffreys bullied and intrigued: and in the end Dudley North and a fit coadjutor were sworn into office. It was clear that if another indictment had been presented against Shaftesbury, he would have had small chance of saving his head. He fled to Holland, accompanied by his constant friend, the famous John Locke. He died in the following year.

The duke of York, as High Commissioner in Scotland, had been manifesting the spirit in which he purposed to govern the two countries when the power should fall into his hands. He had put down an outburst of the puritan spirit in the followers of two ministers, Cargill and Cameron, known as Cameronians. The excess of fanaticism was met by the excess of tyranny; and women, refusing to cry "God bless the king," went to their deaths as martyrs. A Parliament was called. It voted that the succession to the Crown was indefeasible; it enacted a test, which, as altered by a compromise of opposite parties, asserted the king's supremacy, renounced the Covenant, inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience, and disclaimed any attempt to change the civil or religious establishments; but at the same time it expressed the adherence to the Protestant religion of the person taking the test. The courtiers proposed that all princes of the blood should be exempted from the oath. The earl of Argyle opposed this, and he was consequently marked for destruction. In taking the test himself, as a privy counsellor, he said that he did not mean to bind himself, in a lawful way, from wishing and endeavouring any alteration which he might think to the advantage of Church or State, and not repugnant to the Protestant religion and his own loyalty. A few days after he was arrested; was indicted for high treason; and was found guilty of treason and leasing-making. He contrived to escape to Holland. His estate was confiscated. Scotland was wholly under the feet of the tyrant. Judicial murders were committed in every district of the southern and western counties. Hundreds were outlawed. A seditious declaration was published by the maddened Presbyterians, renouncing allegiance to Charles Stuart. To compel suspected persons to abjure the declaration was now the business of a lawless soldiery and slavish magistrates. The Scottish administration of the duke of York is thus complacently recorded: "He stifled at its first birth a commotion of the fanatical party

which then happened to break out, whereof some were taken and made examples of, but many more were won over by the great esteem his presence had gained amongst them."\* In his own Memoirs of this period, he wonders how men could apprehend danger from Popery, "while they overlooked the imminent danger of being swallowed up by Presbytery and Fanaticism."†

Congenial as his pursuits in Scotland were to the duke of York, he desired to return to England. He accomplished this object by enlisting the duchess of Portsmouth in his interest, by some secret arrangement for settling a pension upon her out of the income which he derived from the Post Office, upon which annuity she might raise a hundred thousand pounds. The affair could not be managed; but Charles gave the duchess 10,000*l.* quarterly out of his French pension, and she went abroad. The duke came to England for a short time, and then returned to Scotland, having narrowly escaped shipwreck in his passage. He again came to give that impulse to the schemes for arbitrary power which Charles had not resolution himself to carry out. Halifax and Seymour, two of the king's ministers, opposed the duke's return to London. Charles wanted his brother to fortify his resolves to take "those vigorous councils and resolute methods the duke had long pressed him to."‡ The prince of Orange had been in England in 1681; and Charles then said to him that "he was confident, whenever the duke should come to reign, he would be so restless and violent that he could not hold it four years to an end."§ Charles permitted the duke to try his hand in government before he "should come to reign." The duke's biographer says, "He shewed by his management in Scotland a good example of the doctrine he preached, which, when his majesty followed, it set him at rest for the remainder of his days."||

\* "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 644.

† *Ibid.*, p. 799.

§ Burnet.

† *Ibid.*, p. 656.

|| "Life of James II.," p. 734.

## CHAPTER XIV.

The army establishment.—Quo Warranto Information against the Corporation of London.—Surrenders of the Charters of other Corporations.—The Rye-House Plot.—Arrests of Russell, Essex, and Sidney.—Trial of Russell.—Russell's Execution.—Trial of Sidney.—Scottish persecution.—The duke of York's power in England.—Decree of the University of Oxford.—Répeal of the Test Act.—Death of Charles the Second in the faith of the Romish Church.—William Penn.—Settlement of Pennsylvania.—Penn's Treaty with the Indians.

THE "rest for the remainder of his days" which Charles secured, through following the doctrine which the duke of York preached, was something very different from the ease which he enjoyed in the early years of the Restoration. There were to come, two years of a desperate struggle against the liberties of the people, the termination of which struggle was to be left to the greater energy of his successor. All the real power seemed now to lie in the hands of the Crown. London had lost its popular sheriffs; the choice of other sheriffs throughout the land was chiefly directed by the Court; the sheriffs could pack the jurymen upon state-trials; the jurymen would be duly exhorted from every pulpit to believe, upon the authority of the Scriptures, that, as all resistance to authority was a sin, the support of authority in all its desires was a virtue. When a subject stood at the bar, indicted for treason or misdemeanor at the king's command, it was necessary for the country's peace that the Crown should have its wished-for verdict. A trial was a ceremony at which good men should assist, by their unanimity of opinion with the king's judges and the king's attorney, to place the throne upon the solid foundation of the people's implicit obedience. There was now an army sufficient to make men understand the danger of insurrection. It was something more than two regiments of horse-guards, as in the recent days when the Parliament was jealous of a royal force, and relied for defence against external enemies upon a national militia. In addition to two regiments of household cavalry, there were two regiments of foot guards, a regiment of dragoons, and five other regiments of foot. There was no war to give employment to this

small army. There was no foreign garrison to absorb any portion of that military strength which was available for the repression of sedition at home. Tangier, which, when it came to the English Crown as the dowry of queen Catherine, was held to be equivalent to Dunkirk, was abandoned in 1683, and the garrison was brought to England. Two millions had been expended upon the mole and fortifications. The Parliament had objected that the garrison was a nursery for a popish army. When the opinion of the Parliament had ceased to be regarded, Charles brought this army home; after the works of Tangier had been utterly destroyed, and the harbour blocked up with the rubbish. With an adequate military power about the Court, the lesser wheels of the machinery of government would be all in order. The rebellious city of London was now to be taught its duty. In the corporate franchises of the metropolis, and in those of other cities and towns, rested the chief force of the middle classes. The old puritan spirit was not dead. Liberty and Protestantism were names which stirred the most sluggish spirits into patriotism; and in the freedom of civic proceedings the temper of the people found a lawful right of assertion. Take away the charter of the city of London, advised the slavish lawyers, and break up that strong-hold of democracy. We are "the finest flour," said the courtiers; the common people are "the coarsest bran."\* There was no precedent for a forfeiture of corporate privileges; but such forfeiture was to be accomplished now by the example of the surrender of the abbeys to Henry VIII. An Information, *quo warranto* technically called, was laid in the King's Bench against the Corporation of London for two misdemeanors—for having taken tolls under a by-law, and for having petitioned the king to assemble the Parliament, in 1679, which petition was published. On the 18th of June the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen knelt before the king, and humbly petitioned that his majesty would not enter-up judgment against the City; and they were required to make no future election of mayor, sheriff, aldermen, recorder, or other officers, without the royal approbation; that if the king should disapprove of the mayor, they should proceed to re-election, when, upon a second disapproval, the mayor should be nominated by the king himself; that in the case of the sheriffs, if the king did not approve the first choice, he should at once nominate his own sheriffs. The Corporation, thus bound hand and foot, continued to be the slaves of the Court, till their shackles

\* See Chamberlayne's "Present State of England," 1687, p. 37.

were knocked off by the Revolution of 1688. Other corporations were terrified into the surrender of their Charters. In 1684 the Lord Chief Justice, Jeffreys, did "great matters towards bringing in the Charters, as it was called," in his Northern circuit; and the king—"was persuaded to present him with a ring, publicly taken from his own finger, in token of his majesty's acceptance of his most eminent services;" and thus encouraged, Jeffreys "went down into the country, as from the king *Legatus à Latere*, esteemed a mighty favourite; which, together with his lofty airs, made all the Charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him; and he returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns."\* There was little chance, after this, that a Parliament should be chosen in which the burgesses of England, who had fought the battles of freedom for four centuries, should have any due share of parliamentary representation. Prudent royalists were alarmed at such proceedings. Evelyn saw nothing but evil in "these violent transactions"—a learned recorder set aside to make way for an obscure lawyer—the Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs holding as *custodes*, at the king's pleasure. "The pomp and grandeur of the most august city in the world thus changed face in a moment: which gave great occasion of discourse, and thoughts of hearts, what all this would end in."† The Court judged that resistance to its behests was now utterly at an end. The king "at last subdued entirely that stubborn and rebellious city."‡ The duke of York had a little private revenge to accomplish: "He thought it necessary to terrify others by making an example of the late sheriff, Pilkington; who having said, upon the duke's return, 'he had fired the city and was now come to cut their throats,' he caused him to be indicted, May 8, and the words being proved by two aldermen, the court assigned his royal highness a hundred thousand pounds for damages."§ The royal influence could not only effect the utter ruin of a citizen for hasty words, but it had a year before shown that it could so manage the administration of justice that a detestable murderer should escape unpunished. Lady Ogle, a widow of fifteen, had, against her wish, become the wife of Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, called, on account of his great wealth, "Tom of Ten Thousand." The rich man and his bride were parted for a time; and she went abroad, where she had previously met Charles John, count Königsmark. The intimacy was

\* "Examen," p. 625.

† "Life of James II," vol. i. p. 733.

‡ "Diary," October 4, 1683.

§ *Ibid.*

probably renewed. On Sunday evening, the 12th of February, 1682, Thynne was passing in his coach along Pall Mall, and near a part then known as St. Alban's-street, where now stands the Opera-arcade, he was murdered by a mounted ruffian, attended by two others, who fired upon him with a blunderbuss loaded with four bullets. Thynne expired on the following morning. The assassin, George Borosky, a Pole, and his confederates, two Swedes, were apprehended. Count Königsmark was captured a week after, in endeavouring to escape from the country. The four were tried at Hick's Hall, on the 28th, the count being indicted as an accessory before the fact. The Pole and the two Swedes were found guilty and were hanged. The count was acquitted. Sir John Reresby, who was very active in communicating with the king and the council about this murder, says, "being at the king's couchée on the 21st, I perceived by his majesty's discourse that he was willing the count should get off." He was the first that carried the news of the count's acquittal to the king, "who seemed to be not at all displeased at it; but the duke of Monmouth's party, who all appeared to add weight to the prosecution, were extremely dissatisfied that the count had so escaped."\* Of Königsmark's guilt there was not the slightest doubt.

"Nothing," says the Memoirs of James, "now was wanting to make the king perfectly easy in his affairs but the duke's assistance in the management of them. . . . The discovery of a cursed conspiracy, which in part they had already providentially escaped, but still in great measure hung over their heads, hastened the duke's re-admission into business for their mutual security."† The providential escape was from the assassination of the king and the duke, which it was alleged was intended to be accomplished at Rye-House, in Hertfordshire. Keeling, a vintner, communicated to one of the Secretaries of State, that a plot had been devised for engaging forty men to way-lay the king and his brother, as they returned from Newmarket, at a farmhouse called the Rye, belonging to Rumbold, a maltster; that the king returning sooner than was expected, that scheme was given up, and a general insurrection was projected by certain eminent persons, amongst whom were the duke of Monmouth, lord Essex, lord Howard of Escrick, and lord William Russell. Some of the inferior persons accused were first apprehended. The Rye-House Plot was in every mouth. The place was not so well known to Londoners as at the present day,

\* "Memoirs," p. 261-2.

† "Life of James II." vol. i. p. 738.

when hundreds of summer holiday-folks go to make merry at the Rye-House on the pleasant banks of the Lea. It was then described as "a place so convenient for such a villainy as scarce to be found in England; besides the closeness of the way over a river by a bridge, gates to pass, a strong hedge on one side, brick walls on the other." \* The Rye-House Plot appears to have been a real conspiracy amongst obscure men. That the Whig leaders participated in the design of assassination was not considered probable even amongst royalists of the time. Upon the committal to the Tower of Russell, Essex, and Sidney, Evelyn writes, "The lords Essex and Russell were much deplored, few believing they had any evil intention against the king or the church. Some thought they were cunningly drawn in by their enemies, for not approving some late counsels and management relating to France, to Popery, to the persecution of the Dissenters, &c." The duke of Monmouth, lord Grey, sir Thomas Armstrong, and two others, for whose arrest a proclamation was made, escaped. The trials of three minor conspirators were hurried on, and they were convicted on the evidence of their associates. On the 13th of July, lord Russell was brought to trial. From the first he gave himself up for lost. As he entered the Tower he told his servant Taunton that he was sworn against, and his enemies would have his life. Taunton hoped that his master's enemies had no such power. "Yes," said Russell, "the devil is loose!" †

According to the political creeds of men of a past age, it has been customary to speak of Russell and Sidney as martyrs in the cause of liberty, or as scoundrels who had no just notions of government.‡ To regard the conduct and character of either of these eminent men with enthusiastic admiration is to us as impossible, as to consider them as selfish and ambitious intriguers, ready to plunge the nation into civil war for the advancement of a faction, or the advocacy of a wild theory of a republic. Their notions of political perfectibility were essentially different. Russell, the calm and practical representative of a great party, sought to attain freedom under a monarchy sufficiently checked by a Parliament, and to exercise religion under a Protestant establishment, tolerant to all forms of dissent but that of Roman Catholicism. Popery

\* "Autobiography of Sir John Bramston," p. 182.

† "Life of William Lord Russell, by Lord John Russell, vol. ii. p. 25.

‡ The Tory opinion is thus delivered by the Tory Johnson, with his usual vehemence. See Boswell's "Johnson."

was his one great terror, and not unreasonably so. He was violent towards Papists, because he regarded Popery "as an idolatrous and bloody religion." He was their relentless and persecuting enemy when his party was all-powerful, for reasons which he thus expressed: "As for the share I had in the prosecution of the Popish plot, I take God to witness that I proceeded in it in the sincerity of my heart, being then really convinced, as I am still, that there was a conspiracy against the king, the nation, and the Protestant religion."\* The political principles of Algernon Sidney were essentially different. He was the last of the old Commonwealth-men, of the school of Vane. He hated the legitimate tyranny of Charles as much as he hated the usurped power of Cromwell. He disliked Popery rather with the dislike of the philosopher than that of the Christian. Neither Russell nor Sidney contemplated the removal of political evils by the assassination of the king. When Charles gave for his reason for denying mercy to Russell, "If I do not take his life he will soon have mine," he was thinking of his father's fate rather than of such danger as that of the Rye-House. He told Russell upon his first examination before the Council that nobody suspected him of any design against his person, but there was good evidence of his being in designs against his government. Russell was as conscious of his own political importance as Charles was aware that in removing him he removed the great obstacle to the designs which James now steadily advocated with the zeal of a bigot and the blindness of a despot. "Arbitrary government," said Russell to his chaplain, Mr. Johnson, "cannot be set up in England without wading through my blood."

The trial of Russell derives its chief interest from a circumstance which associates it with the tenderness, the devotion, the fortitude of woman. The day before the trial, lady Russell, the daughter of the earl of Southampton, wrote a note to her husband in these words: "Your friends believing I can do you some service at your trial, I am extremely willing to try;—my resolution will hold out; pray let yours. But it may be the Court will not let me; however, do you let me try." On the 13th of July the forms of indictment having been gone through, and the prisoner having in vain requested a postponement of the trial for a day, that he might produce witnesses not yet arrived, he said, "May I have somebody to write, to help my memory?" "Yes, a servant," was the answer.

\* Russell's paper delivered to the sheriff before his execution



"My wife is here to do it." And so, by her lord's side, sat that noble wife, calmly doing her office amidst the most exciting scenes. Lord Howard of Escrick appears. He was Russell's relative. To save himself, he offered to criminate his friends. He is put in the witness-box. His voice falters. "We cannot hear you, my lord," says one of the jury. Howard explains, "There is an unlucky accident happened which hath sunk my voice: I was but just now acquainted with the fate of my lord of Essex." The news ran through the court that Essex had committed suicide in the Tower. "This fatal news coming to Hicks's Hall upon the article of my lord Russell's trial, was said to have had no little influence on the jury and all the bench to his prejudice."\* The Attorney-General said, "My lord Russell was one of the council for carrying on the plot with the earl of Essex, who hath this morning prevented the hand of justice upon himself." Men doubted whether Essex perished by his own hand. His head was so severed from his body "that an executioner could hardly have done more with an axe. There were odd reflections upon it."† The evidence of Howard and other witnesses went to show that Russell, before Shaftesbury left the country, had attended a meeting in the City, at which a rising was debated, and there was talk of the feebleness of the king's guard at Whitehall. Howard also asserted that there was a cabal of six persons, Monmouth, Essex, Russell, Sidney, Hampden, and himself; and that one of their objects was to draw the Scotch malcontents to join with them. Russell made a very short defence, in which he solemnly denied the charges imputed to him; I have looked upon the assassination of any private person as an abominable, barbarous, and inhuman thing, tending to the destruction of all society. How much more the assassination of a prince, which cannot enter into my thoughts without horror and detestation; especially considering him as my natural prince, and one upon whose death such dismal consequences are but too likely to ensue. . . . As for going about to make or raise a rebellion, that, likewise, is a thing so wicked, and withal impracticable, that it never entered into my thoughts. Had I been disposed to it, I never found, by all my observation, that there was the least disposition or tendency to it in the people. And it is known, rebellion cannot be now made here, as in former times, by a few great men."‡ And yet we cannot doubt that "a few great

\* Evelyn "Diary," July 13.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lord John Russell's "Life," vol. ii. p. 60. From the MS. in Lord W. Russell's handwriting.

men" contemplated some coercion of the government, perhaps short of rebellion, despairing of "having things redressed in a legal parliamentary way." It is difficult to draw the line between legal and illegal resistance when men are hopeless of just government. Russell was convicted of treason, though certainly he was illegally convicted. He had committed no overt act, imagining the king's death, which had brought him within the Statute of Treasons of Edward the Third. The Act of William and Mary, annulling his attainder says that he was, "by partial and unjust constructions of law, wrongfully convicted, attainted, and executed for high-treason." Russell went to his death with Christian fortitude. Extraordinary efforts were made to save his life, but Charles was not to be moved, even by the offer of a hundred thousand pounds. Russell was beheaded on the 21st of July, on a scaffold erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields. His parting with his noble wife had something more touching than sobs and tears. "This flesh you now feel, in a few hours must be cold," he said. They then kissed and separated, in eloquent silence.

The trial of Algernon Sidney was postponed till the 21st of November. Pemberton was Chief Justice when Russell was tried. He was removed to make room for Jeffreys. Lord Howard of Esrick was again the chief witness against the friend who had confided in the betrayer's professions of republicanism. Two witnesses were required by the Statute of Treasons. There was no second living witness against Sidney; that defect was supplied by a manuscript found among Sidney's papers, in which treasonable principles were held to be advocated. He approved of conspiracies against Nero and Caligula, and therefore was ready to compass the king's death. Howard's depositions were different from those which he gave on the trial of Russell. Sidney appealed to the jury whether any credit was due to a man who deceived and betrayed his friends—who had said he could not get his own pardon from the king till he had done "some other jobs." Of course Sidney was convicted in the utter absence of all legal evidence of treason. He was brought up for judgment on the 26th. When he heard his sentence he prayed God that, "if at any day the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness' sake." Jeffreys, although he had kept his brutal nature in some subjection to decency, then exclaimed, "I pray God to work in you a temper fit to go into the other world, for I see you are

not fit for this." Sidney stretched out his arm, and said, "My lord, feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered." Evelyn records that on the 5th of December, he was at a wedding where he met Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys and Mr. Justice Withings. "These great men spent the rest of the afternoon, till eleven at night, in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of judges; who had a day or two before condemned Mr. Algernon Sidney, who was executed the 7th on Tower Hill, on the single witness of that monster of a man, lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sidney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully proved." Sidney died with a simple courage and unostentatious composure worthy of his strength of mind. "When he came on the scaffold, instead of a speech, he told them only that he had made his peace with God; that he came not thither to talk, but to die; put a paper into the sheriff's hand, and another into a friend's; said one prayer as short as a grace; laid down his neck, and bid the executioner do his office." \*

Connected with the other chief participators in the alleged conspiracy of 1683, we may mention that Monmouth was ultimately pardoned; and that sir Thomas Armstrong was given up by the States of Holland, and executed without a trial upon his sentence of outlawry. He had surrendered within the year, during which the law allows the accused to claim a trial. Jeffreys rudely resisted this legal demand of Armstrong.

The connexion of the English Whigs with the discontented in Scotland gave birth to a terrible persecution in that enslaved kingdom. In England, even a Jeffreys could not go beyond a certain point under the forms of law. In Scotland, those forms were utterly set at nought. Scotsmen, arrested in London, were sent to Edinburgh for their mock trials. Some eminent haters of the tyranny under which the land had fallen fled to Holland. Torture was administered to other suspected and accused persons with a ferocity exceeding even the times when the duke of York superintended the process of the boot. Sentences of forfeiture were lavishly pronounced, by which such tools as Graham of Claverhouse were enriched. The prisons were crowded with Covenanters. In England, James had openly succeeded to the chief administration of public affairs. He had not withheld his consent from the marriage of his daughter, Anne, to the Protestant prince

\* Evelyn, "Diary."

George of Denmark. The king rewarded the duke by his restoration to his offices of High Admiral and Privy Councillor.\* Titus Oates was indicted for *Scandalum Magnatum*, and damages of 100,000*l.* for a libel against the duke were awarded. The Rev. Samuel Johnson, chaplain to the late lord Russell, was summoned before the Council, to answer whether he was the author of a book called "Julian's Acts and Methods to undermine and extirpate Christianity." He acknowledged that he was. He was commanded to produce one of the books. He said that he had suppressed all the copies, "so that they were now his own private thoughts, for which he was not accountable to any power on earth." No copy could be obtained; and he was therefore prosecuted for writing a book called "Julian the Apostate." He was condemned in a fine of five hundred marks, which he was unable to pay; and was committed to prison. In prison he remained till the time when James had the regal power, and exercised it with a frantic violence, of which the barbarity perpetrated upon this exemplary clergyman, whose only fault was a love of his country's liberties, was one of the most hateful examples.† Arbitrary government had now its full swing. The Oxford divines came boldly forward to give their aid to degrade the free monarchy of England into an unmingled despotism. They published a decree against pernicious books and damnable doctrines. They anathematised the seditious and impious principle that civil authority is derived originally from the people; that there was any implied compact between a king and his people: passive obedience was the only concern of the subject with the government under which he lived. Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, published his treatise "*Jus Regium*," which he dedicated to the University of Oxford, in which he maintained that "whatever proves monarchy to be the best government, does, by the same reason, prove absolute monarchy to be the best government." Sir Robert Filmer's posthumous work, which had the honour of calling forth the refutation of its doctrines by Locke, went to the same extremes. Mr. Hallam truly says, "We can frame no adequate conception of the jeopardy in which our liberties stood under the Stuarts, especially in this particular period, without attending to this spirit of servility which had been so sedulously excited." The confidence of the ultra-royalists was unbounded: "now the king had brought his affairs

\* "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 745.

† "Memorials of Mr. Samuel Johnson," prefixed to the folio volume of his works. 1710.

to a more happy situation than ever they had been since the Restoration. He saw his enemies at his feet, and the duke his brother at his side; whose indefatigableness in business took a great share of that burthen off his shoulders, which his indolent temper made uneasy to him.\* Charles had his brother officially at his side through dispensing with the Test Act. Louis XIV. was carrying on his ambitious designs without any apprehension of the interference of England. By turns he bribed and he bullied the abject Charles. There were some even amongst Charles's advisers who felt the degradation. Halifax ventured to suggest the calling a Parliament. James was diametrically opposed to such a measure. Halifax advised that France should no longer dictate to England. James knew that the French alliance ratified the slavery of England. Charles was undecided—or pretended to be so. The great arbiter stepped in to settle many doubts and difficulties.

On Sunday evening, the 1st of February, 1685, Evelyn was at Whitehall. A week after he recorded his impressions of the scene which he there witnessed: "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God, it being Sunday evening. The king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c.: a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery; whilst above twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset around a large table, a bank of at least two thousand in gold before them." On Monday morning, the 2nd of February, the king was struck with apoplexy. On the Tuesday, he had somewhat recovered. On the Thursday his case was considered hopeless. Two bishops came to him; he said he was sorry for what he had done amiss; heard the form of absolution; but declined to receive the sacrament. The duchess of Portsmouth, who had manifested a real grief, told Barillon, the French ambassador, that Charles was really a Roman Catholic; she urged Barillon to tell the duke that if any time were lost, his brother would die out of the pale of his Church. James tells the result himself. The duke "asked him if he desired he should send for a priest to him? to which the king immediately replied, 'for God's sake, brother, do, and please to lose no time.' But then, reflecting on the consequences, added, 'But will you not expose yourself too much by doing it?' The duke, who never thought of danger when the king's service called, though but in a

temporal concern, much less in an eternal one, answered, 'Sir, though it cost me my life, I will bring one to you.'\* James found Father Huddleston, a Benedictine monk. The king confessed, received extreme unction; and then the Sacrament was administered by Huddleston. His natural children were called around the dying man's bed. Monmouth alone was absent, though his father had been privately reconciled to him. The queen sent to ask her husband's pardon for any offence she might have committed. "It is I that ought to ask her pardon," said Charles, with a passing remorse. "Do not let Nelly starve," he said to his brother. He apologised to the watchers around him for the trouble he was giving. The politeness of the gentleman remained with him to the last. Charles died at noon on Friday, the 6th of February. The people of London, odious as was the government of the king, lamented for the man. In that lament was probably mingled the fear that a worse king was coming.

About three years before the death of Charles the Second, an event took place which would then attract little of the regard of English courtiers and politicians, but which was fraught with important consequences never to be forgotten in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. On the 5th of March, 1682, William Penn, who we last saw standing undaunted at the bar of the Old Bailey, was before the king in council at Whitehall. His father, the admiral, had died in 1670, leaving his Quaker son a considerable property. The duke of York, a friend of admiral Penn, had undertaken to be the young man's protector. Two years after his father's death William Penn applied to James to use his influence to procure some remission of the persecution of the Quakers. The duke made some of those professions of toleration which he had learnt to employ upon particular occasions. He was kind to Penn; who became a person of consequence at Whitehall. A considerable sum, about 16,000*l.*, was due from the Treasury to Penn as his father's heir—the amount of money lent by the admiral, with accumulated interest. He petitioned to have his claim settled, not by a money-payment, but by the grant of a large tract in America—a region of mountains and forests and prairies, accessible from the sea by the river Delaware. During sixty years the colonisation of the great North American continent by Englishmen had gone steadily forward. The plantation of Virginia, the plantation of New England in the reign of James I., laid the foundations of that

\* "Life of James II.," vol. i. p. 747.

mighty community whose present marvellous progress appears but the faint realisation of its ultimate destinies.\* In the reign of Charles the Second, Carolina was also settled. Maryland had been a previous acquisition; New Jersey had been conquered from the Dutch. The commercial importance of the English North American settlements was stated by De Witt in 1669, when he wrote "The Interest of Holland." He says, "The long persecution of Puritans in England has occasioned the planting of many English colonies in America, by which they drive a very considerable foreign trade thither." Penn knew well that in the persecuted of his own sect he would find the best of settlers—men always remarkable for their industry and frugality. Not so solicitous for worldly profit, as for a home for his followers beyond the reach of penal laws, Penn assiduously pressed his suit; and on the 5th of March, he stood before the king and council, to have his charter signed. The name suggested for this mountainous and wooded region was first New Wales; and secondly, Sylvania. The king prefixed Penn to Sylvania. The Quaker legislator and his friend Algernon Sidney, the republican, drew up a constitution for the new colony. It was essentially democratic. Religious liberty was its great element, and with that was necessarily connected civil freedom. There was to be an executive Council, of which Penn, the proprietor, or his deputy, was to be president; which Council was to consist of seventy-two persons. There was to be an Assembly. Both were to be chosen by universal suffrage. It has been justly observed, that "as the proprietor and legislator of a province which, being almost uninhabited when it came into his possession, afforded a clear field for moral experiments, he had the rare good fortune of being able to carry his theories into practice without any compromises, and yet without any shock to existing institutions."†

The *Welcome*, a vessel of three hundred tons, in which Penn was to embark, set sail from Deal on the 1st of September, 1682. There were a hundred passengers on board, of whom a third died of the small pox during the voyage. On the 27th of October, the survivors, with their governor, landed at Newcastle, on the Delaware. The next day Penn assembled the inhabitants, consisting of families of various nations, Germans, Dutch, Swedes, English. He produced his charters. He explained his system of government. Penn's relation, Colonel Markham, had arrived before him, and

\* See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 276.

† Macaulay, "History," vol. i. 8vo, p. 507.

had prepared the way for him, by calling an Assembly for the purposes of legislation. In three days, Penn's constitution was adopted; and supplementary laws were enacted to carry out its spirit. The industrial education of rich and poor was provided for; justice was to be cheaply administered; prisons were to be regulated with a view to the reformation of the criminal; death punishments, except for murder and treason, were to be abolished. The governor had much labour before him, but he went through it resolutely. The lands of the province were surveyed, and divided into lots for grant or purchase. Philadelphia was founded upon a plan which contemplated the growth of a magnificent city. In a year many houses had been built, and emigrants came in great numbers to become farmers or traders in a land where men could dwell without fear of oppression. Schools were founded. A Printing-Press was set up. A Post was established. The great outworks of civilisation were won. The principles of justice, upon which the new colony was founded, were to guide the conduct of the colonists towards the native Indians. The treaty with the red men—the only treaty that was never sworn to and never broken, says Voltaire—was one of friendship, and brotherhood, and mutual defence. An American has painted the scene, with the vagueness of his time as to portraiture and costume; but West's picture gives some notion of a solemn ceremony, in which the Great Spirit, the common Father of all, was appealed to in the pledge that the power of civilisation should not be abused by the exercise of force or injustice against the weakness of barbarism.\*

\* The interesting Biography of William Penn, by Mr. Hepworth Dixon, furnishes a very complete view of the settlement of Pennsylvania, of which ours is necessarily the briefest sketch.



## CHAPTER XV.

Address of James the Second to his Council.—He is proclaimed.—He goes openly to Mass.—Illegal levying of Customs.—The king's ministers.—Roman Catholic counsellors.—Roman Catholics and Quakers released from prison.—Renewed severities against Covenanters.—Elections in England.—Money from France.—Constitution of Parliament.—Its meeting.—Conviction and punishment of Titus Oates.—Conviction of Richard Baxter.—Argyle lands in Scotland.—Disastrous result of his expedition.—His execution.—Monmouth lands at Lyme.—His Declaration.—He enters Taunton in triumph.—He is proclaimed king.—March to Bristol.—Skirmish of Philip's-Norton.—Monmouth returns to Bridgewater.—Battle of Sedgemoor.—Flight of Monmouth.—His apprehension.—His abject submission to the king.—His execution.—Military executions in the Western Counties.—The legal massacres under Jeffreys.—Transportations.—The Court traffic in convicts.—The legal traffic in pardons.

THE chamber of death is closed. James retires for fifteen minutes to the privacy of his closet, and then comes forth as king to meet the Council. It was necessary that he should address the assembled counsellors. He declared that he would follow the example of his brother in his great clemency and tenderness to his people; he would preserve the government in Church and State as by law established; he knew that the principles of the Church of England were for monarchy, and that the members of it were good and loyal subjects, and therefore he should always have to defend and support it; he knew that the laws were sufficient to make the king as great a monarch as he could wish, and therefore, whilst he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, he would never invade any man's property. Some members of the Council asked for copies of this "benign and gracious declaration." The king said that he had spoken from his heart without much premeditation, and had not his speech in writing. Finch, the Solicitor-General, stated that he thought he could write it down word for word. He did write a report; the king approved, and ordered it to be published. The biographer of James says that Finch worded the speech as strong as he could in favour of the established religion, and that James passed it over without reflection: "He was afterwards convinced it had been better expressed by assuring them he never would endeavour to alter the established religion, rather than he would endeavour to preserve

it; and that he would rather support and defend the professors of it than the religion itself."\* James the Second was proclaimed that same afternoon at Whitehall-gate, at Temple-bar, and at the Exchange. The Council, and other officers of State, accompanied the procession. On their return they all kissed the hands of the king and queen. "The queen," writes Evelyn, "was in bed in her apartment, but put forth her hand, seeming to be much afflicted, as I believe she was, having deported herself so decently upon all occasions since she came into England, which made her universally beloved."† Charles the Second was buried on the 14th, "without any manner of pomp." This absence of the usual ceremonies is accounted for by the fact that the late king had died a Roman Catholic. That fact was not as yet public; and the people blamed the parsimony of James, or his want of the affection of a brother. The difficulty of conducting the funeral of Charles in accordance with "the greater ceremonies which must have been performed according to the rites of the church of England,"‡ pressed with increased force when the Coronation-day arrived, on the 23rd of April. Some alterations were made in the ritual; and, "to the sorrow of the people, no Sacrament, as ought to have been."§ The second Sunday after he came to the throne the king went openly to mass; and within a month of Charles' death the Romanists "were swarming at Court with greater confidence than had been ever seen in England since the Reformation, so that everybody grew jealous as to what this would tend."||

James had not been more than three days king, when his government committed an illegal act. The grant of customs for the life of the king expired on the death of Charles. A proclamation was issued ordering that the duties on merchandise should be levied as usual, till the royal revenue had been settled by Parliament. This was against the advice of the Lord Keeper, Guilford, who recommended that the duties should be collected and kept apart in the Exchequer, till the Parliament should dispose of them. The temper of the public was, then, so propitious to the Crown, that almost anything would be borne with, which, in other times, would have raised a flame."¶ The counsellors chosen by the king for his especial confidence were his brother-in-law, Rochester; Sunderland, who had been Charles's Secretary of State; and Godolphin,

\* "Life of James II.," vol. ii., pp. 3 & 4.

† "Diary," February 6.

‡ "Life of James II.," vol. ii., p. 6.

§ Evelyn, "Diary."

|| *Ibid*, March 5th.

¶ North, "Life of Guilford," vol. ii., p. 113.

who had been first lord of the Treasury: Halifax, who had held the Privy-seal, was appointed to the unimportant office of President of the Council. It was nominally a higher office, and therefore a witticism which he had used on the promotion of Rochester was applied to himself—he was kicked up-stairs. The king's other brother-in-law, Clarendon, was made Privy Seal. Sunderland had voted for the Exclusion Bill, and therefore his continuance in office was a matter of surprise. But, if we are to credit the king's own assertion, this crafty minister saw the policy of connecting himself, however secretly, with the Roman Catholic party. James, in his own "Memoirs," says that in a consultation soon after his accession to the throne between Lord Sunderland, Father Petre, Mr. Jermyn, and lord Tyrconnel, "it was agreed that Father Petre should be a Cardinal, lord Sunderland Lord Treasurer, lord Tyrconnel Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (who engaged to procure my lord Sunderland five thousand pounds per annum out of that kingdom, or fifty thousand pounds in money,) and that Mr. Henry Jermyn should be made a lord, and captain of the Horse Guards." \* Tyrconnel and Jermyn were Roman Catholics. The king did not stand alone in his inclination to tread a path beset with dangers.

The apologists of James have endeavoured to induce a belief that, soon after his accession, "he limited his views to the accomplishment of two objects, which he called liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and which, had he been successful, would have benefited, not the Catholics only, but every class of religionists." Dr. Lingard expresses this opinion, after having stated that James "gave it in charge to the judges to discourage prosecutions in matters of religion, and ordered by proclamation the discharge of all persons confined for the refusal of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy." † It is implied that "the dissenters" were relieved by this tolerant disposition. The relief extended only to Roman Catholics and Quakers. The Puritan dissenters—Presbyterians, or Independents, or Baptists,—had evinced no objection to the oath which renounced the authority of the Pope. Those who continued in prison were there for offences under the Conventicle Acts and the Five Mile Act. The Roman Catholics would not take the oath of supremacy; the Quakers would not take any oath. "I have not been able," says a high authority, "to find any proof that any person, not a Roman Catholic or a Quaker, regained his

\* "Life of James II.," vol. ii., p. 77.

† "History," 8vo edition, vol. xiv. p. 13.

freedom under these orders."\* The orders, signed by Sunderland, were issued on the 19th of April. The relief to the Roman Catholics was a natural manifestation of the disposition of the government. The relief to Quakers was the result of a conviction that they were a harmless sect, who carefully abstained from all political action, and avoided even political conversation. The influence of William Penn, who had returned home from Pennsylvania, was laudably exercised to obtain this relief for the Society of which he was a member. The number of Quakers liberated was estimated at above fourteen hundred. Roman Catholics were liberated to the amount of some thousands. † The real disposition of the government towards Protestant dissenters was at that period amply manifested by the proceedings in the Scottish Parliament. The meeting of the Estates preceded that of the English Parliament by nearly a month. In obedience to a special letter from the king, calling for new penal laws against the Covenanters, it was enacted on the 8th of May, that the punishment of death, and confiscation of land and goods, should be awarded against those who should preach in a conventicle under a roof, or should attend a conventicle in the open air, either as preacher or auditor. The persecution of the times of Charles II. was continued with increased fury.‡ The soldiery were let loose upon the districts where the Covenanters were still unsubdued, to kill and plunder. The tale of two unhappy women who were condemned to be drowned, and were tied to stakes when the tide had receded, there to await the lingering but certain death that would follow its return, is not a fiction. Romance has not imagined any cruelty so horrible as that perpetrated by the scoundrel Major Winram. Of the two women whose drowning he superintended, one was a girl of eighteen, of the name of Margaret Wilson. She had seen her elder friend perish. She was half dead herself when she was taken out of the water. "Dear Margaret," said her neighbours, "only say God save the king." Her answer was, "God save him, if he will, for it is his salvation I desire." Beyond this she refused to go. She would not abjure the cause of her religion, and consent to attend the episcopal worship; and she was again thrown into the engulfing waves. The old laws against non-conformists were severe enough, and were executed with sufficient ferocity, to jus-

\* Macaulay, "History," vol. i. 8vo, p. 509. Note.

† Lingard.

‡ We anticipated the date of the murder of "The Christian Carrier," to indicate the mode of proceeding with the Covenanters by the sanguinary Claverhouse. See p. 260.

tify any resistance, even without the addition of the infamous law which James caused to be passed against those who attended conventicles. The biographer of James thus explains the motives of the sovereign who desired, according to his panegyrists, "liberty of conscience and freedom of worship:"—"The king's earnestness to have the field conventicles suppressed was not from any spirit of persecution—though those wretches deserved no quarter—but from an apprehension of new troubles."\* He made the Puritan religion a pretence for manifesting his hatred of the Puritan love of freedom.

The Parliament had been summoned to meet on the 19th of May. No one doubted that the House of Commons would exceed all former Parliaments in subserviency, looking to the influences which had been exercised in the returns of members. Burnet, the Whig, complains of "the injustice and violence used in elections, beyond what had been ever practised in former times." Evelyn, the Tory, writes, "Elections for the coming Parliament in England were thought to be very indirectly carried on in most places."† Again, he says, "There are many of the new members whose elections and returns were universally censured, many of them being persons of no condition, or interest in the nation or places for which they served." The boroughs were almost wholly in the hands of the Court; the old Charters having been superseded by new Charters, which placed the returns in the power of a corrupt few, nominated by the Crown. "It was reported that lord Bath carried down with him [into Cornwall] no fewer than fifteen Charters, so that some called him the Prince Elector."‡ James had some ambitious projects floating in his mind, and especially exciting him to secure an obedient Parliament. The interference of the French king with the parliamentary system of England, during the reign of Charles, was perfectly known to his successor. James was not quite so abject as his brother; but nevertheless he was ready to receive the French livres, and to submit his policy to the wishes of his patron, till he could make himself sufficiently secure of a large revenue for life. Then he would manifest a real independence. Meanwhile he talked to foreign ministers about maintaining the balance of power in Europe. He aspired to vie with the Court of France in its ceremonial observances towards ambassadors. His pride made him bear his yoke somewhat impa-

\* "Life of James II.," vol. i., p. 12.

† "Diary." May 10.

‡ *Ibid.* May 22.

tiently. "He seemed resolved," says Burnet, "not to be governed by French counsels." He gave out that he would cultivate the friendship of the Prince of Orange and the United Provinces. The courtiers said that a prince now ruled who would make France as dependent on England as England had been dependent on France. Louis slyly said that "for all the high things given out in his name, the king of England was willing to take his money, as well as his brother had done." \*

The Parliament assembled on the 19th of May. Under the Stuarts there had been a vast increase of the Peerage. In the reign of James the Second there were fifteen dukes and duchesses, two marquises, sixty-seven earls and countesses, nine viscounts, and sixty-six barons and baronesses, making a total of one hundred and fifty-nine. Eighty years before, there was no duke, only one marquis, about nineteen earls, three or four viscounts, and forty lords.† The learned Doctor of Laws, from whose Court Calendar we derive this information, estimates that through luxury, licentiousness, and want of fit education, "it was lately difficult to find, as some are bold to affirm, the courage, wisdom, justice, integrity, honour, sobriety, and courtesy of the ancient nobility." Of the riches of the Peerage he has no doubt. He computes the yearly revenue of all England to be about fourteen millions, and assigns one eleventh of the whole to the nobility. Including twenty-five spiritual Peers (the see of York was vacant), there were a hundred and eighty-one Lords of Parliament. The number of Members of the House of Commons was five hundred and thirteen.‡ From the printed List of Members, it appeared that there were not more than a hundred and thirty-five who had sat in former parliaments.§ The Whig majority was gone. The country gentlemen, whether Whig or Tory, who were returned for the Counties, were a weak minority compared with the representatives of the newly chartered Corporations. The composition of the House of Commons was such that it would have been difficult for the people to over-estimate the extent to which their so-called representatives would go in placing the property and liberty of the country at the feet of the king. The language of James, in his Speech from the Throne, argues an undoubting confidence in the machinery which he had procured for obtaining a large revenue,

\* Burnet.

† Chamberlayne, "Present State of England," 1687, Part I. p. 285.

‡ *Ibid.*, Part II. p. 91.

§ Evelyn, May 22.

and for enforcing a due compliance with his projects for restoring the influence of his own religion. He repeated not only the substance, but the exact words, of the speech which he had addressed to the Privy Council on the day of his accession; "the better," said the king, "to evidence to you that I spoke then not by chance." In demanding the settlement of the Revenue for his life, for the many weighty necessities of government, he added these words, "which I must not suffer to be precarious." Mr. Fox has pointed out that "in arguing for his demand, as he styles it, of revenue, he says, not that the *Parliament* ought not, but that *he* must not suffer the well-being of the government, depending upon such revenue, to be precarious; whence it is evident, that he intended to have it understood that, if the Parliament did not grant, he purposed to levy a revenue without their consent."\* Think not, says the incipient despot, that you are to supply me with a little money from time to time, out of your inclination to frequent parliaments. "This would be a very improper method to take with me. The best way to engage me to meet you often is always to use me well." And the whole House of Commons, with one exception, were awed by the "*vultus instantis tyranni*"—and voted unanimously that the grant of revenue should be for life. The one bold member was sir Edward Seymour, a Cavalier of the staunchest breed. He did not oppose the grant, but he maintained that the first thing to do was to ascertain who were legal members of the House. This was more especially a duty, he said, when the laws and religion of England were in evident peril. No member dared to follow up this attack of a man whose high ancestry gave a special impulse to his proud courage. The members of this Parliament "were neither men of parts nor estates; so there was no hope left of either working on their understandings, or of making them see their interest in not giving the king all at once. . . . There was no prospect of any strength in opposing anything that the king should ask of them."† An attempt was made a few days later, to obtain some security in the matter of religion; by passing a resolution in Committee "to assist and stand

\* Fox, "James II."

† Burnet. The writer, David Hume, who has had the chief direction of the English historical mind for nearly a century, had the impudence to fabricate a debate in the House of Commons for this occasion, in which he makes the opposers of the grant use arguments well worthy of a free and enlightened assembly. Mr. Fox pointed out that this was a pure invention, utterly unsupported by any contemporary writers, or even by tradition.

by his majesty, according to our duty and allegiance, for the support and defence of the reformed religion of the Church of England, as now by law established." This was a great deal more than his majesty desired. Nor was a concurrent resolution less unpalatable,—that the House be moved to make an humble Address to his majesty, to publish his royal Proclamation "for putting the laws in execution against all Dissenters whatsoever from the Church of England." Barillon, the French ambassador, writes that these votes gave great offence to the king and queen, and that orders were issued to the Court members to get rid of them. When the House had to decide upon the resolution of its Committee, the previous question was moved; and it was resolved, unanimously, "That this House doth acquiesce, entirely rely, and rest wholly satisfied, in his majesty's gracious word, and repeated declaration, to support and defend the religion of the Church of England, as it is by law established, which is dearer to us than our lives."

There were two remarkable trials at this period, which must have had a considerable influence upon public opinion. The one was the prosecution of Titus Oates for perjury; the other the prosecution of Richard Baxter for libel. Of the justice of the conviction of Oates there can be little doubt. The atrocious severity of his punishment was to gratify the revenge of the Roman Catholics, who crowded Westminster Hall on his trial, on the 7th of May. The chief witness to the Popish Plot had long been lying in prison, heavily ironed, in default of payment of the excessive fine imposed upon him on his conviction for libelling the duke of York. He had been accustomed to browbeat juries, and to be lauded to the skies by judges. He had now to bear all the tyrannous invective which judges thought it decent to use in state prosecutions; and, what to his unabashed impudence was far more terrible, he was to be pilloried in Palace Yard, and at the Royal Exchange. He was to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, and then again to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. He was to be imprisoned for life. He was to stand in the pillory five times every year. His conviction, says Reresby, "was a grateful hearing to the king." His majesty said "that Oates being thus convicted, the Popish Plot was dead." Reresby is proud of his ready reply: "I answering, that it had long since been dead, and that now it would be buried, his majesty so well approved of the turn, that going with him afterwards to the princess of Denmark, I heard



him repeat it to her." \* Whilst the small joke was circulating about the Court, the wretched Oates was tortured in a way which even the haters of his perjuries must have thought excessive. He was flogged at the cart's tail on the first day, almost to death. Intercession was made to the king to remit the second flogging. The answer was, "he shall go through with it, if he has breath in his body." He did go through with it, and survived even seventeen hundred lashes. It is clear that the judges meant him to be flogged to death. He could not be executed for his offence; but he could be subjected to the torments of a lingering execution. Flogging, under the government of James the Second, became a favourite punishment. Another of the plot witnesses, Dangerfield, was scourged for a libel, and he died. His death was laid upon a violent man who struck him with a cane, injuring his eye, as he was carried in a coach back to Newgate after his flogging; and that man, Francis, was hanged for murder. The lacerated body of Dangerfield showed that the brutal assault of Francis was a secondary cause of Dangerfield's death.

If Titus Oates was unmercifully scourged for the satisfaction of the Papists, Richard Baxter was harassed, insulted, fined, and imprisoned, for the terror of the Puritans. Baxter was tried for a seditious libel, contained in his Paraphrase on the New Testament, in which he somewhat bitterly complained of the wrongs of the Dissenters. Baxter's counsel moved for a postponement of the trial. "I would not give him a minute more to save his life," exclaimed the brutal Chief Justice: "Yonder stands Oates in the pillory, and if Baxter stood by his side the two greatest rogues and rascals in England would be there." The trial, if trial it could be called, went on. The barristers who defended the venerable man, now in his seventieth year, were insulted by the ermined slave of the Crown. Baxter himself attempted to speak, and he was thus met by Jeffreys: "Richard, Richard! dost thou think we will hear thee poison the court? Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; every one is as full of sedition (I might say treason), as an egg is full of meat; hadst thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years ago it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the gospel of peace, and thou hast one foot in the grave; it is time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give; but leave thee to thyself, and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast be-

\* "Memoirs," p. 299.

gun ; but, by the grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of the mighty Don ; and a doctor of the party [looking to Dr. Bates] at your elbow, but by the grace of Almighty God I will crush you all." \* The famous non-conformist,—he who, in the earnestness of his piety and the purity of his life, was unsurpassed by the greatest of the great divines of the English Church from which he differed so little,—was of course found guilty. He was surrounded by friends and admirers, who wept aloud. "Snivelling calves !" exclaimed Jeffreys. He was anxious, it is said, that the prisoner should be whipped at the cart's tail, but that was overruled by three other judges. Baxter was unable to pay his fine of five hundred marks, and he remained in prison for eighteen months ; when his pardon was obtained.

The king, in his speech to the two Houses on the 23d of May, informed them that he had received news that morning from Scotland, that Argyle had landed in the West Highlands, with men from Holland. The Houses sympathised with the king in his anger that Argyle had charged him with "usurpation and tyranny." The earl had been three years and a half in Holland, an exile under his unjust sentence. Many who had fled from the oppressions exercised upon the Presbyterians had gathered around him. He was the natural leader in any open resistance ; for five thousand of his vassals would immediately flock to his banner, and with the Covenanters in the western counties would form a considerable army. The duke of Monmouth had seen Argyle, and had been pressed by him to make a simultaneous attempt to raise an insurrection in England. Argyle was fully prepared with money and with arms. He had with him, to support the cause of his Church, men of rank and influence. Monmouth had made no preparations, and had very slight means of making any ; and his supporters were not men on whom great reliance could be placed. But Monmouth's adherents had this advantage over the followers of Argyle—they were not jealous of entrusting authority to one hand ; they were not distracted by minute differences, as the Covenanters had ever been distracted. Reresby says that at the beginning of May the government had "advice that a store of arms had been bought up in Holland and conveyed to Scotland ;" and that Argyle and lord Grey, and even Monmouth, had gone with them. James had desired that the

\* "State Trials."

States of Holland should interfere to prevent any expedition sailing from their ports. The prince of Orange, it is alleged, was anxious to meet the wishes of his father-in-law, who had manifested some disposition to throw off his dependence upon France. But the authorities of the United Provinces were very slow in the exercise of their divided responsibilities; and three ships, in one of which Argyle was on board, sailed out of the Zuyder Zee on the 2nd of May. Monmouth and Grey were not with him. They remained to prepare for their own desperate adventure.

From the very first the expedition of Argyle was conducted with an imprudence which was the result of indecision. At Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, two men were allowed to go on shore. They were arrested; and the news of the armament quickly reached Edinburgh, whilst Argyle was lingering on the coast to obtain the release of his men. When he reached Lorn, and his son went on shore to summon the clans to gather round their chief, no person of mark came to join in the war-cry of the Campbells. Many humble vassals, however, assembled at Tarbet. Here the counsels of the insurgents became more dangerously opposed to any plan of concentrated action. Argyle wished to make a stand in his own Highlands. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane were for marching into the western Lowlands. The army divided. A squadron, bound for Ayrshire, sailed up the Clyde; and Cochrane, having landed at Greenock, was convinced of the hopelessness of an attempt to rouse the population into revolt. Argyle was now in the isle of Bute and Cochrane returned to him. After various encounters with the king's troops, Argyle was marching upon Inverary, when the Lowlanders of his army refused to advance into the Highlands. He then, with a greatly reduced number of followers, moved to Dumbartonshire, intending to march for Glasgow. Meanwhile his ships had been taken, and the stores which he had disembarked were also lost. Disaster followed upon disaster. When the rebel army crossed the Leven they were surrounded by the royal troops. It was determined not to risk an engagement, but to advance upon Glasgow by a night march. They mistook their course. The little army was reduced by desertion to a few hundred men. Their leaders fled. Argyle, disguised as a peasant, was at last captured in the manner quaintly described by lord Fountainhall: "Argyle himself, being alone on a little pony, was overtaken by two men of sir John Shaw's, who would have had his pony to carry their baggage; whereupon he fired a pistol at them,

for he had three on him, whereof I have two, which I got from his son-in-law, the second marquis of Lothian; and thereafter took the water of Inchinan. But a webster, dwelling there, hearing the noise, came with a broadsword." The weaver would not quit Argyle, though the other two men would have let him go for gold; and finally "the webster gave him a great pelt over the head with his sword, that he damped him so that he fell into the river, and in the fall cried, 'Ah, the unfortunate Argyle!'" His fate was now sealed. He was conducted to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh. The same humiliations were inflicted upon him as were inflicted upon Montrose. It was determined to execute him, without any further trial, under the flagitious sentence that had condemned him to death in 1681. All the innate nobleness of his character was developed in these his last hours of misery. He was threatened with torture; but he refused to criminate any of his friends. He made no supplications for mercy, but he prepared himself for the scaffold, with the proud consciousness that he fell in a good cause, and with the calm fortitude of an undoubting faith. The placid sleep of the prisoner as the hour approached in which he was to die—that sleep which the apostate who gazed upon him could scarcely hope again to enjoy—is a worthy subject for the historical painter, and it has been worthily treated by a living artist.

On the 14th of June Evelyn makes the following entry in his 'Diary':—"There was now certain intelligence of the duke of Monmouth landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire." The fact had been communicated to Parliament the day before. At daybreak of the 11th of June, three vessels were descried in the deepest part of the bay; and at a creek five miles east of Lyme, three persons landed, and proceeded to White Lackington House, near Ilminster. This was the scene of Monmouth's first progress. The surveyor of the port of Lyme, in the discharge of his official duty, put off in a boat to visit the three vessels. He was conducted to the duke; was civilly treated; but was not allowed to depart till late in the day. The surveyor belonged to a club, who met weekly to play at bowls and to dine. The members grew alarmed at their friend's absence. The post came in at five o'clock, and brought a newspaper, giving an account of three ships having sailed from a port in Holland. The alarm increased. The mayor and burgesses went on the cliffs to watch the suspicious vessels. They talked of firing a great gun, but they had no powder or shot. It was now near sunset; and the terrified magistrates saw the king's revenue boat, with three other

boats, filled with men, rowing in-shore. The men landed. The few borough militia ran away. Some of the townsmen cried "A Monmouth! A Monmouth! The Protestant religion!" Before night-fall the duke's standard was set up in the Market Place of Lyme, and a declaration was read. Monmouth had landed with only eighty-three followers.\*

The alacrity of the two Houses of Parliament to support the king "against James duke of Monmouth, his adherents and correspondents," was manifested in a spirit of ultra-loyalty. Without the slightest evidence, beyond that of the mayor of Lyme, who had posted to London with his news, they passed in one day a Bill of Attainder against Monmouth; and they passed another Bill "for the preservation of his majesty's royal person and government," in which, to assert the legitimacy of Monmouth, or to propose in Parliament any alteration of the succession to the crown, were made high treason. The duke's Declaration was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. A supply was voted to the king to meet the charges attending this rebellion, and the Lords and Commons were dismissed to their respective counties, by adjournment. The Declaration issued by Monmouth asserted the great principle that "Government was originally instituted by God, and this or that form of it chosen and submitted to by men, for the peace, happiness, and security of the governed, and not for the private interest and personal greatness of those that rule." It accused the existing government of attempting to turn "our limited Monarchy into an open Tyranny," and to undermine "our Religion by Popish Councils." It declared that "the whole course and series of the life of the present Usurper hath been but one continued conspiracy against the reformed Religion and rights of the nation." It then accused the duke of York of having contrived the burning of London; of having fomented the Popish Plot; of having assassinated the earl of Essex; of having poisoned his own brother, the late king. It was not a wise Declaration. The violence which stimulated the passions of the ignorant was offensive to the reflecting and the moderate. There was no possibility of accommodation, when it was declared that the sword should not be sheathed till the reigning monarch was brought to condign punishment. In asserting his own legitimacy, and his consequent right to be king of England, the adventurer first said that he would leave

\* From a MS. in the British Museum, written by Samuel Dassell, a Customhouse-officer of Lyme, abstracted in Mr. Roberts' "Life of Monmouth," vol. i. p. 220.

his claims to be decided by a free Parliament. In a subsequent manifesto he took other ground. Rash and impolitic as were many parts of Monmouth's Declaration—"full of much black and dull malice," as Burnet describes it—there were others besides the clowns and mechanics of the western shires who regarded "the Protestant duke" as their deliverer. The Independents of Axminster recorded in their "Church Book" their hopes "that the day was come in the which the good old Cause of God and religion, that had lain as dead and buried for a long time, would revive again." \* The fervid expectations excited by the landing of Monmouth were not entirely local in their character. Daniel Defoe, then twenty-four years of age, joined the blue banner of the duke, in the confidence that he came to do battle for civil and religious liberty. Defoe subsequently recorded some of the incidents of this short warfare—happily the last occasion in which Englishmen had to meet Englishmen in a deadly encounter for great principles.

A royalist force had collected at Bridport, and Monmouth resolved to attack them. He had landed from his ships four pieces of cannon. He had fifteen hundred suits of defensive armour, a small number of muskets, carbines, and pistols, and about a thousand swords and pikes. On the day after his landing, he had a thousand foot under his command, and a hundred and fifty horse. On that day dissension broke out amongst his followers. The celebrated Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, who was in command of Monmouth's horse, had received an insult from Thomas Dare, one of Monmouth's followers, who had been a goldsmith at Taunton; and the fiery Scot shot the Englishman, who instantly died. Such summary vengeance was unsuited to the national character, and Fletcher was obliged to fly to Monmouth's ship. This was an ominous commencement. On the 14th Lord Grey marched to Bridport; fought with the militia there; and then retreated in disorder to Lyme. In spite of quarrels and disasters numerous recruits flocked to Monmouth's head-quarters at the George inn at Lyme—an antique hostelry, which was burnt down about forty years ago. The duke of Albemarle, Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire, marched from Exeter, with four thousand of the trained bands. On the 15th he was met at Axminster by a large body of the insurgents. He thought it judicious to retreat. His men were not staunch. They threw away their arms and clothes; and the road to Exeter was free to Monmouth. He was satisfied to march to

\* Roberts, vol. i. p. 232.

Taunton, which he reached on the 18th of June. Situate in a valley of unrivalled fertility, and abundantly prosperous in its serge manufacture, Taunton had long been conspicuous for its resolute adherence to the old spirit of puritanism. Oppressed as was its dissenting population under the various Statutes against Non-conformists, the principle of resistance was not extinguished amongst them. Their pulpits were burnt; they evaded the statutory penalties for non-attendance at church, by joining in the Liturgy beneath the tower of St. Mary Magdalen. But this was only surface obedience. Monmouth approached the town, and found that the population had possessed themselves of the arms stored in the belfrey of their church, ready for his service. Hundreds went out to meet their idol. They thronged around him in their narrow streets, every man with a green bough in his hat. The ways were strewed with flowers; the windows were hung with garlands; maidens of good families went in procession to offer him twenty-seven standards which they had worked with their own hands. One of them was "The Golden Flag," embroidered with J. R., and a crown. This reception at Taunton probably decided Monmouth to proclaim himself King. That resolve was not in accordance with his first Declaration. It was offensive to many of his followers, who cherished the notion of a republic. Welwood says, "Ambitious he was, but not to the degree of aspiring to the Crown, till after his landing in the West; and even then he was rather passive than active in assuming the title of King. It was impetuosity alone that prevailed with him to make that step; and he was inflexible, till it was told him, that the only way to provide against the ruin of those that should come in to his assistance, in case he failed in the attempt, was to declare himself king; that they might be sheltered by the Statute made in the reign of Henry VII., in favour of those that should obey a king *de facto*."\* This forced application of the statute of Henry VII. was altogether fallacious. Monmouth was himself too ready to forget its real meaning. Had Monmouth been king *de jure*, James was king *de facto*. And yet Monmouth proclaimed the adherents of James as rebels and traitors. The assumption of the regal title secured Monmouth no real accession of strength. Not a nobleman joined him; not even any head of a rich and influential Whig family. His pretensions were ridiculed even by those of the higher classes who had no affection for the existing government. He issued Proclamation after

\* "Memoirs," p. 148.

Proclamation, "from our camp at Taunton, in the first year of our reign." The Assembly sitting at Westminster, voting and acting as a Parliament under the usurper, James duke of York, were desired to disperse, under the penalties of treason. All who collected and levied taxes for James duke of York were declared to be rebels and traitors. Christopher, duke of Albemarle, and his adherents, "now in arms at Wellington," were to be pursued as rebels and traitors. Monmouth marched out of Taunton on the 22nd of June. Albemarle marched into Taunton on the 23rd. He immediately wrote a few brief words to Sunderland: "I came hither this night, where I found these several Proclamations, which I send to your lordship only for your diversion." \*

Monmouth marched from Taunton to Bridgewater with six thousand men. Many were armed with scythes, fixed on upright handles. This rustic weapon was so important, that warrants were issued to the tything-men "to search for, seize, and take all such scythes as can be found in your tything, paying a reasonable price for the same." † The large numbers that gathered round Monmouth's standard was rather an embarrassment than an aid. They could not be provided with arms. They were a burthen upon the country through which they marched. But the general disposition of the humbler ranks of people to join Monmouth is evident from this fact: the Lords Lieutenant were ordered to call out the Militia, not so much to oppose the duke, "as to hinder the country from flocking in to him; for the king could have little confidence in the Militia of those parts, who were framed, to be sure, of the same mould and temper of their neighbours, who so readily had joined the invader." ‡ On the 22nd of June the insurgents had marched to Glastonbury. The monastic ruins, and the churches, gave shelter to the wearied men, who had travelled through a swampy district under a drenching rain. The next day they had reached Shepton Mallet. The object of the march was to attack Bristol. On the 25th they crossed the Avon at Keynsham. The night before, a ship had taken fire at the quay at Bristol. It was afterwards alleged against the Bristowans that they had fired the ship as a signal to the rebels. They were suspected by the authorities, for the duke of Beaufort, having a considerable body of Gloucestershire train bands with him at Redcliffe Mead, threatened to fire the city if they afforded any aid to Monmouth. ~ The king's forces now sur-

\* Ellis, "Original Letters," First Series, vol. iii. p. 340.

† Roberts, vol. i. p. 328.

‡ "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 29.



rounded the insurgents. They became irresolute ; and marched away to Bath. Monmouth grew dejected. The large reward of five thousand pounds had been proclaimed for "any who should kill him."\* He was deeply mortified at the manifest unwillingness of the country gentlemen to engage in his support. He expected some of the royal army to come over to him. He had himself commanded a regiment, and was personally beloved. But those who knew him best knew the weakness of his character. He was brave in the field ; but he had none of those high qualities which fitted him to contend, even with the enthusiastic support of large bodies of people, against the organised power of a government that was capable of inspiring dread if it failed to secure affection. Monmouth made no attack upon Bath, which had a strong garrison. He marched to Philip's-Norton, half way between Bath and Frome. On the morning of the 27th the advanced guard of the king's army, under the earl of Feversham, was close to the insurgents. That guard was commanded by the duke of Grafton, the youngest of the illegitimate sons of Charles the Second. Through a narrow lane which led into Philip's-Norton, Grafton led his grenadiers against his eldest half-brother. A barricade stopped their progress ; and Monmouth attacked them in flank. Grafton cut his way through ; and got back to the main body of the royal army. There was fighting for several hours ; and the cause of the insurgents was strengthened by the proof, that, raw and undisciplined as they were, they could stand up against regular troops. The royal army retreated to Bradford. Defoe says, that if Monmouth had pursued his advantage, he would have gained a complete victory.† The same night the insurgent army marched, under incessant rain, to Frome. This night-march, and the morning engagement, greatly reduced the number of Monmouth's followers. Many had thought of the glories of war—of a pleasant march to London where their beloved duke would establish the liberties of his country, and reward his trusty friends. They had seen some of the dangers and miseries of real warfare, and they hastened to escape from them.

At Frome Monmouth heard of the defeat and capture of Argyle. At Frome there were no joyful congratulations as at Taunton ; for the earl of Pembroke had a few days before put down a popular demonstration of those termed in the London Gazette "the rabble."

\* Evelyn.

† Wilson, "Life of Defoe," vol. i. p. 108. Philip's-Norton is erroneously called Chipping-Norton, in the passage quoted by Wilson.

The prospects of Monmouth became more and more dark. He was advised, according to some authorities,—he himself meditated, according to other accounts,—to leave his followers to their fate, and escape to some foreign place of refuge. He had a devoted mistress to fly to, lady Wentworth, whose passionate attachment might console him for all the disappointments of his ambition. Lord Grey opposed this dastardly hope of the unhappy man, and he remained for a last struggle. At Wells his army had become unmanageable. They lived at free quarters, and attempted to deface the cathedral. On the 2nd of July they marched on towards Bridgewater. A deputation from the people of Taunton came now to entreat Monmouth not to return to their town. There were symptoms enough that his cause was now desperate. He had marched out of Bridgewater with a confident army on the 22nd of June. He was again at Bridgewater with a broken and dispirited force on the 4th of July. In these eleven days he had accomplished nothing. On Sunday, the 5th, the earl of Feversham, at the head of the royal army, entered the great moor, called King's Sedgmoor, which stretches in a south-easterly direction from below Bridgewater to Somerton. He encamped on this morass, on the west side of which flows the river Parret, and whose deep and broad ditches, called Rhines, and high causeways, showed how gradually the labour of man had converted this dismal swamp into a region comparatively fertile. In this ancient region of waters Alfred had found refuge in its Isle of Athelney. The names of the villages, compounded of "Zoy"—zee, sea—showed the maritime origin of the district. Feversham's horse were quartered in the village of Weston Zoyland. His infantry were under canvas. On that Sunday the determination was taken by the insurgent leaders to attack the king's army at night, to anticipate the expected assault of Feversham. Monmouth, says Defoe, "went up to the top of the steeple, with some of his officers; and viewing the situation of the king's army, by the help of perspectives, he resolved to make an attempt upon them by way of prevention. He accordingly marched out of the town in the dead of the night to the attack."\* Monmouth from the elevation of Bridgewater church could distinguish the regiment that he had once commanded. If he had these men with him, he exclaimed, he could not doubt of success. He had been told that the royal army was not entrenched. He saw a plain beneath him intersected by great ditches. He was promised to be led safely across them by guides.

\* "Tour through Great Britain," quoted by Wilson.

He would not take the direct road from Bridgewater to Weston Zoyland, but would advance along the Eastern Causeway, across the North Moor and the Langmoor, and surprise his sleeping enemies in their camp. By this circuitous route of six miles, Monmouth would avoid the royal artillery that commanded the direct road. But he had undertaken a night march of extraordinary difficulty. The biographer of Monmouth, whose local knowledge is evidently complete, says, "A guide was needed in the lanes, but was indispensable after the forces reached the open moor. Indeed, any person desirous of traversing the moor by daylight at the present time, would be glad of direction to make a way to the cradle bridges across the great drain or cut."\* The front of the royal army was covered by this great drain or cut, called the Old Bussex Rhine. It was filled by the recent heavy rains. Defoe, who may be regarded as an actor in these events, says of Monmouth, "Had he not, either by the treachery or mistake of his guides, been brought to an impassable ditch where he could not get over—in the interval of which the king's troops took the alarm by the firing of a pistol amongst the duke's men, whether also by accident or treachery is not known—I say, had not these accidents and his own fate conspired to his defeat, he had certainly cut the lord Feversham's army all to pieces."

The report of the pistol was heard in the royal camp. The mist lay heavy upon the moor, but the moon was at the full; and in the uncertain light a body of men was seen approaching. The alarm was sounded by the beat of drum. Grey had advanced with the cavalry; Monmouth was following at the head of the infantry. Suddenly the great Bussex Rhine intercepted their progress. Concealment was no longer possible. King Monmouth! was shouted, with the old rallying word of the Puritans, "God with us!" The king's troops fired across the ditch; and the untrained cavalry horses of the insurgents were scattered about the peat-moor. Monmouth came up to the edge of the Rhine; and shots were exchanged across that impassable ditch for some time. The whole royal army was now roused. Passing along the Weston Zoyland road they could soon be in the open plain. The sun was rising as the Life Guards scoured the moor, and the foot-guards and other regiments advanced in compact ranks. Monmouth fled from the field when he saw that his horsemen and his waggons had gone. The king's artillery was brought up, the bishop of Win-

\* Roberts, vol. ii. p. 63.

chester having applied his carriage-horses to drag the guns along the Bridgewater road. Yet the peasants and cloth-workers made a brave stand with their scythes and pikes. Their muskets were useless, for in vain they shouted "For God's sake, Ammunition!" Another race of hardy men stood their ground to the last. "The slain," says Evelyn, "were most of them Mendip miners, who did great execution with their tools, and sold their lives very dearly."

It is impossible to regard the fate of Monmouth without a large amount of commiseration. Bred up amidst all the follies and vices of a luxurious Court; pampered with every indulgence by his imprudent father; rendered independent at a very early age by marriage with a rich heiress; raised to the highest honours and employments; made the tool of a party, unqualified as he was for any consistent political action; bewildered with popular applause; he finally engaged in a desperate enterprise against a stern and relentless enemy. When he fled from the field of Sedgemoor, he had about him a pocketbook, in which there were certain entries which indicate that Charles the Second had a design to get rid of the control of the duke of York, and restore Monmouth to his former position. On the 16th of February is this expressive memorandum: "The sad news of his death, by L. O cruel Fate!"\* After his defeat there was no hope for Monmouth. The price set upon his head made escape from the kingdom almost impossible. Before four o'clock of that July morning the fugitives from the fatal moor were hiding in every ditch and every hovel from their pursuers. By six o'clock Monmouth, with Grey, and two or three others, was twenty miles from the field in which he had better have died fighting. They rode all day towards New Forest, till their horses were exhausted. Disguised as countrymen they proceeded on foot. Parties of militia were on the look-out on every side. Grey was taken early on the morning of the 7th, near Ringwood. Two men had been seen entering some enclosed grounds, intersected with hedges, some of the fields affording the shelter of standing crops, and some overgrown with fern and brambles. The two men were Monmouth and Busse, a German. The place was surrounded all night with soldiers, after a fruitless search. Early on the morning of the 8th Busse was discovered. The soldiers were stimulated to greater exertion by the announcement that the reward offered for Monmouth's apprehension would be divided amongst his captors. The unhappy man, worn out with fatigue, starving, was

\* Wellwood's "Memoirs," Appendix, xv.

found in a ditch, in the garb of a shepherd. The same pockets that held the raw pease which had been his only food, contained the George with which Charles had invested his first-born son. The prisoner was conveyed to Ringwood, about six miles distant from the field now known as Monmouth's Close. The real character of him who had led so many devoted followers to ruin was now displayed. He did not rise out of misfortune a nobler man, as Argyle had risen. His first act was to write an abject letter to king James, expressive of remorse for the wrongs he had done him. He had assured the prince and princess of Orange that he would never stir against his majesty, but horrid people had led him away with false arguments. He could say many things to move compassion, but he only begged to have the happiness to speak to the king, for he had that to say which he hoped would give his majesty a long and happy reign. He had one word to say of too much consequence for him to write. After remaining at Ringwood two days, Monmouth and Grey were conducted to London under a strong escort. They were three days on the road. Monmouth was prostrated by his fears; Grey was unmoved by his impending danger. Arrived at Whitehall, a scene ensued which the French ambassador, Barillon, considered opposed to the ordinary usage of other nations. The sovereign saw the prisoner whose life he had determined not to spare. Monmouth was brought pinioned into his uncle's presence. "He fell upon his knees, crawling upon them to embrace those of his majesty; and forgetting the character of a hero, which he had so long pretended to, behaved himself with the greatest meanness and abjection imaginable, omitting no humiliation or pretence of sorrow and repentance, to move the king to compassion and mercy." This is the account given upon the supposed authority of king James's papers. It is not contradicted by other narratives. The mean motive of the king in granting an audience which in ordinary cases implied a pardon, is exhibited in this statement: "There appearing no great matters of discovery, there was no advantage drawn to either side by this unseasonable interview."\* The "one word," if spoken, was of no avail to save the prisoner's life.

Detailed narratives of executions for State offences occupy a considerable portion of most English histories; and, we presume, they are attractive to the general reader. Whether those who died by the axe under Plantagenet, Tudor, or Stuart, were innocent or

\* "Life of James II.," vol. ii., p. 36.

guilty, were of pure or corrupt lives, the fortitude with which they looked death in the face—without shrinking even from the disgusting preparations for the barbarities that accompanied death for high treason—is an almost universal characteristic of their untimely ends. The abjectness which Monmouth displayed when he deluded himself with hopes of life, appeared to the French ambassador very different to the ordinary fortitude of Englishmen. Monmouth, however, recovered his courage when the last great trial was at hand. He had seen his wife in the presence of lord Clarendon, on the Monday when he was committed to the Tower. He saw her again on the Wednesday of his execution. The nature of these interviews is perhaps correctly given by Evelyn, who says that the duke received his duchess “coldly, having lived dishonestly with the Lady Henrietta Wentworth for two years.” The duchess was far more affected than her husband; but he showed a proper consideration for her future safety by maintaining that she had been averse to his behaviour towards the late king, and knew nothing of the circumstances of his recent attempt. In his prison, and on the scaffold, Monmouth was attended by the bishop of Ely and the bishop of Bath and Wells. The conduct of these prelates, Turner and Ken, towards the unhappy man has been compared to that of “fathers of the Inquisition.”\* On the other hand it has been said, “they appear to have only discharged what they considered a sacred duty.”† They pressed him to acknowledge the doctrine of Non-Resistance to be true, if he were of the Church of England. He would do no more than acknowledge the doctrines of the Church of England, in general. Again and again he was exhorted to a positive declaration upon this point. Upon one subject his opinions were singularly illustrative of his defective moral training. He maintained that his intercourse with lady Wentworth was not sinful; for she had reclaimed him from licentiousness, and their mutual attachment was profound and enduring. His disrespect for the conjugal tie was considered by the prelates as a reason for not administering the Sacrament to one so imperfectly repentant. He was urged to speak to the soldiers, and say that he stood there, a sad example of rebellion. He was urged to entreat the soldiers and the people to be loyal and obedient to the king. His answer was emphatic: “I have said I will make no speeches: I will make no speeches: I come to die.” His death was a horrible butchery, through the

\* Roberts.

† Macaulay.

unskilfulness of the executioner. The multitude around, who, for the most part, regarded the duke as martyred for the Protestant religion, yelled with fury when they saw their idolised favourite thus mangled; and as they dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, the thought must have crossed many minds that the day would still come when new Monmouths should arise, to uphold the Cause with happier results.

One of the dying man's answers to the questions with which he was assailed was expressive of his consistent humanity: "Have you not been guilty," he was asked, "of invasion, and of much blood which has been shed?" He replied, "I am sorry for invading the kingdom and for the blood that has been shed." Again pressed upon this matter, he said, "What I have done has been very ill; and I wish with all my heart it had never been. I never was a man that delighted in blood: I was very far from it." Could the soft hearted Monmouth have looked forward to the slaughters that were still to be perpetrated upon his poor followers, he would have had still heavier reason for lamenting his brief career of civil warfare. It is horrible to know that a king sat upon the English throne, in times not barbarous, who could command and sanction the execution of nearly four hundred of his subjects for their rash participation in a sudden revolt. It is still more odious to know that, not two centuries ago, there was an English judge so eager for bloodshed, and English juries so awe-stricken, as to condemn three hundred and thirty-one persons to the death of traitors, during one terrible Assize. In addition to those who suffered the extreme penalty, eight hundred and forty-nine of the insurgents were transported; and thirty-three were fined or whipped. The record of such circumstances is chiefly valuable to show us the nature of the tyranny from which we have escaped. The professional atrocities of a colonel Kirke, however exaggerated, were natural results of the uncontrolled power of a brutal captain of a brutal soldiery. The calculating barbarities of a Chief Justice Jeffreys, under the forms of law, exhibit the excesses of an authority far more dangerous to freedom than the passing inflictions of drum-head tyranny. When Kirke and his officers sit carousing at the White Hart at Taunton: and at every toast of the drunken crew a prisoner was hanged up for their merriment, and the drums were ordered to beat to give the quivering limbs music for their dancing,—we trace the degradation of the unchristian warriors, who brought the habits of their warfare with barbarians to be the

scourges of their own countrymen. But when the Chief Justice of England strains every faculty of his depraved intellect to procure the condemnation of a lady, whose only crime was giving a meal and a lodging to two fugitives, we may well believe that there is no more direct evidence of the fatal course of arbitrary power than its capacity to make the sword of Justice a far more terrible weapon of oppression than pike or gun, and to degrade the head of a learned and liberal profession to an office lower than that of the hangman. The lady Alice Lisle, then seventy years of age, calmly slept at the bar while Jeffreys charged the jury against her with the vehemence of an advocate; and she went to the scaffold with a composure which her furious judge must have resented as the proof of his impotence to kill the soul. Alice Lisle was his first victim, and the only one at Winchester. Every exertion was made to obtain her pardon, but king James was inexorable. It was nothing to the revengeful Stuart that the venerable lady had been illegally convicted as an accessory in concealing a traitor, before the trial and conviction of the said traitor himself. It was enough that she was the widow of John Lisle, the member of the Long Parliament and of the High Court of Justice. Jeffreys only fleshed his fangs upon Alice Lisle. In Dorsetshire he executed seventy-four persons. In Devonshire a mere thirteen were put to death. In Somersetshire two hundred and thirty-three suffered all the barbarous punishments of high-treason. The pitch cauldron was constantly boiling in the Assize towns, to preserve the heads and limbs from corruption that were to be distributed through the beautiful western country. As the leaves were dropping in that autumn of 1685, the great oak of many a village green was decorated with a mangled quarter. On every tower of the Somersetshire churches a ghastly head looked down upon those who gathered together for the worship of the God of love. The directing post for the traveller was elevated into a gibbet. The labourer returning home beneath the harvest moon hurried past the body suspended in its creaking gimmaces (chains). The eloquent historian of this reign of terror has attested from his own childish recollections, that "within the last forty years peasants, in some districts, well knew the accursed spots, and passed them unwillingly after sunset." \*

The barbarous executions of this evil time can only be matched by the infamy of the great, in seeking to make a money advantage

\* Macaulay, vol. i. 8vo, p. 645.



in proportion to the number of prisoners to be transported. It was calculated that a thousand of these unfortunates were to be distributed amongst certain favoured persons; and Sunderland, writing to Jeffreys by order of the king, says, "the queen has asked for a hundred more of the rebels." They were to be sold by these merchants in human flesh for field labour in Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands. Jeffreys did not approve of this courtly generosity, that would assign to others the proper wages of the king and his instruments; and he writes to James, "I beseech your majesty that I may inform you that each prisoner will be worth ten pounds, if not fifteen pounds a-piece; and, Sir, if your majesty orders them as you have designed, persons that have not suffered in the service will run away with the booty."\* The most notorious of these transactions was that of the claim of the Maids of Honour to make a profit out of the pardon of the young girls of Taunton, who had presented the embroidered banners to Monmouth on the day of his triumphal entry. More than two thousand pounds were paid to these ladies of the queen of England, to avert a prosecution of the innocent children who had graced the procession of the handsome duke whom they were told was their rightful king.

Jeffreys returned from his bloody Circuit to be rewarded with the Great Seal. He boasted that he had hanged more for high treason than all the judges of England since William the Conqueror. In his proceedings he had a double gratification. He had a pleasure in hanging, and a more solid delight in reprieving. He sold his pardons for enormous sums; and he was enabled by his lawful earnings in this fattening time to purchase estates of the value of thirty-four thousand pounds.

\* Roberts, vol. ii. p. 241.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Tendencies to Absolutism.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—Meeting of Parliament.—James announces his appointments of Romish Officers.—Address of the Commons. Dissatisfaction of the Peers.—Parliament prorogued.—Trials for treason.—Repeated prorogations, and final dissolution of the Parliament.—Preponderance of the Jesuit party in the government.—Embassy to Rome.—Dispensing power of the king.—Court of King's Bench affirms the royal power to dispense with the Test Laws.—Roman Catholics appointed to benefices.—The Ecclesiastical Commission.—The bishop of London suspended from spiritual functions.—Monastic bodies settle in London.—Mass at Oxford.—Trial of the Rev. Samuel Johnson.—Massey, a Romanist, Dean of Christchurch.—Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge deprived.—Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, ejected.

WHEN the failure of Monmouth's expedition seemed almost inevitable, Louis the Fourteenth wrote to his ambassador in England, "there is every appearance that he will soon meet with the same fate as the earl of Argyle; and that his attempt will have served to render the king of England much more absolute in his kingdom, than any of his predecessors." Louis made this incontrovertible deduction from the whole course of history. Tyranny never learns moderation from the resistance which is made to it. The resistance must be strong enough to crush the tyranny, or the second state of the enslaved people will be far worse than the first. The attempt of Monmouth was premature. The nation had vague fears of the disposition of the government, but those fears were not sufficient to justify insurrection. The system of James was not at that time fully developed. The man who undertook to attack that system in its infant strength had not the confidence of the best part of the nation. Yet his rallying cry of "The Protestant Religion" might have convinced any ruler less blind and obstinate than James, that the principle which was sufficient suddenly to raise the industrious people of the western counties into an army of cloth-workers and miners,—to make the train-bands throw away their uniforms, and to leave it doubtful whether the militia would fight,—would, if provoked beyond a certain point, convert the whole nation into the opponents of the king. Fortunate was it for the future destinies of England that James the Second, who would have been the most dangerous of rulers a century earlier, was the

weakest of despots, in his utter ignorance of the new elements of society which had been called into real vitality during the struggles of his father. He was not wanting in ability and in decision of character; he was capable of serious application to business; he was not utterly prostrated by idleness and luxury as his brother was. But his personal merits were as the fuel to nourish the fire of his intense egoism. Every action of his life had reference to his personality. James, the king, was the one power in the State, that was to counterbalance every other power. If James, the king, could retain an Established Church, to proclaim his divine right to dispense with laws, and to share its honours and riches with the Romanists, till it should be wholly recovered to Rome, it were well. If James, the king, could maintain a large standing army, by the voluntary contributions of the people, it were well. But if Parliament should refuse supplies; if the Church should preach of the supremacy of the law over the will of the sovereign; if the people should murmur under a hated military domination,—then, Parliament should be dismissed; a High Commission should again purge the Church of all disloyalty; the soldiers should familiarise burgess and yeoman with the benefits of free quarters. James was not a man to accomplish such designs. He ran straightforward, snapping as the mad-dog runs and snaps, and of course had the same mad-dog ending, as a public enemy.

The Parliament was to meet on the 9th of November. Its meeting had been preceded by the dismissal of Halifax from his office of President of the Council. The king could not induce the ablest man of his time to fall into his own views as to the removal of the Test Act. The schemes of James were maturing; and he desired to be surrounded by ministers who would have no scruples in seconding them. The removal of the barriers which opposed the admission of Roman Catholics to office; the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act; and the establishment of a large Standing Army, were the objects to which the king devoted himself without reserve. The Jesuits urged on the king, persuading him that "the present juncture is the most favourable one that can be hoped for," to strengthen his authority. "But the opulent and settled Catholics are alarmed for the future, and apprehend a change which may ruin them." So wrote Barillon, the French ambassador. This juncture was not altogether the most favourable. That persecution of the Protestants in France which was carried into effect by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, took place in October. Under this

Edict the Protestants had lived undisturbed in the exercise of their religion. The Edict had been originally declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law. The most peaceful and industrious communities had flourished under this toleration ; and now the law was suddenly abrogated at the will of a despotic king, to whom the people were no more than the beasts of the field. Louis had long carried on a petty warfare against the Calvinists—interfering with education, seizing upon property, closing places of worship. But now, the Protestant religion was to be extirpated in France at one blow. The ministers of the reformed faith were suddenly banished or imprisoned ; children were taken away from their parents ; women were driven into nunneries ; dragoons were let loose upon the people, to pillage and to destroy. Burnet has described the horrible scenes of what he terms “one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history.” He says, “I went over the greatest part of France while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to Montpellier, and from thence to Lyons, and so to Geneva. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined ; for all men set their thoughts at work, to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns through which I passed, I heard the most dismal accounts of those things possible ; but chiefly at Valence, where one Derapine seemed to exceed even the furies of inquisitors. One in the streets could have known the new converts, as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their escape, and were seized (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontier of France), were, if men, condemned to the galleys ; and, if women, to monasteries. . . . The fury that appeared on this occasion did spread itself with a sort of contagion : for the intendants, and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity. The greatest part of the clergy, the regulars especially, were so transported with the zeal that their king shewed on this occasion, that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their king in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me.” The persecuted families carried their industry to other countries. To England they brought their silk trade ; and they taught us to make the hats which we had been accustomed to buy from France.

"The tyrant's revenue," says Evelyn, "was exceedingly diminished; manufactures ceased." At the moment at which the Protestant refugees were pouring into England, James was labouring to attain the same power that Louis had so wantonly exercised. There was no concealment about the matter. Evelyn writes, "I was shewed the harangue which the bishop of Valentia, on Rhone, made in the name of the Clergy, celebrating the French king, as if he was a God, for persecuting the poor Protestants; with this expression in it: 'That as his victory over heresy was greater than all the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, it was but what was wished in England; and that God seemed to raise the French king to this power and magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in doing the same here.' " \*

The king opened the Parliament with a bold declaration. The rebellion, he said, was suppressed, but the Militia was insufficient for such services. "There is nothing but a good force of well-disciplined troops in constant pay, that can defend us from such as, either at home or abroad, are disposed to disturb us." He had increased the number of that army. He asked for a supply answerable to the expenses of that force. "Let no man take exception, that there are some officers in the army not qualified, according to the late Tests, for their employments. The gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and having formerly served with me on several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their principles by their practice, I think them now fit to be employed under me." He was afraid, he declared, that some men might be so wicked as to hope and expect that a difference through this might happen between the Parliament and himself; but he did not apprehend that any such misfortune could happen as a division, or even a coldness; nor anything to shake their steadiness and loyalty to him. Up to a certain point the House of Commons would have borne anything. All the Municipal Corporations of England might be destroyed; corrupt juries might be terrified into false verdicts; judicial massacres might be perpetrated without rebuke; an alderman of London, Cornish, might be hanged at this very time upon the revived story of the Rye-House Plot; a poor widow, Elizabeth Gaunt, might be burnt at Tyburn for giving shelter to a rebel who afterwards betrayed her; there was no amount of Civil Despotism which a Parliament would not have sanctioned, and a Church declared righteous.—But to put the

\* "Diary," November 3.

power of the sword into the hands of Popish officers, and to ask the Protestant Commons to pay for this dangerous army, was something more than could be borne. We have happily lived to see these distinctions abolished; but it may be a question if English Protestantism could have ultimately shown its capacity for doing a tardy justice to Roman Catholics, if its most violent prejudices had not been roused at this season, and had not acquired a real strength and dignity by finding that the Cause of religion was also the Cause of liberty. The House of Commons, however the majority was composed of the nominees of the Court, was still penetrated with the old instincts of freedom. It hesitated about voting supplies, before considering the king's address. It beat the Court in a division of 183 against 182. It then, cautiously and timidly, gave the king to understand that he had committed an illegal act in appointing officers without their taking the test; and humbly hoped that "he would be graciously pleased to give such directions that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of his majesty's good and faithful subjects." He frowned upon the Commons. He did not expect such an Address. He had warned them against fears and jealousies. The reputation which God had blessed him with in the world ought to have created a greater confidence in him. The Commons were awe-struck by the threatening brow of this poor inflated creature. A country gentleman, Cook, of Derbyshire, said, he supposed they were all Englishmen, and not to be frightened from their duty by a few high words. The new-born independence of the House was laid low; and Cook was committed to the Tower for daring to say a word of implied reproach. But the spirit of resistance began to spread. The Peers manifested a deeper indignation against the violation of the Test Acts avowed in the royal speech, than the Commons had dared to exhibit. The sarcasm of Halifax was supported by the zeal of Compton, the bishop of London, and by the boldness of lord Mordaunt, afterwards the famous earl of Peterborough. The king was present at a great debate. Jeffreys, the Chancellor, attempted to carry the brutality of the Bench to his new position on the Woolsack. The presence of his master was not sufficient to protect him from the indignation of the proudest nobility of Europe. The government dared not divide upon the motion to take the king's speech into consideration; and the next morning the Parliament was prorogued, without any supplies having been voted.

We have now come to the end of the first Act of the Drama of the English Revolution. The king's manifestation of a temper to govern despotically, and of a design to force an obnoxious creed upon the nation, had been gradually becoming more evident. The suppression of Monmouth's rebellion had made him presumptuous. He had a large hereditary revenue, and he had obtained the vote for life of the most important imposts. He had established a powerful Standing Army, and his provident expenditure, amounting almost to parsimony, would enable him to maintain it. The judges were his creatures. The Church might be awed or cajoled into any practical acceptance of its favourite doctrine of non-resistance. From the time of this first dissension with the most obsequious Parliament that had sat since the early years of the Restoration, James manifested the most perfect reliance upon his own self-sufficient power. His nature could brook no opposition. He held to his purpose with a firmness that would have been admirable, if it had been the result of any other principle than that proud stupidity which could see no danger and accept no warning. Having dismissed the Parliament, he had a little more judicial business to accomplish. He pardoned Grey for his part in Monmouth's rebellion, because he could induce him to play the betrayer, having bought his life at a heavy money payment and the heavier price of his forfeited honour. Lord Gerard of Brandon, and John Hampden, were tried for their participation in the Rye-House Plot, upon Grey's confession. Their lives were spared. The earl of Stamford had been indicted upon the same charge; but the prorogation of Parliament prevented his trial before his peers. Lord Delamere was tried before the Court of the High Steward. Jeffreys, who presided, had used every means to obtain a conviction, by the selection of the triers from men opposed in politics to the prisoner, and he conducted himself on the trial with his usual coarse partiality. But Delamere was acquitted. The most courtly began to feel that enough vengeance had been taken for past offences. Lady Rachel Russell expressed the general sentiment when she wrote to her friend, "I do bless God that he has caused some stop to be put to the shedding of blood in this poor land."

England was again to be governed without a Parliament. After the prorogation of the 20th of November, 1685, it was twice prorogued in 1686, and twice in 1687; and it was dissolved by proclamation on the 2nd of July in that year. The course of the government towards arbitrary power is a flood which has no con-

stitutional barrier to prevent it devastating the land. Will the old sea-wall ever be built up again? A strong people is equal even to that work. A less vigorous race would have folded their hands, and have left their fairest possessions to the destroyer.

At the beginning of 1686, king James was steering his state-vessel, with a blind fatality, towards the inevitable Rapids. Prudent friends entreated him, while it was yet possible, to slacken sail; to tack; to veer round, or to seem to veer. Such counsel became offensive to him. His brothers-in-law, Clarendon and Rochester, were looked coldly upon, for they were stedfast in their adherence to their Protestant convictions. Sunderland became the prime adviser of the king, for he had consented to embrace Catholicism. Having impaired his fortune by habitual gambling, he shamelessly received a pension of twenty-five thousand crowns from the king of France to espouse his interests, and prevent the re-assembling of the Parliament. The minister and the king had now a common bond of union, in the purpose of degrading their country abroad and enslaving it at home. The Jesuits, with Father Petre as their great director, were now paramount in the government of England. The moderate Roman Catholics looked with apprehension upon the rashness by which the habitual temper of the nation might easily be lashed into fury. The ostensible ministers of James were divided into two parties. The real power was with the secret cabal of Sunderland and Petre. It was determined to send an ostentatious embassy to the Pope, to replace the modest agency with which the diplomatic business with the Court of Rome had been previously conducted. Lord Castlemaine, the husband of the duchess of Cleveland, one of the late king's mistresses, was appointed to this mission. The pontiff, Innocent XI., was not favourable to the Jesuits, and was opposed to the measures of the French king. Castlemaine was instructed to listen to the counsels of the General of the Jesuits and of the ambassador of France. The Pope sympathised with the feelings of the moderate English Catholics, who were satisfied to be unmolested without hoping to be paramount. The Rector of the Jesuits' College at Rome congratulated Castlemaine that the flourishing Imperial Crown of England was at length added to the Papal Diadem.\* The Pope's agent in England, Count d'Adda, had been instructed to solicit the intercession of James "with the French monarch, in favour of the French Protestants."† Although the

\* Wellwood, "Memoirs," Appendix xviii.

† Lingard.



king of England had at first exhibited some pity for the persecuted families who had sought shelter in his dominions, his real temper and views were now unmistakeably displayed. On the 5th of May, by the especial direction of the king in Council, and not without remonstrance from some of his counsellors, there was burnt at the Royal Exchange, by the common hangman, the translation of a small volume recently published on the continent. Evelyn describes this volume as "a translation of a book written by the famous Monsieur Claude, relating only matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous proceedings of the French king against his Protestant subjects." The book was burned "without any refutation of any facts therein." Evelyn adds, "So mighty a power and ascendant here had the French ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the nation, for the relief of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter." The disposition of "the nation" never presented the slightest obstacle to the egoism of the Stuarts; and they always had abettors, in such antiquated idolaters of royalty as sir John Bramston, who, now in his seventy-fifth year, being told that Claude's book had in it "expressions scandalous to his majesty the king of France," says, "if so, it was fitly burned, for all kings ought to be careful of the honour and dignity of kings and princes." \*

The time was close at hand when the old cry of the Cavalier, "Church and King!" would be uttered "with bated breath." The king and the church were not unlikely to dissolve that partnership which Strafford and Laud attempted to perpetuate; and for the maintenance of which the first Charles struggled at the risk of his crown and his life. The bishops, who had never ceased to preach the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and some of whom had been suspected of inclinations towards Popery, were now alarmed at the tendencies of the king. A brief had been ordered in Council for collecting contributions for the French refugees. The collection was put off, under various pretexts. Previous to the publication of the brief, Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, exerted his eloquence in expressing "detestation of the cruelties of the French, and exhorting to constancy in the Protestant religion. This sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a bishop who had undergone the censure of being inclined to Popery." † Other bishops manifested the same

\* "Autobiography," p. 228.

† Evelyn, "Diary," March 14.

spirit; which example was followed by many of the Anglican clergy. The king and his advisers would not be warned; but intimated to the archbishop of Canterbury that he must warn his clergy not to preach on the miseries which the bigotry of Louis had inflicted on his unhappy Protestant subjects. Such warning was a significant fact. The clergy were not propitiated by the intolerant resolution of the king that, in the distribution of alms to the refugees, the commissioners appointed to that duty should only relieve those who would conform to the Church of England, by receiving the sacrament according to its ritual. James was now resolved to bring to issue the question of the king's dispensing power—that is, of the right of the sovereign to abrogate express laws by the exercise of his prerogative. This prerogative had been exercised in the earliest times of the Constitution; but had gradually become more and more limited, as the legislative power had become more defined. It still continued to be exercised in matters of trifling import, and especially with regard to laws which had fallen into disuse. To admit this dispensing power as a general principle, applicable to all Statutes affecting the well-being of the community, would be to render the monarchy of England absolute. The Test Act had been passed, in direct opposition to the desire of Charles the Second, to prevent the admission of Roman Catholics to civil and military offices. James the Second openly proclaimed his design to render the Test Act nugatory by his dispensing power of admitting to all offices, secular or ecclesiastical. He had appointed sir Edward Hales, a Papist, to be governor of Dover Castle, and colonel of a regiment. He resolved to make an effort to have his dispensing power sanctioned by the Courts of Law. Four of the judges, although not opposed to the politics of the Court, remonstrated with the king on the illegality of his proposed measure; and they were dismissed from their offices. His Solicitor-General, Finch, held the same conviction; and he was also dismissed. Four subservient judges, and a crawling Solicitor, were appointed in their places. A collusive action was brought in the Court of King's Bench for the penalty incurred by sir Edward Hales, for not taking the Sacrament according to the Test Act. The information was laid by his own servant. The object of the action was to obtain an authoritative decision as to the legality of the plea of the defendant, that he was enabled to hold his commission by letters patent authorising him to do so notwithstanding the Test Act. The king's dispen-

sing power was now solemnly confirmed. "The new, very young, Lord-Chief Justice Herbert, declared on the bench, that the government of England was entirely in the King; that the Crown was absolute; that penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to bind the king's power; that he could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties; and why could he not dispense with them? By which [judgment] the Test Act was abolished. Every one was astonished."\* The Attorney-General, Sawyer, had refused to draw warrants, which the king required him to draw, by which members of the Church of Rome were authorised to hold benefices of the Church of England. The Solicitor-General was more obsequious. The warrants were issued. Under one, Edward Sclater, described by Evelyn as "an apostate curate of Putney," was enabled to hold two livings; and under another, Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, Oxford, who, from the accession of James, had been a declared Roman Catholic, and had been busily engaged in the work of conversion, was enabled to hold his office and his benefices. The king's design to sap the foundations, if not to destroy the whole edifice, of the Anglican Church, was now sufficiently manifest. One step remained to be taken. The powers of Ecclesiastical Supremacy which had been assumed at the Reformation for resisting the authority of Rome, were now to be adopted with renewed vigour for re-establishing that authority. James determined to create a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission—a Court modelled upon the Court of High Commission, which had been solemnly abolished at the Restoration.

The king, as the Head of the Church, had issued directions to the Clergy not to introduce into their pulpits any discussion upon doctrinal points which were matter of controversy. The whole question of the differences between the Anglican and the Roman Churches were to be excluded from the consideration of their congregations. A royal licence was granted to an apostate Protestant of the name of Hall, to be the King's Printer, for printing missals, lives of saints, and Roman Catholic tracts, whose publication was prohibited by various Acts of Parliament. The Protestant pulpit was to be silenced: the Papist pulpit was to be free. The Protestant press was to work under terror of venal judges and terrified juries; the Papist press was to be sanctioned by royal

\* Evelyn, "Diary," June 27.

licence. A divine of high reputation, Sharp, Rector of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields and Dean of Norwich, refused to submit to the decree that the clergy were not to preach upon controversial topics. One of his parishioners earnestly begged to be informed of the reasons upon which the Church of England rested its claims to be a true national Church, in opposition to the universal pretensions of the see of Rome. He expounded, as he was requested to do, the essential differences of doctrine and practice between the two Churches. Compton, the bishop of London, was required to suspend Dr. Sharp. He declined to do so; but he requested the offending Dean to suspend his preaching for a season. The Ecclesiastical Commission was now in force. Jeffreys, the Chancellor, to whom all religious and moral principle was a matter of indifference, was its president. Sancroft, the archbishop, would not act. The bishops of Durham and Rochester were more compliant. Sunderland, the new convert to Rome, and Herbert, the advocate of the dispensing power, were two other commissioners. The Protestant convictions of Rochester, another of the commissioners, were not strong enough to lead him to risk his loss of place. Compton was called before this partial and illegal tribunal. Jeffreys bullied him; but the bishop was firm. The one question was, why he had disobeyed the king? Conscience, duty, were of no avail in this Court. He was suspended from his spiritual functions. The Crown did not dare to seize his revenues; for the Courts of Law must have restored them.

The king has himself recorded some of the manifestations of his open encouragement of Roman Catholicism, which gave deep offence. His kingdom, he says, "grumbled at his taking the chapel of St. James into his own hands, which then lay useless; though to avoid all reasonable cause of complaint he took care to leave the chapel of Whitehall to the Protestants, and build one there from the ground for his own use. He settled fourteen Benedictine monks in that of St. James, and gave leave to the Jesuits to build one in the Savoy, and settled a College there for the education of children, in which they had so good success that in a little time there was at least two hundred Catholic scholars, and about as many Protestants, who were no ways constrained in their religion, or required to assist at mass or any of their public devotions."\* The chapel of Whitehall was opened with all the pageantry of the Romish ceremonial, at Christmas, 1686. A bishop was

\* "Life," vol. ii. p. 79. "His Own Papers."

consecrated on the 29th of December.\* He sat in his rich copes and wearing his mitre; Jesuits and priests stood around, "censing and adoring him;" the silver crozier was put in his hand, "with a world of mysterious ceremony." The worthy courtier, Evelyn, was astonished: "I could not have believed I should ever have seen such things in the king of England's palace." The Benedictine monks at St. James, the Jesuits' College in the Savoy, were only parts of a general system. The Franciscans had their chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the Carmelites settled in the city. The street presented the wondrous spectacles to English eyes of cowed and girdled friars mixing with the crowd; and exultingly telling the wonderers that "they hoped in a little time to walk in procession through Cheapside."† Such things could not be, without exciting the violent dislike of a populace that regarded Popery with the traditional hatred of a hundred and fifty years. Riots took place in London. The priests were insulted in their worship in new chapels in the country. The school of the Jesuits in the Savoy, and the schools which they had set up in various towns, obtained little favour from their being opened to children of Protestant as well as of Catholic parents. The dread of proselytism assumed a practical shape, in the rapid establishment of those Charity-schools throughout the land, to which popular education was almost wholly confined during the eighteenth century. The Jesuits' school in the Savoy gave the first impulse to private endowments of those metropolitan schools for the poor, whose children of both sexes now annually gather beneath the dome of St. Paul's, to unite their five thousand voices in the simple hymns of a devotion well adapted to the national character. The side-aisles of the great Protestant cathedral were appendages which James compelled Wren to introduce into his plan, in the hope that they might resound with the chants of Palestrina as the host was borne along amongst kneeling worshippers. Fortunate for our country that our forefathers preferred to join in Luther's Hymn! The opposition of the Protestant mind of the latter years of the seventeenth century to the secular teaching of the Jesuits was natural and inevitable. No consideration of their ability as teachers could disarm the suspicion that they sought to make converts, under the guise of affording instruction adapted to all churches and sects. The same doubts of all religionists who profess to be merely secular teachers still linger amongst us under other forms; and they will

\* Evelyn. "Diary."

† Welwood. "Memoirs," p. 173.

continue to prevail between Protestant and Catholic, Churchman and Dissenter, until Christian worship rests upon a broader foundation of Christian love.

The measures of the king became day by day more clearly directed to the gradual advancement, and ultimate supremacy, of his own creed. The popular discontent was growing serious. When the first Roman Catholic chapel was opened in the city, the train-bands hesitated to disperse the mob that insulted the priests. When Mass was first celebrated at University College, Oxford, in a chapel opened by Obadiah Walker, the dangers of the Church were proclaimed from pulpits in which it had been recently proclaimed that there was no danger and no sin to be compared to that of resistance to the divine authority of kings. The formation of a great camp on Hounslow Heath was naturally considered to be for the purpose of coercing a sinful generation, that obstinately refused to accept the gracious invitation to come back to the creed of Gardiner and Bonner. The ponderous folio of "Acts and Monuments" was again brought out, and mothers gathered their children around their knees to hear the sad stories of Rowland Taylor and Anne Askew. The camp at Hounslow was supposed to be the evidence that another time of fiery trial was at hand. "There were many jealousies and discourses of what was the meaning of this encampment," writes Evelyn. The Reverend Samuel Johnson chose to interpret its meaning, in his own incautious fashion. He had been in prison since his conviction in 1683 for writing "Julian the Apostate."\* A restless and dangerous man, Hugh Speke, was his fellow-prisoner; and in the spirit of mischief he excited Johnson to write an address to the troops encamped at Hounslow, which Speke undertook to get circulated. It was entitled "An humble and hearty address to all the Protestants in king James' army;" and, says the biographer of Mr. Johnson, "he exhorted the Protestant officers and soldiers not to serve as instruments to enslave their country, and to ruin the religion they professed"† Johnson was discovered as the author. He had the generosity not to implicate Speke, and he alone suffered. He was convicted, on the 16th of November, of a libellous publication, and was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and to be publicly whipped. According to one account, when sentence was pronounced he said, "You whip, upon my back, Acts of Parlia-

\* *Ante*, p. 290.

† "Memorials," p. xi.

ment and the Church of England.\* According to another account, when told by the judge to be grateful to the Attorney-General that he was not tried for high treason, he exclaimed, "Am I, when my only crime is that I have defended the Church and the laws, to be grateful for being scourged like a dog, while Popish scribblers are suffered daily to insult the Church, and violate the laws with impunity?" He was scourged like a dog; but previous to his punishment, he was stripped of his gown, by the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, Commissioners appointed for the diocese of London, during the suspension of Compton, the bishop. Johnson's cruel sentence was inflicted on the 1st of December, though strenuous endeavours were made to obtain a remission of the whipping. "The king was deaf to all entreaties: the answer was, that since Mr. Johnson had the spirit of martyrdom, 'tis fit he should suffer."† His biographer says of the courageous endurance of the suffering, "He observed afterwards to one of his most intimate friends, that this text of Scripture, which came suddenly into his mind, 'He endured the cross, and despised the shame,' so much animated and supported him in his bitter journey, that had he not thought it would have looked like vain-glory, he could have sung a psalm while the executioner was doing his office, with as much composure and cheerfulness as ever he had done in the church; though at the same time he had a quick sense of every stripe which was given him, with a whip of nine cords knotted, to the number of three hundred and seventeen."

In addressing the army of king James in a style which was an incentive to mutiny, Johnson went out of his province as a clergyman; and thus brought himself under the cognizance of a law which could scarcely be considered as arbitrary. The censorship of the press had been revived; and this Address to the Soldiers was one of the many publications that evaded all attempts at repression. One class of publications, however, the licensing system could not restrain—works of theological controversy. There were divines then in England who were fully equal to the task of defending their Church against the advocates of Rome, whose pamphlets, encouraged by the Court, and issued by its printer, were boldly denounced by Johnson upon his trial. In this controversy writers whose names live in honoured remembrance, ardently engaged—Sherlock and Tillotson, Stillingfleet and Prideaux. Such who filled the pulpits of London—others who were the ornaments

\* Bramston's "Autobiography," p. 249.

† "Memorials," p. xii.

of the Universities—had feeble opponents in the priests who addressed the learned in bad English, and sought to convert the multitude by legends of miracles, over which the shrewd artisan had his heartless laugh. The government could not touch the controversial pamphlets, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury was the Licenser. Disputants without a professional privilege could be either punished or frightened away. At Amsterdam, the amusing John Dunton tells us, he had the good fortune to meet with Doctor Partridge, "whose Almanacks had been so sharp upon Popery that England was too hot to hold him."\* But the contest soon grew beyond the skirmishes of a paper-war. Before the close of the year 1686, the king's determination to thrust Roman Catholics into the higher offices of the Church and the Universities, was manifested by the appointment of John Massey to the deanery of Christchurch, Oxford. This Romanist convert was installed without opposition, on the 29th of December. The success of this illegal act was encouraging. The fellowships of Oxford and Cambridge were as freeholders, held by Protestant tenure. No one could be admitted to a degree without taking those oaths which had been provided by Acts of Parliament to exclude Catholics from academical honours and offices. These Statutes king James resolved to violate. On the 7th of February a royal letter was sent to the authorities of the University of Cambridge, commanding that Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, should be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts. The authorities required the Benedictine to take the oaths. He declined, and left Cambridge, hinting at the consequences of a refusal to submit to the sovereign will. There was an awkward precedent for granting degrees to foreigners. The Secretary to the Ambassador of Morocco, a Mahometan, had received the Master of Arts' degree. Burnet points out that a proper distinction was made between strangers, whose degree was merely honorary, and those who would have a vote in convocation, as the king's priests would have, if admitted upon the royal mandate. The University was twitted with the obvious remark that a Papist was treated worse than a Mahometan. John Pechell, the Vice-Chancellor, had to endure an agonising conflict between obedience to the Statutes and obedience to the king. Learned dignitaries had been preaching and writing in support of the king's absolute power, and they were now to have a practical lesson of the real meaning of their doctrine. The terrified Vice-

\* Dunton's "Life and Errors," p. 210, 1705.



Chancellor writes to our old friend Samuel Pepys, to relate his misery under his dread sovereign's frown: "Worthy sir, 'tis extraordinary distress and affliction to me, after so much endeavour and affection to his royal person, crown, and succession, I should at last, by the providence of God, in this my station, be exposed to his displeasure."\* The "princely clemency" upon which the Vice-Chancellor desired to cast himself, was sought in vain. The Vice-Chancellor and the Senate were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission. Their judges were papists, or of papistical tendencies. Jeffreys, the Chancellor, to whom all principles were indifferent as long as he had the power to enforce arbitrary decrees by his own insolent demeanour, was the mouth-piece of this body. Pechell was frightened. The other delegates of the Senate in vain pleaded that they had acted in obedience to the laws. The Vice-Chancellor was deprived of his office, and suspended from the enjoyment of his revenue as Master of Magdalene College. The property-rights of the college, which were as sacred from any such interferences as the estate which Jeffreys had bought out of the price of his swindling pardons during his Bloody Campaign, were thus as openly violated as the Statutes of the realm.

Cambridge was subject to no further molestation. At Oxford it was concluded that the spirit of resistance might be easily kept down. Oxford had accepted a papist Dean of Christchurch. Oxford had suffered mass to be performed in two of its colleges. The noble institutions of Oxford might gradually be made as available for the advancement of Catholicism as the College of Douay, or the Jesuits' School in the Savoy. Had not Oxford, to use the words of Burnet, "asserted the king's prerogative in the highest strains of the most abject flattery possible, both in their addresses, and in a wild decree they had made but three years before this, in which they had laid together a set of such high-flown maxims as must establish an uncontrollable tyranny?"† Surely resistance would not come from Oxford, whatever might happen. There were premonitory symptoms that the spirit of English gentlemen would at length be roused out of the sleep of slavery. Obadiah Walker was insulted and ridiculed in his popish seminary. The undergraduates had long believed, as Colley Cibber represented his own school-boy belief in 1684: "It was then a sort of school doctrine to regard our monarch as a deity; as in the former reign it was to in-

\* Letter of February 23,—in the Pepys' Correspondence.

† "Own Times," Oxford edit. vol. iii. p. 146.

sist he was accountable to this world, as well as to that above him." \* The undergraduates of 1686 were a little veering round to this obsolete notion ; and in spite of the Oxford deification of James II. it was necessary to quarter a troop of dragoons in that loyal city, to allow "Ave Maria" to be sung in more than one chapel without interruption from the scurrilous songs of the street. The crisis was at hand. The presidency of Magdalen College was vacant. It was rumoured that Anthony Farmer was to be recommended by a royal letter. This man was not qualified by the Statutes of the College, the presidency being limited to fellows of Magdalen or of New College ; he was of notoriously immoral life ; he had become a pervert to Rome. The fellows of Magdalen remonstrated in vain against the probability of this indecent choice. The royal letter came. In the hope of some compromise the election was postponed till it could be postponed no longer. John Hough, a man worthy of the office, was elected. The fellows were cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission. They produced such proofs of Farmer's unfitness, that no attempt was made to enforce his election ; but that of Hough was declared void. In August a royal recommendation of Parker, bishop of Oxford, arrived. The fellows justly held that the right of election was in themselves ; that Hough was duly elected ; that the presidency was not vacant. The king had set out on a progress. On the 3rd of September he reached Oxford. He lodged at the deanery of Christchurch, and heard Mass in a chapel fitted up by the dean. The fellows of Magdalen College were sent for. William Blathwayte, the Clerk of the Council, writes to Mr. Pepys an account of what took place at this audience : "His Majesty being informed that the fellows of Magdalen College had refused to admit the bishop of Oxford to be their president in the stead of Mr. Farmer, sent for them yesterday, after dinner, to his anti-chamber in Christ-Church College, where his majesty chid them very much for their disobedience, and with much a greater appearance of anger than ever I perceived in his majesty ; who bade them go away immediately and choose the bishop of Oxford before this morning, or else they should certainly feel the weight of their sovereign's displeasure. The terms were to this effect ; and yet I hear this morning they have not obeyed his majesty's commands, the consequences of which I cannot yet learn." † The consequences were more full of peril to the threat-

\* "Apology for the life of Colley Cibber,"—edit. 1736, p. 23.

† Pepys' "Correspondence," September 5th, 1687.

ening tyrant, than to the fellows of Magdalen College. Resolute against the king's heaviest displeasure—unseduced by the arts of a man whose political faults all would willingly forget, but whose partial aberration from the path of duty can scarcely be disproved—the fellows of Magdalen College persisted in their right of election. Their legal president was ejected by a special commission, whose decrees were enforced by troops of cavalry. Hough refused to give up the keys of the college, and the doors were broken open. The bishop of Oxford was installed by proxy, only two fellows of the college giving their attendance. The other fellows at length consented to a modified submission to the authority which had been forced upon them. The king required a public acknowledgment that they had acted undutifully; and that the appointment of the bishop of Oxford was legal: they must sue for pardon. They one and all refused to submit to this humiliation. They were one and all ejected from their college, and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical appointment. The Ecclesiastical Commission, by which this edict was issued, forgot that a power might be raised again, as it had once been raised, before which High Commissioners might be swept away, and even the throne might totter to its base. The immediate object of the king was accomplished. Magdalen College soon became a college of Papists, with a Roman Catholic bishop at its head; for Parker, the bishop of Oxford, had enjoyed his dignity only during a few months, in which his authority was so openly resisted that he died, as men believed, of anxiety and mortification. A subscription was raised for the ejected fellows. All but the most bigoted saw that the ties which bound the Church to the Throne were so loosened, that upon one more violent strain the union might be utterly broken.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Fall of the Hydes.—Tyrconnel Lord Deputy in Ireland.—Declarations in Scotland and England for Liberty of Conscience.—Abolition of Penal Tests.—Effects of the Declaration of Indulgence.—The camp at Hounslow Heath.—The Papal Nuncio publicly received by the King.—The King's policy towards Dissenters.—Dryden's Poem of "the Hind and the Panther"—The Declaration commanded to be read in Churches.—The Petition of the Seven Bishops.—They are committed to the Tower.—The public sympathy.—The trial and acquittal of the Bishops.—Birth of the Prince of Wales.

THE year 1687 opened with evil forebodings to those who were well-wishers to the Monarchy and the Church. One whose loyalty must have been sorely shaken by the dangerous experiments upon the temper of the nation thus records his impressions: "Lord Tyrconnel gone to succeed the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruin of the Protestants in that kingdom, as well as of its great improvement going on. Much discourse that all the White-Staff officers and others should be dismissed for adhering to their religion."\* The Lord Lieutenant, to whom Tyrconnel is to succeed, is Clarendon. The White-Staff officers are to follow the dismissed Lord-Treasurer, Rochester. The fall of the two Hydes, the brothers-in-law of the king, was of evil omen. It was seen that the ties of relationship, of ancient friendship, of fidelity under adverse circumstances, were of no moment when the one dominant idea of the king was to coerce all around him into his measures for forcing his creed upon a reluctant nation. From the highest minister of the Crown to the humblest country magistrate, all appointments were to be made with reference to this royal monomania: "Popish justices of the peace established in all counties, of the meanest of the people; judges ignorant of the law, and perverting it. So furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel princes to violent courses, and destruction of an excellent government both in Church and State."† Tyrconnel, whose violence and rashness were objected to even by moderate Catholics, was instructed to depress the English interest, and pro-

\* Evelyn, "Diary," January 17.

† Evelyn, "Diary," January 17.

portionately to raise that of the Irish; "to the end that Ireland might offer a secure asylum to James and his friends, if by any subsequent revolution he should be driven from the English throne."\* But Tyrconnel, says Dr. Lingard, "had a further and more national object in view." He entered, with the sanction of the king, into secret negotiations with Louis XIV., "to render his native country independent of England, if James should die without male issue, and the prince and princess of Orange should inherit the crown." Ireland was then to become a dependency of France—a truly "national object." Tyrconnel went about his work in a wild way. He displaced the Protestant judges, and filled their seats with Catholics. He terrified the cities and towns into surrender of their charters, and gave them new charters which made parliamentary representation a mockery. He had a scheme for dispossessing the English settlers of the property which they had acquired in the forfeitures of half a century previous. His projects were opposed by grave Catholic peers, who said that the Lord-Deputy was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms. His character and that of his master, were ridiculed in the famous ballad of Lilli-Burlero:

"Dare was an old prophecy found in a bog,  
Lilli burlero, bullen a-la;  
Ireland shall be ruled by an ass and a dog,  
Lilli burlero, bullen a-la."

James was the ass and Tyrconnel the dog. This ribaldry of Lord Wharton was adapted to a spirited air of Purcell, published ten years before. "The whole army," says Burnet, "and at last the people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually." Wharton afterwards boasted that he had rhymed James out of his dominions. He had produced a song, like many other songs of wondrous popularity, with little intrinsic merit. But those whose conviviality, even in our own days, had been stirred by its fascinating melody,† may well believe that it was whistled and sung in every street in 1688; and that it had charms for Corporal Trim and his fellow soldiers in Flanders, when its satire upon the "new deputie" who "will cut de Englishman's throat," was utterly forgotten.

There is no error more common, even amongst educated per-

\* Lingard.

† "A very good song, and very well sung,  
Jolly companions, every one."

sons, than to pronounce upon the opinions of a past age according to the lights of their own age. In February, 1687, James issued in Scotland a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. In April, 1687, he issued a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in England. Why, it is asked, were these declarations regarded with suspicion by Churchmen and by Dissenters? Why could not all sincere Christians, of whatever persuasion, have accepted the king's noble measures for the adoption of that tolerant principle which is now found to be perfectly compatible with the security of an Established Church. It was precisely because the principle has been slowly making its way during the contests of a hundred and fifty years, that it is now all but universally recognised as a safe and wholesome principle. It is out of the convictions resulting from our slow historical experience that all tests for admission to civil offices are now abolished for ever. Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Quaker, Methodist, Independent, Unitarian, Jew, all stand upon the same common ground as the Churchman, of suffering no religious disqualification for the services of their country. But to imagine that such a result could have been effected by the interested will of a Papist king, who had himself been the fiercest of persecutors—who had adopted, to their fullest extent, the hatred of his family to every species of non-conformity,—is to imagine that the channels in which the great floods and little rills of religious opinion had long been flowing, were to be suddenly diverted into one mighty stream, for which time and wisdom had prepared no bed. King James announced to his people of Scotland that, "being resolved to unite the hearts and affections of his subjects, to God in religion, to himself in loyalty, and to their neighbours in Christian love and charity, he had therefore thought fit, by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey without reserve, to give and grant his royal toleration to the several professors of the Christian religion after named." The moderate Presbyterians might meet in their houses; but field conventiclers were still to be resisted with the utmost severity. Quakers might meet and exercise their worship in any place. Above all, the various prohibitions and penalties against Roman Catholics were to be void; and all oaths and tests by which any subjects are incapacitated from holding place or office were remitted. The Council of Scotland made no hesitation about "sovereign authority" and "absolute power;" for they had told James at his accession that "we abhor and detest all principles

and positions which are contrary or derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, absolute power and authority." In Scotland, the experiment appeared to be successful. The successors of John Knox made no sign of resistance to a decree which gave honour to the image-worshippers. James now summoned his English Council to proclaim to them his new charter of religious liberty. Freedom of conscience was conducive to peace and quiet, to commerce and population; during four reigns conformity in religion had been vainly attempted. All penal laws should be suspended by the royal prerogative. "A Daniel come to judgment," cried some short-sighted Protestants of that day. "A wise and upright judge," cry some liberal philosophers of the nineteenth century.

Whilst James was introducing his scheme to his Council, he was sounding every peer and influential commoner who approached him, as to the probability of Parliament sanctioning the abolition of the Test Act. The Houses were shortly expected to meet. It was desirable to secure the adhesion of the members to this object, upon which the king had set his heart. He was met by coldness or open refusal, by many upon whose loyalty he thought he could count; and he believed that the loyalty which held kings to be divine would shrink from no sacrifices of higher principles. Upon those who held places he felt sure that he could successfully operate. "It was against all municipal law," said the king, "for free born subjects to be excluded the service of their prince, or for a prince to be restrained from employing such subjects as he thought fit for his service; and that therefore he hoped they would be so loyal as not to refuse him their voices for annulling such unreasonable laws."\* Sir John Reresby was attacked by deputy: "The king ordered the judges, in their several circuits, to feel the pulses of the men: in consequence of which I was, to my great surprise, accosted at York by the judge, who told me he had orders to talk with me on the subject." The prudent governor of York evaded giving a direct expression of his intentions: "Had I answered in the affirmative, I might have incurred the displeasure and censure of the greatest part of the nation; if in the negative I should have utterly disobliterated the king." Such negative would have forfeited his place: "Every man that persisted in a refusal to comply with this suggestion was sure to be *outed*." The labours of the king to gain the support of members of parliament, "even to discoursing every one of them particularly in his closet, which

\* Reresby—"Memoirs," p. 320.

made the English call that way of conference *closeting*,"\* set the worldly courtiers upon devising the most polite forms of expressing love and duty that committed them to nothing. When sir Dudley North was pressed, "he remembered an old Turkish saying, viz., that a man is to say 'no' only to the devil."† Penn went over to Holland to sound the prince of Orange. William told him "that no man was more for toleration in principle than he was; he thought the conscience was only subject to God; and as far as a general toleration, even of papists, would content the king, he would concur in it heartily. But he looked on the tests as such a real security, and indeed the only one, when the king was of another religion, that he would join in no councils with those that intended to repeal those laws that enacted them."‡ Penn undertook to promise that if the tests were abolished, the king would secure toleration by a solemn and unalterable law. He was answered by a demonstration of the value of irrevocable laws to a bigoted despot,—a blunt reference to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. James left off his closetings and his negotiations. His judges and lords-lieutenant were not required to persist in their labours of threat or persuasion. He resolved to do without the Parliament; which he prorogued for six months, with a full determination to be truly the absolute king. On the 4th of April he issued his Declaration for entire liberty of conscience. He would protect the Established Church in its legal rights, but all penal laws against all non-conformists were suspended. All religious tests as a qualification for office were abrogated. Every form of worship, Roman Catholic or Protestant, might be publicly followed. The effects of this Declaration were instantaneous. Ralph Thoresby and his friends used to attend the preaching of "Mr. Sharp, in private, as we could get opportunity, for which we went several miles." The Declaration came, and "Mr. Sharp preached the first sermon in public." The Declaration of king James, he says, "gave us ease in this case; and, though we dreaded a snake in the grass, we accepted it with due thankfulness."§

Regarded simply as a matter of political expediency, without reference to higher principles of action, the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 was a master-stroke worthy of the Jesuitical subtlety to which it doubtless owed its origin. The king had committed himself against the Church of England. The Church of England had

\* Father D'Orleans—"History of the Stuarts."

† "Life of Sir Dudley North," p. 181.

‡ Burnet vol. iii. p. 133.

§ "Diary," vol. i. p. 186.



resented his manifest design of thrusting Roman Catholics into its preferments. "As he was apt," says Burnet, "to go warmly upon every provocation, he gave himself such liberties in discourse upon that subject, that it was plain, all the services they had done him, both in opposing the exclusion, and upon his first accession to the crown, were forgotten."\* There were four bodies of dissenters, whose united support would be an important counterpoise to the dissatisfaction of the churchmen. These were, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers. They had all been the victims of Conventicle Acts and of Two Mile Acts. Hundreds of the Presbyterian clergy, long ejected from their pulpits, had been supported by private charity. Some, up to the date of the Declaration, had been lying in the gaols, amongst felons and common debtors, unable to pay the fines which had been imposed upon them for preaching. The Declaration opened a new world to them. They were again free publicly to teach their followers. In new meeting-houses, and in their old barns, they might again declaim against church discipline and set forms of prayer; and warn their hearers against that Popery which was again lifting its head. But then Roman Catholics were equally freed from State-interference with their worship. Mass might be publicly performed; auricular confession might be encouraged; monastic institutions might once more flourish. The penal laws against Papists were utterly suspended. Many dissenters were happy to embrace the relief which was thus afforded them. They were soothed by the high sounding professions of toleration which issued from the royal lips. They were flattered by the agents of the Court into the belief that they again could make head against the Church which had persecuted them. But they were warned by the examples of their two greatest ministers, Howe and Baxter, not to fall into the snare. Young Defoe said to his non-conformist brethren, "I had rather the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures than that the Papists should fall both upon the Church and the dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and faggot."† The most eloquent and sagacious statesman of the day, Halifax, addressed them in his "Letter to a Dissenter"—a model of skilful popular argument: "There must be something extraordinary, when the Church of Rome setteth up bills, and offereth plaisters, for tender consciences. By all that hath hitherto appeared, her skill in chirur-

\* "Own Time," vol. iii. p. 151.

† Quoted in Wilson's "Life of Defoe," vol. i. p. 123.

gery lieth chiefly in a quick hand to cut off limbs; but she is the worst at healing of any that ever pretended to it." He warns the dissenters against the temptation to enjoy a freedom from which they had been so long restrained; "If the case then should be, that the price expected from you for this liberty is giving up your right in the laws, sure you will think twice before you go any further in such a losing bargain."\* A large proportion of the Non-conformists held aloof from the blandishments of the Court, and ultimately made common cause with the Church. In his subsequent indignation against the relapse of churchmen into intolerance, Defoe exclaims, "Where had been the Church of England at this time, humanly speaking, if the dissenters had one and all joined in with the measures king James was taking to overthrow it?" The Church knew this, and made loud professions of brotherly regard to the separatists. The king and his papistical advisers, on the other hand, employed every device to manifest that the country was in favour of that dispensing power of a gracious king, which could bestow, not only toleration, but unlimited blessings of national glory and prosperity, which were not to be bestowed by the old statutes or new enactments. Paternal government was the true remedy for all that was harsh and unequal in statutory laws. The corrupt Corporations sent fulsome addresses of thanks to the king. In these some Protestant Non-conformists were induced to join. But the great body remained firm; and a common danger brought them nearer to that union with the Church, which the Stuarts, during four unhappy reigns, had done their best to render impracticable.

In the summer of 1687, a great Camp was again formed on Hounslow-heath. It was a military display of royal and aristocratic luxury, "the commanders profusely vying in the expense and magnificence of their tents."† The four troops of Horse Guards were commanded by the earl of Feversham, the duke of Northumberland, lord Churchill, lord Dover. The duke of Grafton commanded the first regiment of Foot Guards; the earl of Craven the second regiment. There were nine regiments of Horse commanded by the earls of Oxford, Peterborough, Plymouth, Arran, Shrewsbury, and Scarsdale; by sir John Lanies, general Warden, and sir John Talbot. There were three regiments of Dragoons, com-

\* This letter is reprinted in the "Somers' Tracts," and in "Parliamentary History," vol. iv.

† Evelyn, "Diary," June 6.

manded by lord Cornbury, the duke of Somerset, and colonel Berkeley. Lastly, there were fourteen regiments of Foot, commanded by the marquis of Worcester; the earls of Dumbarton, Bath, Litchfield and Huntington: lord Dartmouth; and by colonels of the rank of commoners, amongst whom was the notorious colonel Kirke. The standing army had been trebled, as compared with its number in 1683.\* The courtly habits of its commanders caused the people to regard this army as the instrument by which the king could accomplish his designs against their liberties and their religion. And yet in the hour of need this formidable army struck not a single blow; and most of his courtly officers deserted the king—a lesson which princes, who rely upon military force, have often been taught, however slow they may be to learn. The Londoners went out in holiday parties to look upon the magnificence of the camp at Hounslow. They mixed with the soldiers, who, with the exception of the household troops, were of their own rank as artisans and labourers. The temper of the nation was roused out of its apathy, to express itself with the freedom which Englishmen use when their political indignation is excited. A shrewd observer, then a very young man, thus describes this period: “It were almost incredible to tell you, at the latter end of king James’ time — though the rod of arbitrary power was always shaking over us—with what freedom and contempt the common people, in the open streets, talked of his wild measures to make a whole Protestant nation Papists. And yet, in the height of our secure and wanton defiance of him, we of the vulgar, had no further notion of any remedy for this evil, than a satisfied presumption that our numbers were too great to be mastered by his mere will and pleasure; that, though he might be too hard for our laws, he would never be able to get the better of our nature; and that to drive all England into popery and slavery, he would find, would be teaching an old lion to dance.” †

The camp at Hounslow was conveniently located between Whitehall and Windsor. It was at hand to suppress disturbances in the capital; it could be speedily summoned to protect the king in the castle upon which his brother had lavished his adornments. Windsor was now to be the scene of a gorgeous ceremony, such as could scarcely have been exhibited without danger in the streets

\* For full details of the military force of 1687, see Chamberlayne’s “Present State of England” for that year. Part i. p. 176; Part ii. p. 143.

† “Life of Colley Cibber,” vol. i. p. 48.

of Westminster. James had knelt at the feet of the papal Nuncio, who in the royal chapel of Whitehall had been consecrated bishop of Amasia. He was now to receive this ambassador of the Pope, with a pomp that belonged to past generations. It was resolved that a duke should introduce the Nuncio to the king. James proposed the honour to the duke of Somerset—the commander of the queen's regiment of dragoons, and a lord of the bed-chamber. This young nobleman, who afterwards obtained the distinction of being called "The proud duke of Somerset," behaved with a spirit on this occasion that wholly forfeited the royal favour: "He humbly desired of the king to be excused; the king asked him his reason; the duke told him he conceived it to be against law, to which the king said, he would pardon him. The duke replied, he was no very good lawyer, but he thought he had heard it said, that a pardon granted to a person offending, under the assurance of obtaining it, was void. This offended the king extremely. He said publicly, he wondered at his insolence; and told the duke he would make him fear him, as well as the laws."\* On the 3rd of July, Windsor was crowded with visitors. There was a procession to the castle of thirty-six coaches, each drawn by six horses. The Nuncio, robed in purple, was in the king's coach, with the duke of Grafton, who had agreed to introduce him. His own coaches followed with ten priests. Then came the coaches of the ministers of State, and great officers of the household; and in that train of equipages were the coaches of the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Chester. The king and queen sat upon a throne in St. George's Hall.† The pensioner of France looked upon Verrio's painted walls, where the triumphs of the Black Prince were represented with no common skill. The devotee of Rome honoured its ambassador with manifestations of homage that reminded those who knew their country's history of the time when the ignoble John became "a gentle convertite." Although this outrage upon the popular feeling took place at Windsor, it was not done solely in the view of court attendants: "The town of Windsor was so full of all sorts of people, from all parts, that some of the inhabitants were astonished; and it was very difficult to get provisions or room either for horse or man; nay, many persons of quality, and others, were forced to sit in their coaches and calashes almost all

\* Lord Lonsdale's Account. Note to Burnet, vol. iii. p. 178.

† Bramston's "Autobiography," p. 280.

the day."\* As if to mark that England was entering upon a new era of government, on the 4th of July, a Proclamation dissolving the Parliament appeared in the London Gazette.

In the autumn of 1687, the king made a progress through some parts of the West of England. One of his objects was to propitiate the Dissenters, who had taken so prominent a part in the insurrection of Monmouth. Storms and birds of prey had not yet cleared the gibbets of Somersetshire of the rags and bones of the victims of 1685, when James went amongst the scenes of Jeffrey's campaign, to promise not only spiritual liberty but civil honours to the relatives and friends of those who had fought the battle which they thought all good Protestants should fight. He gained little by his blandishments. The answer which was given to him by the rich non-conformist, William Kiffin, the grandfather of two youths who were treated with marked severity at the especial instance of the king, was perhaps not unknown in the West. "I have put you down, Mr. Kiffin, for an alderman of London," said James. "I am unfit to serve your Majesty, or the city," replied the old man: "I am worn out; the death of my poor boys broke my heart." Others might have thought of their own bereavements; and have felt a bitter contempt towards that king who had talked of his capricious favour as the "balsam for such sores."† The government had forced new charters upon London, and upon many of the municipal corporations throughout the country. Although the power of the Crown to nominate corporate functionaries, as well as to eject them, was disputed, the process of ejection was very summarily exercised. The supporters of Church and King were thrust out; the Papists and the Independents were nominated. Non-conformists of different ranks of life were brought together in a way that offended the pride of the upper classes amongst them. Ralph Thoresby says, speaking of the Corporation of Leeds, "The places of such as were to be ejected were filled up with the most rigid Dissenters, who had put my name in the fog end of their reformed list, there being but one, a smith by trade, after me."‡ The process of regulation, as it was called, was not successful. Many of the Charters were consequently attempted to be called in; but the resistance carried on in the Law Courts by Corporations was almost general. All these arbitrary measures of the

\* Relation of the Nuncio's public entry. Printed in 1687. Reprinted in the Somers' Tracts.

† See Macaulay. History, vol ii. p. 230, 1st edition.

‡ "Diary," vol. i. p. 186.

Crown had reference to the necessity which might arise of calling a Parliament, and to the readiest means of procuring a servile Parliament. Sir John Reresby tells us how, in his own case in 1688, this process was managed. The king commanded him to stand for York, in the event of an election. Reresby asked for his promise of more than ordinary support—"Whether he would assist me all he could to prevent my being baffled, and particularly by such means as I should propose to him. His answer was Yes; and he gave immediate orders to the lords for purging the corporations, to make whatever change or alteration I desired in the city of York; and to put in or out, which the king it seems had reserved to himself by the last charter, just as I pleased."\* In London, James had put in an Anabaptist Lord Mayor—"a very odd ignorant person," as Evelyn reports. When the sheriffs invited the king and queen according to custom, to feast at Guildhall, the king commanded them to invite the Nuncio. Burnet says the mayor and aldermen disowned the invitation, which must have offended the king, who said, "he saw the dissenters were an ill-natured sort of people, that could not be gained." This opinion seems to have been that usually received at Court, if we may judge from the Court Calendar of this year, in which the dissenters are denounced as "the private, sullen, discontented, niggardly non-conformists."† At this time, Dryden published his famous poem of "The Hind and the Panther"—at a time of which he says, "The nation is in too high a ferment, for me to expect either fair war, or even so much as fair quarter, from a reader of the opposite party. All men are engaged either on this side or that; and though conscience is the common word which is given by both, yet if a writer fall among enemies, and cannot give the marks of their conscience, he is knocked down before the reasons of his own are heard." Dryden aims his satire at those he calls "the refractory and disobedient"—not against those "who have withdrawn themselves from the communion of the Panther, and embraced the gracious Indulgence of his majesty in regard to toleration."‡ The great poet, however, does not attempt to propitiate the Sectaries. "The Panther"—the Church of England—is "sure the noblest, next the Hind"—the Church of Rome. But the "Independent beast" is typified by "the Bear:" the Anabaptist is "the bristled Boar" who "lurk'd in sects unseen;" the Presbyterian is "the in-

\* "Memoirs," p. 351.

† Chamberlayne's "Present State," p. 41.

‡ Dryden's Preface to the Poem.

satiated Wolf" who "pricks up his predestinating ears;" "False Reynard" is the Socinian. The Papist Laureate of James did not bid for popularity, when he thus addressed the countries whose names had been hateful in English ears from the days of queen Mary:

"O happy regions, Italy and Spain,  
Which never did those monsters entertain!"

We can now admire the beauty of his versification, and the energy of his reasoning, in this poem of a period when Dryden thought his cause was triumphant. It may be doubted whether it produced many converts to Romanism, or affected a wider separation of the Panther from the Bear, the Boar, and the Wolf. Many who would scarcely heed his musical polemics would recollect his own heedless sarcasm against the teaching of an infallible Church:

"The priest continues what the nurse began,  
And thus the child imposes on the man."

The year 1688 is come. Men were thinking of the corresponding year of the previous century—of the glorious 1588, when the nation rallied round the great Elizabeth, and the invaders who came, with the papal blessing, to destroy the heretical islanders, perished in their pride. The contrast was humiliating. The king was now labouring to drive back the mind of England into the night of the fifteenth century. At this very time the great ally of this king was hunting his Protestant subjects to the death by his "dagoon missionaries." Could any other consummation be expected from an illegal Declaration of Indulgence, which, abolishing the tests under pretence of universal toleration, thrust Romanists into the highest civil and military offices, seated Father Petre amongst the Privy Counsellors of the kingdom, and turning out the members of corporations who clung to a Protestant establishment, gave the municipal power to bigoted Papists or unscrupulous Dissenters. Thus reasoned the great body of Englishmen when this ominous year arrived. It was opened with "a solemn and particular office of thanksgiving for her majesty being with child." An heir to the throne had long ceased to be expected as the issue of James and his queen. The priests every where proclaimed that the king had put up his prayers for such an event at the Well of Saint Winifred; and that his supplications had been heard. The divines of the English Church were girding on their spiritual armour for a conflict. Whilst, at the beginning of April, mass was being performed at one

chapel at Whitehall, the other chapel was crowded by eager multitudes, to hear bishop Ken describe the calamity of the reformed church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution. As God had delivered Judah upon the repentance of her sins, so should the new Reformed Church be delivered, wherever insulted and persecuted.\* The princess Anne, the daughter of James, was amongst the hearers. The contest soon assumed a more formidable shape than in the eloquence of the pulpit or the arguments of the press. The king issued a second Declaration of Indulgence on the 27th of April. It was a repetition of the Declaration of 1687, with an avowal that his resolution was immutable, and that he would employ no servants, civil or military, who refused to concur with him. He would hold a Parliament in the following November; and he exhorted his people to choose representatives who would support him in his resolves. This proceeding was little regarded; for all knew what the king meant, and knew also the pride and obstinacy of his character. But his next step was something more exciting. By an Order in Council of the 4th of May, he commanded the Declaration to be read in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, on two successive Sundays, by the ministers of all persuasions. The Gazette of the 7th of May fixed the 20th of that month for the first reading in London and the neighbourhood. In the country, the first reading was to take place on the 3rd of June. There was short time to collect the opinions of ten thousand ministers of the Anglican Church. There were then very imperfect means of communication. The Gazette was wholly under the control of the government. Letters could not be sent through the post-office without the certainty that they would be opened, if suspected, and would be stopped, if their contents were displeasing. Country clergymen would peruse the Order of Council in the Gazette, and some might hear that it was considered by their brethren in London as an insult to their order. But to disobey was to incur the danger of deprivation by the Ecclesiastical Commission. The most eminent of the London clergy came to a resolution not to read the Declaration; and a large majority joined in the same pledge. On the 18th a great meeting of prelates and other divines took place at Lambeth, and a petition to the king was drawn up by the archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of himself, of divers of the suffragan bishops of his province, and of the inferior clergy of their dioceses. They professed their averseness to dis-

\* Evelyn, "Diary," April 1.



tribute and publish the king's Declaration for liberty of conscience, not from any want of duty and obedience,—for the loyalty of the Church of England was unquestionable,—“nor yet,” they said, “from any want of tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation.” Their averseness especially arose from the consideration that the Declaration was “founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament.” It was so declared, they said, in 1662, in 1672, and at the beginning of his majesty's reign; and therefore they could not in prudence, honour, or conscience make themselves parties to the Declaration, as the distribution and solemn publication of it in God's house would amount to. They therefore prayed the king not to insist upon their distributing and reading this Declaration. The archbishop and six suffragan bishops signed this petition. Sancroft was not received at Court; and therefore, without their head, bishops Lloyd, Turner, Lake, Ken, White, and Trelawney, immediately went to the king's palace, and were admitted to the royal closet. The king was unprepared for resistance to his mandate. When he read the petition he broke out into unseemly violence. “This is a standard of rebellion,” he cried. Three bishops passionately disclaimed the imputation. “Did ever a good Churchman question the dispensing power before?” Ken answered, “We honour you, but we fear God.” The final threat of the king that they should disobey him at their peril was met by “God's will be done” from the lips of Ken. The petition of the prelates was circulated through London on that Friday night. It was imputed to them that they were instrumental to this publication; but they denied it. There was but one copy, which the king kept. Burnet and Dalrymple intimate that some one was concerned in the publication, to whom the king had shown the original. A commentator on Burnet, Bevil Higgons, says, “All agreed that it must have been in the press, if not before, by the time it was delivered to the king, which was about five in the afternoon, and it came out that very night at twelve, and was so bawled and roared through the streets by hawkers, that people rose out of their beds to buy it.” \* Slow as were the operations of the printing press at that time, there was no necessity that the delivery of the petition, and printing, should have occurred at the same hour of five, if not before, to allow of its

\* Note to Burnet, Oxford edit. vol. iii. p. 220.

circulation at midnight. The printers of that age had learnt to do their work with speed during the Civil War, when the broadside stood in the place of the newspaper, and a ballad was as effective as a leading article. On the Sunday following this memorable Friday, the reading of the Declaration "was almost universally forborne throughout London." \* One exception to this disobedience shows the direction of popular opinion. "I was then at Westminster school," says lord Dartmouth, "and heard it read in the Abbey. As soon as bishop Sprat, who was dean, gave order for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the church that nobody could hear him; but before he had finished, there was none left but a few prebends in their stalls, the choristers, and Westminster scholars. The bishop could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and every body looked under a strange consternation." † In only four of the London churches was obedience yielded to the mandate of the king. Over all England, not above two hundred of the Clergy read the Declaration. "One, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that, though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he stopped till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls." ‡

Sir John Reresby reports that he was told by lord Huntington, one of the Privy-council, "that had the king known how far the thing would have gone, he would never have laid the injunction he did, to have the Declaration read in churches." § In its blind self-reliance, tyranny rarely sees how far the thing will go. It puts the match to the combustible matter, and is then astonished at the explosion. James had boasted that his past life ought to have convinced his people that he was not a man to recede from any course which he had once taken. In this case he took more than a week to look about him before he proceeded on his perilous way. Some of his more prudent counsellors recommended that he should issue a conciliatory proclamation, stating his deep mortification at the proceedings of the Clergy, but admitting that, as their scruples might have been conscientious, he was unwilling to treat them with the severity due to their disobedience. This advice was rejected. It was determined to prosecute the bishops for a seditious Libel. They were summoned to appear on the 8th of June before the king in council. During this interval, there had been no signs of submission in the metropolis or in the country. The archbishop of

\* Evelyn.

† Burnet, *ibid.*

‡ Note to Burnet, vol. iii. p. 218.

§ "Memoirs," p. 346.

Canterbury, and his six suffragans, came into the royal presence at Whitehall on the appointed afternoon. They were asked if they acknowledged the petition to be theirs. They had received sound legal advice, and they refused to criminate themselves. At length the archbishop said that if the king positively commanded him to answer he would do so, in the confidence that what he said in obedience to that command should not be brought in evidence against him. They were sent out, and upon their return the king gave the positive command. Sancroft and his brethren then acknowledged their hand-writing. They were immediately called upon to enter into recognizances to appear in the Court of King's Bench on a Criminal information for libel. They refused, maintaining that as peers they could not be so called upon. Their firmness irritated and embarrassed the misguided king. He must still proceed on his dangerous course. A warrant was made out for their committal to the Tower. Then was presented a spectacle which struck terror into the soul of the despot. The people of London had, in many a year of trouble, seen the state-barge leave Palace-yard stairs with some unhappy peer proceeding from Westminster Hall to his last prison. Often had they wept, as the axe was borne before some popular favourite. But never had there been such an outburst of feeling as on this evening of the 8th of June. The seven prelates, surrounded by guards, passed through lines of weeping men and women, who prayed aloud for their safety, and knelt to ask their blessing. When they entered their barge, the river was sparkling in the setting sun, as the oars of a thousand wherries dashed up its silver waters. From Whitehall to the Tower, as the twilight stole on, the voices of the people were heard in one solemn cry of "God bless your lordships." There was something in their popular sympathy far more elevating and consoling than the favour of kings which the Church had so laboured to earn. The Church was now in its right attitude—the champion of the national faith and the national freedom. It seemed as if the old contests for minute differences of doctrine and discipline were at an end. To manifest respect towards them would be to secure the resentment of the king; but the feeling towards them received no abatement. Their very guards in the Tower would drink no other health than that of the bishops. Day by day, such numbers of persons flocked to them "for their blessing and to condole their hard usage," as Reresby relates, "that great and very extraordinary remarks were made both of persons

and behaviour." The king saw with dismay, that his frown was powerless, even over a nobility that had been too long accustomed to fancy that the royal favour was their breath of life. Most indignant was James when ten non-conformist ministers—leading men amongst those whom he thought would be for ever at enmity with episcopacy,—visited the prelates in the Tower. "He sent for four of them to reprimand them; but their answer was, 'that they could not but adhere to the prisoners, as men constant and firm to the Protestant faith.'"<sup>\*</sup>

The bishops remained a week in confinement. On the 15th of June they were brought before the Court of King's Bench. There was the same throng of spectators begging their blessing. They were called upon to plead, after legal objections against their commitment had been over-ruled. Their trial was fixed for the 27th, and they were then enlarged upon their own recognizances. The people fancied they were wholly released, and lighted up bonfires. The excitement went all through the land. The Dutch ambassador expected an insurrection in London. The miners of Cornwall would come to the rescue of their countryman, Trelawney, the bishop of Bristol, as the burden of the old ballad declares:—

"And shall Trelawney die?  
There's twenty thousand underground  
Will know the reason why."†

The day of trial came. Evelyn says there were "near sixty earls and lords on the bench." Westminster Hall and the whole neighbourhood were thronged with eager crowds. The trial lasted from nine in the morning till six in the evening. Every point was ably contested by the lawyers on each side—for a nation was looking on. No one could distinctly prove that the signatures to the petition were the hand-writing of the accused. The clerk of the Privy Council, Blathwayte, was at last brought forward to swear that he had heard them confess that they had signed it. Then ensued a cross-examination which the counsel for the Crown tried in vain to stop; for it might implicate the king on an implied promise that the confession should not be used against the petitioners. The writing was thus proved. No evidence, however, could be obtained of the publication; till Sunderland came to swear that the bishops had told him of their intention to present a petition to the king. The subject matter of the petition was at

<sup>\*</sup> Reresby, p. 347.

† In the quotation in Lord Macaulay's *History*, the words run, "thirty thousand Cornish boys." See "*Quarterly Review*," vol. cii. p. 313.

last argued. It was maintained that the bishops were perfectly right when they held that the dispensing power was illegal. Amongst their counsel there was one, a young man, John Somers, who that day took the high position which he ever after maintained as the great constitutional lawyer and statesman of his time. The Chief-Justice, Wright, summed up that the petition was a libel. Justice Alibone held the same opinion. But the other two judges, Holloway and Powell, differed from them; and Powell affirmed that the dispensing power, as then administered, was an encroachment of the prerogative, and if not repressed, would put the whole legislative authority in the king. The jury were locked up all night. The king's brewer had fought stoutly for his royal customer; but he at last yielded; and at ten o'clock the verdict of "Not Guilty" was delivered. The shouts went from the benches and galleries of the Court to Westminster Hall; from the Hall to the streets and the river; from London to every suburb. They were echoed by the camp at Hounslow, when an express came there to James to tell him of his great failure. He left directly for London. "He was no sooner gone out of the camp than he was followed by an universal shouting, as if it had been a victory obtained." \* The king asked the cause of the uproar. He was answered that it was nothing; the soldiers only rejoiced that the bishops were acquitted. "Do you call that nothing?" said the baffled tyrant. He muttered some threat of "so much the worse for them"—for whom the threat was meant was not quite clear. He had one revenge. The two judges, Holloway and Powell, as soon as the term was over, were dismissed from their seats on a bench where independence and honesty were qualities not to be endured. On the night of the 30th of June, London was one blaze of bonfires and illuminations. The effigy of the pope again came forth to be burnt, as in the days of Shaftesbury. Pope-burners and bonfire lighters were indicted at the Middlesex Sessions; "but," says Reresby, who was present as a justice, "the grand jury would find no bill, though they were sent out no less than three times; so generally did the love of the bishops and the Protestant cause prevail." The Declaration of Indulgence, and the Order in Council that the Clergy should publish it, appeared the climax of the king's determination to set his dispensing power above the law. The resistance of the Clergy brought the question to issue between the king and the people. It was shrewdly observed that "a solemn declaration that a king will not govern according to law seems a formal renouncing

\* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 226.

of any right he has by it; and when he has cut the bough he sat upon, he has little reason to be surprised if he falls to the ground." \*

Two days after the seven bishops were sent to the Tower, the Council announced to the lords-lieutenant of counties that it had "pleased Almighty God, about ten o'clock of this morning, to bless his majesty and his royal consort the queen with the birth of a hopeful son, and his majesty's kingdoms and dominions with a prince." † In the language of the Council it was "so inestimable a blessing," that all the people would be called upon to unite in thanksgiving. Another language was held even by the staunch friends of the monarchy. Evelyn enters in his Diary of June 10th, "A young prince born, which will cause disputes." The legitimacy of this young prince was long disputed. This birth was as little a blessing to the house of Stuart as it promised to be to the weary subjects of that house. A large majority of the nation was convinced that this heir of the crown was supposititious. It was almost universally believed that imposture had been practised. The princess Anne did not give credit to the queen's alleged pregnancy. It was wholly disbelieved at the court of the prince of Orange. The birth arrived a month before it was said to be expected. The most ordinary precautions were not taken to put the fact beyond a doubt; for none but those in whom the people had little confidence were in attendance on the occasion. That there was no imposture is now matter of historical belief; but so convinced were many political partisans that there was no real son of James II., that, seventy years afterwards, Johnson drew the character of a violent Whig, who "has known those who saw the bed into which the Pretender was conveyed in a warming-pan." ‡ Burnet devotes five or six pages of his folio volume to the various accounts of this pretended birth—stories which Swift properly ridicules. The belief in this story is the only blot in the subsequent Declaration of William of Orange to the English people; and James took the manly, though necessarily somewhat indelicate step, of instituting an inquiry and publishing all the evidence to refute the calumny. The most important influence of this birth upon the fortunes of England was, that the prospect of an heir to the Crown, born of a Catholic mother, and to be brought up in the bigoted school of a father who had cast aside Protestantism to be governed by Jesuits and apostates, precipitated the Revolution.

\* Lord Dartmouth's Note in Burnet, vol. iii. p. 228

† Letter to the Earl of Rochester. Ellis. Series I. vol. iii. p. 339.

‡ "Idler," No. 10.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

William, Prince of Orange.—His character and position with regard to English affairs.—The Princess Mary, and the Succession.—Invitation to the Prince of Orange.—Preparations of William.—His Declaration.—Hopes of the English people.—Alarm of the king.—William sails from Helvoetsluys.—The voyage.—Landing at Torbay.—Public entry at Exeter.—The king goes to the army at Salisbury.—Desertions of his officers.—The Prince of Denmark and the Princess Anne.—James calls a Meeting of Peers.—Commissioners to negotiate with the Prince of Orange.—The queen and child sent to France.—The king flies.—Provisional Government.—Riots.—The Irish night.—James brought back to London.—The Dutch guards at Whitehall.—The king again leaves London.—The Prince of Orange enters.—The Interregnum.—The Convention.—William and Mary King and Queen.—The revolution the commencement of a new era in English history.

At the village of Hurley, on the Berkshire side of the Thames between Henley and Maidenhead, stood, in 1836, an Elizabethan mansion called Lady Place, built on the site of a Benedictine monastery by sir Richard Lovelace, who was created a peer by Charles I. This building was the seat of lord Lovelace in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.,—a nobleman whose lavish hospitality and expensive tastes were rapidly wasting "the king of Spain's cloth of silver" \* which his ancestor, one of Drake's privateering followers had won. The spacious hall opening to the Thames, the stately gallery whose panels were covered with Italian landscapes, the terraced gardens—were ruined and neglected when we there meditated, some thirty years ago, upon the lessons of "Mutability." All the remains of past grandeur are now swept away. But beneath the Tudor building were the burial vaults of the house of "Our Lady," which seemed built for all time, and which, we believe, are still undisturbed. In these vaults was a modern inscription which recorded that the Monastery of Lady Place was founded at the time of the great Norman Revolution and that "in this place, six hundred years afterwards, the Revolution of 1688 was begun." King William III., the tablet also recorded, visited this vault, and looked upon the "Recess," in which "several consultations for calling in the prince of Orange were held." During the four years in which James had been on the throne, the question

\* "Worthies."

of armed resistance had been constantly present to the minds of many Whigs; and to the prince of Orange they looked for aid in some open attempt to change the policy of the government by force,—or, if necessary, to subvert it. The wife of the prince of Orange was the presumptive heir to the crown; he was himself the nephew of the English king. His political and religious principles, and those of the republic of which he was the first magistrate, were diametrically opposed to those of his uncle. The chief enemy of his nation was the chief ally of king James. The one great purpose of the life of William of Orange was to resist the overwhelming ambition of Louis XIV. In 1688 he was thirty-eight years of age. When he was only in his twenty-second year, he had arrested the march of French conquest, and had saved his country. His uncle Charles had deserted his alliance, and had become the degraded pensioner of France. His uncle James equally crouched at the feet of the enemy of national independence, and of civil and religious liberty. William, under every difficulty, had in 1686 succeeded in forming the League of Augsburg, to hold in check this overwhelming ambition. His unrivalled sagacity and prudence had united rulers of Catholic as well as Protestant states, in a determination that the Balance of Power in Europe should not be destroyed. James of England was content that his country should remain in the degraded position in which it had been left by his brother, provided that a continuance of that degradation would enable him to establish Jesuits and monks in the high places of the Church, and rule without Parliaments, by a power above the law. William of Orange must have long been convinced that this system could not endure. Holland was the refuge of many an Englishman who had fled from persecution, when dissenters were the objects of king James's hatred. They had no confidence in his pretended toleration, because it was based upon absolute authority. The public opinion of Englishmen at home was uniting in the same conclusion. A crisis was at hand, not only in England, but in the general policy of Europe. William had stood aloof from any connexion with plots in the later years of Charles, or of insurrections in the first year of James. His object was that in England there should be union between the Crown and the Parliament; for then England would be strong, and capable of taking a part once more in such a joint system of action as was contemplated in the Triple Alliance. That hope was now utterly gone. It was clear that James



and his people would never be at accord. It was equally clear that any bold and elevated foreign policy was hopeless. Unless he had determined wholly to separate himself from English affairs William of Orange would necessarily become associated with the leading men of England, who saw that the government was driving on to ruin. His original policy was to wait. The time might come when the princess of Orange would be queen, and then William would naturally be England's ruler. It was the desire of Mary that her husband, in that event, should be the real sovereign. Burnet relates this circumstance with some self-applause, but with evident truth: "I took the liberty, in a private conversation with the princess, to ask her what she intended the prince should be, if she came to the crown. She, who was new to all matters of that kind, did not understand my meaning, but fancied that whatever accrued to her would likewise accrue to him in the right of marriage. I told her it was not so. \* \* \* I told her, a titular kingship was no acceptable thing to a man, especially if it was to depend on another's life: and such a nominal dignity might endanger the real one that the prince had in Holland. She desired me to propose a remedy. I told her, the remedy, if she could bring her mind to it, was, to be contented to be his wife, and to engage herself to him, that she would give him the real authority as soon as it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually to get it to be legally vested in him during life: this would lay the greatest obligation on him possible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had been of late a little embroiled. \* \* \* She presently answered me, she would take no time to consider of any thing by which she could express her regard and affection to the prince; and ordered me to give him an account of all that I had laid before her, and to bring him to her, and I should hear what she would say upon it. \* \* \* She promised him, he should always bear rule; and she asked only, that he would obey the command of 'Husbands, love your wives,' as she should do that, 'Wives, be obedient to your husbands in all things.'" \* Dartmouth conjectures that the prince ordered Burnet—whom he calls "a little Scotch priest"—to propose this to the princess, before he would engage in the attempt upon England. When the insane proceedings of James had rendered it more than probable that the event would happen which his brother Charles said should never happen to him—that he should be sent again upon his travels—the prince of

\* "Own Time," vol. iii. p. 129.

Orange, with an ambition that was founded upon higher motives than mere personal advancement, might not unreasonably think that there was a shorter road to the English crown than by succession. At the very climax of the folly of James, a son, or a pretended son, was born. William and his wife believed that their just rights were attempted to be set aside by an imposture. The leading men of England believed the same. The quarrel between the king and the Church appeared to be irreconcilable; and thus the most powerful influence over the people had ceased to be committed to the doctrine of non-resistance to arbitrary power. The time for decision was come in the summer of 1688. Edward Russell had been over to the Hague in May, to urge the prince of Orange to a bold interference with the affairs of England. "The prince spoke more positively to him than he had ever done before. He said, he must satisfy both his honour and conscience, before he could enter upon so great a design, which, if it is miscarried, must bring ruin both on England and Holland; he protested, that no private ambition nor resentment of his own could ever prevail so far with him, as to make him break with so near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the consequences must be of the last importance both to the interests of Europe and of the protestant religion: therefore he expected formal and direct invitation. Russell laid before him the danger of trusting such a secret to great numbers. The prince said, if a considerable number of men, that might be supposed to understand the sense of the nation best, should do it, he would acquiesce in it."\* Russell returned to England, and communicated with Henry Sidney, the brother Algernon: with the earl of Shrewsbury; the earl of Danby; the earl of Devonshire; and other peers. Compton, the suspended bishop of London, was also confided in. On the 30th of June, the great day of the acquittal of the seven bishops, an invitation to William of Orange, to appear in England at the head of a body of troops, was sent by a messenger of rank; admiral Herbert. It was signed in cipher, by Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Compton, Russell, and Sidney. William took his determination. He resolved on a descent upon England. With a secrecy as remarkable as his energy, he set about the preparation of such a force as would ensure success, in conjunction with the expected rising of nineteen-twentieths of the people, to free themselves from an odious government.

In this eventful autumn there were dangers immediately sur-

\* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 263.

rounding the unhappy king of England, which were the almost inevitable results of a long career of government which had weakened, if not wholly extinguished, political honesty. The high public spirit, the true sense of honour, which had characterised the nobles and gentry of England during the Civil War, was lost in the selfishness, the meanness, the profligacy, of the twenty-eight years that succeeded the Restoration. Traitors were hatched in the sunshine of corruption. The basest expediency had been the governing principle of statesmen and lawyers; the most abject servility had been the leading creed of divines. Loyalty always wore the livery of the menial. Patriotism was ever flaunting the badges of faction. The bulk of the people were unmoved by any proud resentments or eager hopes. They went on in their course of industrious occupation, without much caring whether they were under an absolute or a constitutional government, as long as they could eat, drink, and be merry. They had got rid of the puritan severity; and if decency was outraged in the Court and laughed at on the stage, there was greater licence for popular indulgences. The one thing to be avoided was nonconformity, which was a very hard service, even when lawful; and a very desperate sacrifice when it brought fine and imprisonment. Such was the temper of England at the accession of James. It was a temper fitted for any amount of national humiliation. It was a temper apt for slavery. But there was one latent spark of feeling which James blew into a flame. The English hated Popery with a passionate hatred. It was then seen by crafty politicians who had endured and even stimulated the bigotry of the king, that he had gone too far, and that he would not recede. Such a politician was Sunderland, who had even made a public profession of Romanism to retain his places. He became a Catholic to please the king in June. In August the breach between the king and the Anglican Church had become so irreparable that Sunderland was in correspondence with the prince of Orange. The selfish instinct of such men was their storm-barometer. Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, says of this crisis: "It was evident to all the world, that as things were carried on by king James, everybody must be ruined, who would not become a Roman Catholic." \* "Everybody" has a very limited signification. In this lady's vocabulary. It included lord Churchill and a few others. The narrative which we have to pursue to the end of this chapter does not exhibit the nation in any very glorious light. The

\* "Authentick Memoirs," p. 82.

story of the Revolution of 1688 is not a great epic, full of heroism and magnanimity. There is only one real hero on the scene; and he is a cold, impassive man, stirring up no passionate enthusiasm—a hero, the very opposite of the fascinating Monmouth, who had crowds at his chariot-wheels. William of Orange goes steadily forward, flattering none, trusting few, suspecting most—a self-contained man, who will put his shoulder to the work to which he has been called, and if he fails, he fails. Such a man was wanted to re-construct the shattered edifice of English freedom upon solid foundations. A popular king, with an undoubted title, might have found a nation ready enough to be again manacled.

In the "Memoirs of king James" it is said, that he never gave any real credit to the belief that the preparations of the prince of Orange were designed against himself, till the middle of September; "for, besides the repeated assurances he had from the States, by their ambassadors and others, and even the prince of Orange himself, that these preparations were not designed against him, the earl of Sunderland, and some others about him whom he trusted most, used all imaginable arguments to persuade the king it was impossible the prince of Orange could go through with such an undertaking; and particularly my lord Sunderland turned any one to ridicule that did but seem to believe it."\* Louis XIV. saw clearly the danger. He exhorted James; he remonstrated; he offered naval assistance. The envoy of France told the States that his king had taken the king of England under his protection, and that war against James would be war against Louis. James, in a spirit almost incomprehensible, despised the protection, and rejected the proffered aid. The intentions of the prince of Orange to come to England with an army were soon made manifest. A proclamation was prepared by the Grand Pensionary, Fagel; "who," says Burnet, "made a long and heavy draft, founded on the grounds of the civil law, and of the law of nations." Burnet translated it into English, and "got it to be much shortened, though it was still too long." It is, indeed, a long document; very little calculated for popular excitement. It set forth, in a calm and dispassionate tone, the violations of their laws, liberties, and customs, to which the people of England had been subjected. It detailed the various acts by which a religion opposed to that established by law had been attempted to be forced upon the nation. It alluded to the general belief that a pretended heir to

\* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 177.

the throne had been set up, against the rights of the princess of Orange. It declared that "since the English nation has ever testified a most particular affection and esteem, both to our dearest consort the princess, and to ourselves, we cannot excuse ourselves from espousing their interest in a matter of such high consequence : and from contributing all that lies in us for the maintaining, both of the Protestant religion, and of the laws and liberties of those kingdoms, and for the securing to them the continual enjoyment of all their just rights ; to the doing of which we are most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks." For these reasons, the prince declares that he had thought fit to go over to England, and to carry with him a sufficient force to defend him from the violence of the king's evil counsellors. This expedition had no other design than to have a free Parliament called ; of which the members should be lawfully chosen. "We, for our part, will concur in everything that may procure the peace and happiness of the nation, which a free and lawful Parliament shall determine, since we have nothing before our eyes, in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government." The Declaration is dated from the Hague on the 10th of October.

The expectation of the speedy arrival of the prince of Orange with his army was universal at the beginning of October. On the 7th Evelyn writes that the people "seemed passionately to long for and desire the landing of that prince, whom they looked on to be their deliverer from Popish tyranny ; praying incessantly for an east wind, which was said to be the only hindrance of his expedition with a numerous army ready to make a descent." The king now endeavoured to put himself into a new attitude towards his people. He gave audience to the archbishop of Canterbury and some of the bishops. They represented to him the desirableness of revoking all the acts done under the dispensing power ; of restoring the fellows of Magdalen College ; of giving back their old franchises to the Corporations. The king did attend to some of these suggestions. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He sent his Chancellor to deliver back to the Corporation of London their ancient charter ; and he issued a proclamation restoring all the municipal corporations to their ancient franchises.

He gave powers to the bishop of Winchester, which allowed him, as visitor, to re-instate the ejected fellows of Magdalen College. A sudden amendment of life under the influence of fear is not generally considered as likely to be permanent. A king's sudden redress of unjust acts, when one was at hand who could compel justice, was not likely to propitiate subjects whose confidence had been destroyed.

On the 16th of October, William, having taken a solemn leave of the States of Holland, set forward from the Hague to sail from Helvoetsluys. A fleet of fifty men of war, twenty-five frigates, many fire-ships, and four hundred transports, was there assembled. There were embarked four thousand horse and ten thousand foot soldiers. The command of the army was entrusted to marshal Schomberg. The van of the fleet was led by admiral Herbert. The prince of Orange embarked on the 19th. His ship bore a flag with the arms of England and Nassau, surrounded with the motto, "The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England." Underneath was the motto of the house of Orange, "Je maintiendrai." The equivocal device of his ancestry, "I will maintain," was now associated with a definite purpose, of unprecedented importance.

The east wind, which the people of London had been praying for, bore the fleet of William prosperously towards the English shores. But it suddenly changed; and a strong western gale, which increased to a tempest, compelled the Dutchmen to seek the refuge of their own havens. News reached the court of James that the damage had been so serious, that the arrival of no hostile armament need now be dreaded. The Gazette announced these tidings. But the damage was quickly repaired. On the evening of the 1st of November the fleet of William was again at sea. The east wind was now full and strong. For some time an effort was made to steer northward; but that course was at last abandoned; and about noon of the 2nd the order was given to steer westward. The same wind that bore the Dutch fleet towards our western shores kept the English fleet in the Thames. On the 3rd, midway between Dover and Calais, a Council of War was held. Rapin, the historian, who accompanied the expedition, thus describes the unwonted scene: "It is easy to imagine what a glorious show the fleet made. Five or six hundred ships in so narrow a Channel, and both the English and French shores covered with numberless spectators, are no common sight. For my part, who was then on board

the fleet, it struck me extremely." The 4th of November was William's birth-day. He dedicated that Sunday to private devotion, whilst the fleet rode past Portland, with the intention of anchoring in Torbay. The prince's ship was in the van. The night was dark and rainy; the wind was violent; the pilot mistook his course, and ran past Torbay towards Plymouth. There was danger in attempting a landing at that port, which was strongly garrisoned. But in the morning of the 5th the wind became calm; and a southern breeze carried them back into the magnificent bay. Here Napoleon, gazing on its shores from the deck of the *Bellerophon*, exclaimed "What a beautiful country!" Here William saw only hills shrouded in mist; and the huts of a fishing village. But Torbay was, according to Rapin, "the most convenient place for landing horse, of any in England." Before night the whole of the infantry was on shore. The horse were landed the next morning. William and Schomberg were amongst the first to land at Brixham. In the market-place of this prosperous fishing town of narrow and dirty streets, there is a block of stone, with this inscription: "On this stone, and near this spot, William, prince of Orange, first set foot on landing in England, 5th of November, 1688." Burnet says, "As soon as I landed, I made what haste I could to the place where the prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me if I would not now believe predestination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared so signally in this occasion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity." Rapin continues the narrative, with the graphic details of an eye-witness: "The prince's army marched from Torbay, about noon the next day, in very rainy weather, and bad roads. 'The soldiers, before they landed, were ordered to bring three days' bread with them, and they carried their tents themselves. But the officers, even the most considerable, were in a very uneasy situation, at their first encampment, being wet to the skin, and having neither clothes for change, nor bread, nor horses, nor servants, nor other bed than the earth all drenched with rain, their baggage being yet in the ships." Burnet says, "It was not a cold night." After this first disagreeable halt on English ground, the army, by noon the next day, was on its march towards Exeter. It was the fourth day from the landing before William made his public entry into the capital of the West. Two hundred captains of the host, on Flanders steeds, clothed in complete armour, each horse led by



a negro; two hundred Finlanders, with beavers' skins over their black armour; led horses; state coaches; the standard of the deliverer who was to maintain the liberties of England; the prince himself, with white ostrich feathers in his helmet; guards and pages,—volunteers; and then a gallant army, bedabbled indeed with mud, and wearing the orange uniform, strange enough in eyes accustomed to the English scarlet; twenty pieces of cannon, then of enormous size; and, what was almost as potent, waggons loaded with money—such was the spectacle upon which the people of Exeter gazed, as the long procession moved through the steep streets, and welcome was shouted from many a window of the old gabled houses. But William had expected a reception more decisive—a welcome which should give a greater assurance of success than a fleeting popular enthusiasm. No man of rank, with troops of followers, was at Exeter to salute him. “The clergy and magistrates of Exeter were very fearful and very backward. The bishop and the dean ran away.” Lord Dartmouth has a note upon this passage of Burnet. Shrewsbury, he says, informed him, that the prince began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; but Shrewsbury told William that “he believed the great difficulty amongst them was, who should run the hazard of being the first; but if the ice were once broken, they would be as much afraid of being the last.”\* It was a week from the landing before any gentleman of Devonshire joined the prince. There was a king upon the throne whose vengeance would be even more terrible than in 1685, if another attempt against him should fail. But in that second week the feeling of confidence became more strong. Sir Edward Seymour arrived with “other gentlemen of quality and estate,” and he organised an Association. The cloth workers and labourers, sufferers as they had been, had shown less calculating apathy than the “gentlemen of quality.” “Whilst the prince stayed at Exeter,” says Burnet, “the rabble of the people came to him in great numbers.” He has no word of gratitude for their generous support. It was the fashion of that day, and long continued to be the fashion, to speak of the common people as “rabble” and “mob.” William, in his cold way, looked upon this rabble of Exeter only as a soldier looks. He did not think it necessary to arm this undisciplined multitude, for he understood, from the temper of the royal army, that, if his cause

\* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 314.



were likely to prosper, the hired defenders of the throne would come over to him. He was not deceived.

From the time that the news arrived of the landing at Torbay, the metropolis was naturally the scene of the greatest excitement. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting all persons from reading the Declaration of the prince of Orange. Of course the desire to see that manifesto was increased. The king sends for the primate and three bishops, and shows them that passage in which the promised assistance of spiritual as well as temporal peers is set forth. They express a doubt whether the manifesto is genuine. The king upbraids them for their lukewarmness; they recapitulate their old injuries. He requires from them a declaration of abhorrence of the proceeding of William. They refuse to stand alone in such a declaration. The king in anger sent them away; and applied himself to touch for the evil, with a Jesuit and a Popish priest officiating.\* A large force had been assembled at Salisbury. On the 15th, the king received the news that lord Cornbury, the eldest son of the earl of Clarendon, had marched from the camp, at the head of three regiments of cavalry. He did not carry through his design of joining the army of William, for his officers refused to proceed; but he arrived at the Dutch camp himself, and many of the men followed his example. The king was staggered at the treachery of a young man who had been bred up in the household of his own daughter Anne—of a favoured courtier, who was the son of his brother-in-law. James called the officers of the army to give him counsel. He exhorted them to preserve their loyalty as subjects and their honour as gentlemen. "They all seemed," says James in his Memoirs, "to be moved at this discourse; and vowed they would serve him to the last drop of their blood. The duke of Grafton, and my lord Churchill, were the first that made this attestation, and the first who, to their eternal infamy, broke it afterwards."† We can sympathise with the indignation of the unhappy king, without shutting our eyes to his errors and his crimes. Still more can we sympathise, when, ten days afterwards, he learnt that his son-in-law, George of Denmark, and his own daughter, Anne, had deserted him. He had set out for Salisbury, which he reached on the 19th. His agitation brought on a violent bleeding at the nose, which lasted three days. Meanwhile support was gathering round the prince of Orange from every quarter. The northern counties were in arms. Nottingham was

\* Evelyn's "Diary."

† "Life," vol. ii. p. 219.

the rallying point for the assembling of large bodies of men, headed by Devonshire, and other great earls. On the 22nd, when the army of the prince of Orange was at a short distance from Salisbury, the earl of Feversham, the commander of the royal troops, intimated that there was defection in the camp, and advised arrests. James was still confident that no one could be a traitor to *him*. His prodigious self-esteem and self-confidence blinded him to signs of danger which were evident to all others. He began, however, to think of retreating. He called a council of war on the evening of the 24th. On the morning of the 25th Churchill and Grafton were in William's camp. All was alarm; and an immediate retreat was commanded by the king. At Andover, the prince of Denmark fled from him, with two noblemen. On the king's arrival in London on the 26th he found that his daughter, Anne, was gone. "God help me," exclaimed the wretched king, "my own children have forsaken me." Anne escaped from Whitehall, with the assistance of her friend, lady Churchill; and was taken by the bishop of London to Nottingham. "The king," writes the duchess of Marlborough, "went down to Salisbury to his army, and the prince of Denmark with him; but the news quickly came from thence that the prince of Denmark had left the king, and was gone over to the prince of Orange, and that the king was coming back to London. This put the princess into a great fright. She sent for me; told me her distress; and declared that rather than see her father she would jump out at the window." The crafty duchess says, "it was a thing sudden and unconcerted; nor had I any share in it, farther than obeying my mistress's orders, in the particulars I have mentioned; though indeed I had reason enough on my own account to get out of the way, lord Churchill having likewise at that time left the king; and gone over to the other party."\*

James records his sense of his abandonment when he had come back to London: "The contagion was spread so universally that all parts of England furnished the same news of risings and defections; the only strife was who should be foremost in abandoning the king."† He had sent the infant prince of Wales to Portsmouth, to be conveyed to France, if there was no turn in affairs. Father Petre, and other obnoxious advisers, had fled. There was no manifestation of aid on the part of his Roman Catholic subjects—of those who had lighted bonfires, and madly danced around

\* "Authentick Memoirs," p. 80.

† "Life," p. 230—"Original Memoirs."

them when the unfortunate child was born.\* In his deep distress, James called a meeting of all the peers who remained in London. Nine spiritual lords, and between thirty and forty temporal lords, attended him at Whitehall on the 27th. He had received a petition, before he departed for Salisbury, entreating him to convoke a free parliament. At the meeting those who had signed it explained their views. But they further suggested that it would be desirable to send commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. They also urged a general amnesty. Upon this point the king manifested some impotent anger; but he had provocations of treachery enough to irritate a wiser man; and he was goaded by words from Clarendon, which Burnet even characterises as "insolent and indecent." Three commissioners, Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, were appointed to treat with the prince. Godolphin told Evelyn that "they had little power." A proclamation for a general amnesty was issued; writs were ordered to be sent out to call a parliament for the 13th of January. But James, even in this moment of despairing concession, was insincere. He told Barillon, the French ambassador, that a parliament would impose conditions on him that he could not bear. He must leave England. He would take refuge in Ireland, or in Scotland, or he would seek aid in person from the king of France, as soon as he had secured the safety of the queen and his son. Dartmouth, the admiral of the fleet, refused to be a party to carry the prince of Wales out of the country. The child was therefore brought back to Whitehall. The commissioners proceeded to the camp of the prince of Orange, who was steadily advancing towards the capital. On the 6th of December he had reached Hungerford. A skirmish took place at Reading between two hundred and fifty of his advanced guard, and six hundred Irish troops who had entered the town. The inhabitants joined with the Dutch troops in attacking the Irish, who were regarded by them as enemies. It was the only serious affair of arms during this bloodless contest for a crown. The memory of this Sunday fight was long celebrated in Reading, by ringing the bells on the anniversary of the defeat of the "Papishes," who came to destroy the town "in time of prayer," as a ballad records. At Hungerford, the king's commissioners arrived on the 8th. William would not give them a private audience. They announced to him, amidst a crowd of his supporters, that the proposition which they had to make was, that all matters in dispute should be

\* At Carlisle; Story's Journal.

referred to the parliament, for which writs were being issued; and that in the interval the prince's army should not approach within thirty miles of the capital. The prince retired, leaving the noblemen and gentlemen to consult together. The majority of his adherents considered that the proposition of the king should not be accepted. William thought otherwise. But he required that if his troops were not to approach London within the prescribed distance on the west, the king's troops should be removed to an equal distance on the east. Whilst the negotiation was proceeding at Hungerford, the queen and the prince were privately conveyed down the river, and the vessel in which they were aboard sailed with a fair wind for France. This was on the 10th of December. On that day James wrote to Lord Dartmouth, "Things having so very bad an aspect, I could no longer defer securing the queen and my son, which I hope I have done, and that to-morrow by noon they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away. I have not heard this day, as I expected, from my commissioners with the Prince of Orange, who I believe will hardly be prevailed with to stop his march; so that I am in no good condition, nay, in as bad a one as is possible."\* When the king wrote this letter, he was meditating his own flight. The true character of the man was disclosed in his last hours of sovereignty. He sent for the great seal, and for the writs to summon a parliament that had not gone out. He threw the writs into the fire. He annulled those which had been issued. To no one of his ministers did he reveal his intentions. He had announced to many peers who had been invited by him to the palace, that he had sent his queen and his son away, but that he should himself remain at his post. At three o'clock on the morning of the 11th he stole out of Whitehall by a secret passage; entered a hackney coach provided by Sir Edward Hales, crossed the Thames in a wherry, and threw the great seal into the river. Before London was awake he was far on the road towards Sheerness.

England was without a government. Her king, who would not rule according to law, left his people to the terrible chances of anarchy. In a great metropolis like London, there are marauders always ready to take advantage of any public commotion. James had commanded the earl of Feversham, by letter, to disband his troops; and they were let loose without any of the restraints of discipline. In an emergency like this it was necessary that some

\* "Pepys' Correspondence," vol. v. p. 147.

decided resolution should be instantly taken, to prevent universal confusion. Seven spiritual lords, with Sancroft as their head, and twenty-two temporal peers, drew up a declaration that the flight of the king having destroyed the hope of a parliamentary settlement of affairs, they had determined to join the prince of Orange, and until his arrival to preserve order by their own authority. Never was some authority more necessary. The night came, and a fierce multitude, amidst the cry of No Popery, burnt Roman Catholic chapels, and attacked the houses of ambassadors from Roman Catholic states. But no lives were sacrificed. The next day the train bands were under arms; and tumults were kept down by some troops of cavalry. On that day, the hated lord Chancellor, Jeffreys, was discovered in the disguise of a sailor, in a public house at Wapping. He was saved from a fierce mob by the trainbands, but not without severe injury, and was taken before the Lord Mayor. It was mercy to the terrified judge, who had carried terror into so many families, to send him to the Tower by an order from the peers at Whitehall.

The night of the 12th was long memorable in London as "the Irish night." The rioters had gone home. The city was peaceful. But a rumour was spread that the Irish troops of Feversham's disbanded army were marching on London. Every citizen came forth with pike and musket to fight for life and property, whilst every window was lighted up, and barricades were hastily constructed in every leading thoroughfare. The alarm was altogether false. But by some unknown agency the same consternation was excited throughout the country. Thoresby has left a vivid picture of a night scene at Leeds. A fearful cry went through the town of "Horse and arms, horse and arms! the enemy are upon us." The drums beat, the bells rang backward, the women shrieked. Thousands of lighted candles were there also placed in the windows. Aged people who remembered the Civil Wars, said they never knew anything like it.\* When the panic was over men felt ashamed of their fears. If the agents in spreading this shameful delusion had expected to excite the people against the Roman Catholics, they were greatly mistaken. The exaggerated terror showed how little there was really to apprehend in a country in which nine-tenths of the people were Protestants. The poor Irish soldiers, wandering through the towns and villages, begged for food, but they neither massacred nor plundered. They were

\* Thoresby. "Diary," vol. i. p. 190.

soon required to deliver up their arms, and were provided with sufficient necessaries.

On the third day from the flight of James, it became known in London that he had not left the country. He had gone on board a hoy near Sheerness. But the vessel was detained by the state of the tide ; and the news had come that the king had absconded. The hoy was about to sail at night, when she was boarded by fishermen, who had heard that some persons, dressed as gentlemen, had taken their passage in her. They roughly treated the king, who they fancied was Father Petre, and they carried him and sir Edward Hales ashore to Sheerness. James was recognized by the crowd around the inn to which he was taken; but although they treated him with respect, they refused to let him go. The Council in London were assembled, when a messenger arrived from the king, bringing a paper calling upon all good Englishmen to rescue him. A troop of Life Guards was immediately sent off; and when Feversham, their commander, arrived, he found the king guarded by militia, and surrounded by Whig gentlemen of Kent, who thought it would be an acceptable service to detain him. He was now moved to Rochester. William learnt at Windsor that the flight of James was thus unluckily interrupted. On Sunday, the 16th, the king had been persuaded by his friends to return to Whitehall. Pity, amongst many, had taken the place of hatred. He was received by the people with shows of kindness that misled him. He instantly put on the attitude that had so alienated his subjects. He "goes to mass, dines in public, a Jesuit saying grace." Evelyn adds, "I was present." He called the lords before him who had saved the country from confusion, and haughtily blamed their presumption in taking upon themselves the government. The next day, the 17th, a Council of Lords was held at Windsor. It was determined that the king should not remain at Whitehall. A message was sent to recommend him to move to Ham House, near Richmond. Meanwhile the army of William was advancing. On the night of that Monday, Whitehall was guarded by Dutch troops. The lords from Windsor arrived. James declined to go to Ham. He would prefer Rochester. A messenger was sent to William, who had reached Sion, and returned in a few hours with his approval. One entry from Evelyn's diary briefly tells the great event of the next morning: "I saw the king take barge to Gravesend at twelve o'clock—a sad sight." That night the prince of Orange slept in St. James' palace.

The reign of James II. is held to have terminated on the 11th of December, when he secretly departed from Whitehall, with the intention of leaving the kingdom. The reign of William and Mary is determined by Statute to have commenced on the 13th of February, 1689, "the day on which their majesties accepted the crown and royal dignity of king and queen of England." The interval of about two months is called by historians

## THE INTERREGNUM.

On the 16th of December the prince of Orange held a court at St. James's. Thither came the Corporation of London in state. All the prelates were there, with the exception of the archbishop of Canterbury. The London Clergy were not wanting in their tribute of respect. Non-conformist divines also attended in a body. "Old Sergeant Maynard came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The prince took notice of his great age, and said, that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time: he answered, he had like to have outlived the law itself, if his highness had not come over."\* Amidst this throng William stood "stately, serious, and reserved."† His position was one of exceeding difficulty. He was urged to take the crown, as Henry VII. had taken it, by right of conquest. He rejected the advice. Such a claim would have been a violation of his own promises. It would have justly irritated a proud and sensitive people, who already looked with suspicion upon the orange uniform of his guards. He resolved to assemble, provisionally, two bodies that should represent the Lords and Commons of England. He invited the Peers to attend him; he invited also those who had sat in the House of Commons during the reign of Charles II. and with them the aldermen of London, and a deputation from the Common Council. He begged them to consider the state of the country, and communicate

\* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 341. Swift has a characteristic note on this passage, "He was an old rogue, for all that."

† Evelyn.



to him the result of their deliberations. The two bodies met in separate chambers; and they each finally agreed to present to William addresses, to request that he would issue letters to summon a Convention of the Estates of the realm, and in the mean time take upon himself the administration of government. These resolutions were agreed to with less hesitation when it was known that James, after staying a week at Rochester, had gone over to France. William applied himself with all the energy of his character to extricate the nation out of its confusion. The exchequer was almost empty. Such was the confidence in him that, upon his word alone, two hundred thousand pounds were immediately placed in his hands by the Common Council of London, as a loan subscribed by the merchants. The nation felt, generally, that it was under a temporary ruler who would respect the law, and maintain order and security. The letters for calling the Convention were sent out; the old charters had been restored; and the elections proceeded without any interference with the freedom of the electors, by the influence of the servants of the government. The prince of Orange had also been requested to proceed in the same manner in regard to Scotland as in England—to take on himself the provisional administration, and to call a Convention of the Estates.

On the 22nd of January the Convention met. The composition of the House of Commons was such that there was not likely to be any serious difference of opinion upon the fundamental principles of a settlement of the nation. But there were great difficulties to be overcome. Evelyn has related the discussions at a dinner on the 15th, at the palace of the archbishop of Canterbury, where he met five bishops and several peers: "Sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of the Lords and Commons who were to convene. Some would have the princess made queen without any more dispute; others were for a Regency; there was a Tory party, then so called, who were for inviting his majesty again upon conditions; and there were Republicans, who would make the prince of Orange like a Stadtholder." The bishops, he adds, "were all for a Regency, thereby to save their oaths, and so all public matters to proceed in his majesty's name." The most important of these differences was encountered and settled by the Commons, in their great vote of the 28th of January: "Resolved, That king James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits, and other



wicked persons, having violated the fundamental Laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, has abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby become vacant." On the 29th they passed another resolution: "That it hath been found, by experience, to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a Popish Prince." The Lords, on receiving the Resolution of the Commons that the throne was vacant, to which their concurrence was desired, entered upon long and serious debates, having concurred in the Resolution that the kingdom ought not to be governed by a Popish Prince. The great question by them discussed was, whether a Regency, under which the royal power should be administered in the name of king James II. during his life, was not the best and safest way to preserve the laws and the Protestant religion. This motion was only lost by a majority of two, fifty-one to forty-nine. They then proceeded to the discussion of the abstract question, whether or no there was an original contract between king and people. This brought into conflict the assertors of divine right, and the assertors that all power originally belonged to the community, the power of the king being by mutual compact. This latter position, which rejected the notions of absolute authority which had been so servilely maintained since the Restoration, was carried by fifty-three votes against forty-six. It was then resolved, that king James had broken the contract; and then the substitution of the word "deserted" for "abdicated" in the Resolution of the Commons was agreed to. But the great point of discussion was, "Whether king James, having broken that original contract between him and his people, and deserted the government, the throne was vacant." The negative was decided by a majority of fifty-five to forty-one. The Lords and Commons were now at issue upon a great principle. The majority maintained that in the monarchy of England the throne could never be vacant; that upon the demise of the crown the right of the heir was complete; any other principle would make the monarchy elective. A conference between the two Houses was carried on with remarkable ability; but the firmness of the Commons, intent as they were upon a practical result, led the Lords to agree, the day after the Conference, to the Resolution of the Commons, without alteration; and further to resolve, that the prince and princess of Orange should be declared king and queen of England and all the dominions thereunto belonging. The Commons had resolved, on the 29th of January, that "before the Com-

mittee proceed to fill the throne now vacant, they will proceed to secure our religion, laws, and liberties." They accomplished this in the memorable document known as "THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS." On the 13th of February, the two Houses of the Convention went in a body to Whitehall. The princess of Orange, who had arrived from Holland on the previous day, sat with her husband, under a canopy in the Banqueting-House. Halifax, the Speaker of the Lords, addressed their highnesses, and said that both Houses had issued a Declaration, which was then read by the Clerk of the House of Lords:

"Whereas the late king James, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom: By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament: By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power: By issuing and causing to be executed, a commissioner under the great seal, for erecting a Court called 'The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes: ' By levying money for and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament: By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament; and quartering soldiers contrary to law: By causing divers good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law: By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament: By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes recognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons, have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers juries in trials for High Treason, which were not freeholders: and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects: and excessive fines have been imposed, and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted: and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm. And whereas the said late king James II. having abdicated the government and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the 22nd day of January in this year 1688, [1689] in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted: Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their several letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the end aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare: That the pretended power of suspending the laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal: That the pretended power of

dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal: That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commission and courts of the like nature are illegal and pernicious: That levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal: That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal: That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law: That the subjects, which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law: That elections of members of parliament ought to be free: That the freedom of speech, and debates, or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament: That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted: That jurors ought to be duly empanelled and returned; and jurors, which pass upon men in trials of high-treason, ought to be freeholders: That all grants, and promises of fines, and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void: And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently. And they do claim, demand, and insist, upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and no declarations, judgments doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein. Having therefore an entire confidence that his said highness, the prince of Orange, will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, life, and liberties; the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions, to them, the said prince and princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the royal power be only in, and executed by the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. And the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons do pray the said prince and princess of Orange, to accept the same accordingly: And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated: 'I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their majesties, king William and queen Mary. So help me God. I, A. B., do swear That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, That princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.' And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

When the reading of the Declaration was concluded, lord Halifax, in the name of all the Estates of the realm, requested the

prince and princess to accept the Crown. "We thankfully accept," said William, "what you have offered us." A few words of assurance from those undemonstrative lips, that the laws should be the rule of his life, that he would endeavour to promote the kingdom's welfare, and that he would constantly seek the advice of the two Houses of Parliament, concluded this memorable transfer of the Crown. Amidst the shouts of the people, the Prince and Princess of Orange were proclaimed King and Queen of England. The Revolution was accomplished.

The Revolution of 1688 is the commencement of a new era in English history. It was not a great popular victory over an absolute king or an intolerant priesthood. Such a victory had been achieved by the Long Parliament; but the change from a Monarchy to a Commonwealth, from Episcopacy to Puritanism, was too extreme, and too sudden, to be permanent. The re-action brought back the evil theories of Strafford and Laud; but the time was past when any successful attempt could be made to carry them out to their extreme consequences. The time was also past when resistance to oppression and corruption would contemplate the overthrow of the Crown and Mitre. The opposition to the measures of the two successors of Charles the First was narrowed by limits which did not circumscribe the contest with their father. When the insane passion of James the Second, to thrust an obnoxious religion upon the nation, was to be carried through by his own illegal assumption of power,—when chartered privileges were violated—when justice was corrupted at its fountain head—the desire to substitute some other form of government in the place of the ancient monarchy was gone. The republican enthusiasm of Vane and Ludlow had given place to the safe Constitutionalism of Halifax and Somers. When the Church of England was roused by its own danger into a contest with the absolute king, whose right-divine to unlimited obedience it had so strenuously maintained, the Non-conformists did not reproach the Church for its inconsistency, or make common cause with its enemies, in the hope of its downfall. The zealotry of Peters, and the fanaticism of Venner, had been succeeded by the moderation of Howe and the peace-making of Penn. Hence, in the Revolution of 1688, there was scarcely a manifestation that the leaders of the movement contemplated any violent change in the institutions of the country. It was by no means clear that the most influential among them contemplated

the removal of their obnoxious sovereign. They sought to curb his illegal proceedings, through the power of a foreign prince, whose interest in the welfare of the kingdom gave a semblance of legality to his invasion, and whose sagacity and courage were the pledges that his attempt would not miscarry for the want of the necessary qualities to carry it through. From the same cause that had rendered the resistance to the government a policy rather than an impulse, the support which the government still retained was a calculation rather than a feeling. That Loyalty was gone, which regarded the king as the supreme arbiter of a nation's destiny, to be served without any limitation, and to be obeyed without any doubt. With the Roundheads of the Civil War, resistance to this irresponsible power was a principle. With the Cavaliers, the defence of all royal power was a sentiment. Charles the Second destroyed the sentiment when it became incompatible with respect for the possessor of the crown. James the Second completed its destruction, when he cast off those allies who had attempted to found implicit obedience upon the divine command. From the inevitable changes of national feeling in the past half century, whose lessons of experience had been so harsh and yet so salutary, it resulted that the Revolution of 1688 was not a great emotional change, in which the evil might be feared as much as the good—a convulsion which should overthrow many right things which ought to be preserved as well as the bad things which ought to be swept away. That convulsion had taken place in the previous generation. It was scarcely necessary now to do more than preserve what had been won; to restore what had then been destroyed; and to render any future attempts impossible to bring back the period of misrule that preceded the great catastrophe of the Monarchy. But to accomplish this amount of good effectually and securely, it was the first condition of success that the Monarchy should be preserved. The great difficulty of effecting this preservation, and yet changing the occupier of the throne, is the natural explanation of the inconsistency of the theory upon which James was set aside. The practical necessity over-rode the abstract incongruity. There was to be sovereignty; but the legitimate sovereign was cast out and the heir passed by. And yet the elective principle was not absolutely maintained. But at the same time the right divine, upon which the claim to absolute power had been built, was rejected; the compact between king and people was recognised. There was still the Monarchy, with all its an-

cient dignity and possessions, but the title rested no longer upon slavish theories. The title of William and Mary was irrevocably associated with the Declaration of Rights. When, on the thirteenth of February, William, prince of Orange, said to the Peers and Commons who tendered him the Crown in conjunction with his wife—"We thankfully accept what you have offered us"—their recognition of the gift also recognised the conditions of the gift,—that the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the legal prerogatives of the Sovereigns, were thenceforth to be inseparable.

The broad foundation upon which the Rights and Liberties of the People were to be restored, kept up, extended if necessary, was that of a free Parliament,—freely elected, free in its proceedings, without whose consent no taxes could be levied, and no standing army maintained—a Parliament frequently meeting, "for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the Laws." Upon Parliamentary Representation was the Revolution based. It is for this reason, especially, that the Revolution may be considered the commencement of a new era. The Parliament was thus to be a great integral part of the Constitution, without which no act of government could have a real vitality. During the whole unhappy time of the Stuarts, their great struggle had been to govern without Parliaments. During the Civil War and the earlier years of the Commonwealth, the attempt of the legislative power to govern without the monarchical, was found to be full of danger and insecurity. The sagacity of Cromwell saw that a Monarchy, or "something like a Monarchy," in conjunction with a Parliament, was best adapted to the whole structure of the English laws, and best suited to the character of the English people. What Cromwell in vain aimed at was accomplished without difficulty, by a prince who much resembled him in some of the great qualities that belong to a ruler of men. In 1689, the Constitution was established through the principle of Resistance, not upon any new theories, but upon fundamental laws, many of which were of an older date than that of the oldest oak which stood upon English ground. For this reason, it has never again been necessary to call in the principle of Resistance. A time would come, when the government of England, being so essentially a Parliamentary government, the struggles of Parties would have more regard to the possession of power than to the interests of the nation. But it was the essential consequence of these very strifes of Party, that, whatever the influence of oli-

garchs or demagogues, a controlling public opinion was constantly growing and strengthening. The power that distinguished the century following the Revolution from all other centuries, was the power of the Press, and especially the power of Journalism. Rude and incomplete as were its first efforts against, and often for, corrupt and unpatriotic administrations, it gradually rendered public opinion so active and concentrated, that statesmen could no longer affect to despise its admonitions. The Press ceased to be controlled by a licenser. It ceased to be awed by the fear of state prosecutions, when its security rested upon the verdict of twelve men. The tampering with Juries was one of the most crying evils of the period which preceded the Revolution. The doctrine which had been so often violated was solemnly asserted in 1689, that "Jurors ought to be duly empanelled and returned." Chiefly through the influence of public opinion, kept in vigorous order by the Press,—and let it always be borne in mind that the Press was essentially controversial, and always will be so,—extreme opinions became less and less. In the same degree the union of Classes became closer. The representatives of the old great families approached the commonalty, not as a "rabble," but as fellow-citizens. The commonalty looked upon the aristocracy, not as a hateful caste of oppressors, but as their natural leaders. The Revolution of 1688 has been despised by some as an aristocratic Revolution. Happy for us that it was not born of that "violent and unextinguishable hatred of inequality," that fierce desire "to raze to their foundations all that remained of the institutions of the Middle Ages;"\* which, chiefly, have made the Revolutions of another great nation so unstable.

\* De Tocqueville.



## CHAPTER XIX.

View of the National Industry from the Revolution of 1688 to the Accession of the House of Brunswick.—Population.—the South-Western Counties.—The Woollen Manufacture.—Clothing trade of the West.—Domestic Character of the Manufacture.—Foreign Trade.—Bristol.—Watering-places of the Coast.—Travelling for pleasure.—Inland Watering-places.—Bath.—Arsenal of Plymouth.—Iron Manufactures.—Forest of Dean.—South Wales.—Tin Mines of Cornwall.—Copper Mines.—Welsh Coal Field.—Varieties of Employment in the West of England.

WE are entering upon that period of our national progress in which England is very slowly developing itself into a manufacturing and commercial country. The great features of that progress, and its accompanying changes in the character of the population, must ever be borne in mind when we attempt to trace the political history of the eighteenth century. This gradual development of her resources is not a mere accident in England's career. It constitutes the most important feature of her advancing political condition. It requires to be thoroughly understood, if we would rightly understand the circumstances which have given us our present place amongst the nations. We propose to offer a picture, derived indeed from scattered and imperfect materials, but with some approximation to exactness, of the industry, and the consequent condition and character of the people, during the period from the Revolution of 1688 to the accession of the house of Brunswick. Some of our authorities extend through the reign of George I.\* But there were few changes of invention or discovery to mark a new epoch of industry as immediately following the close of the reign of Anne. It was the period before steam-engines and navigable canals—the period before the cotton trade—the period before scientific husbandry in its humblest form. It was the period when the infant industry of England was thought to be only secure under the system of Protection, carried to the utmost amount of actual prohibition of foreign manufactures, or of repression by high duties. It was a period of nearly stationary population. It was a period of old staple production that was thought all sufficing for national prosperity, and of timid experi-

\* Such as Defoe's "Tour," which was commenced in 1722.



ment in new fields of enterprise that were regarded as dangerous and delusive. Such notions went before the coming era of marvellous extension of productive power; and they long contended against the political philosophy and the scientific knowledge that determined that extension. Let us endeavour to trace what England was under its accustomed industrial habits,—patient, persevering, slow England—during the quarter of a century that succeeded the Revolution. To our minds this is a period of extreme interest. It is the period of transition from the plough to the loom; from the spinning-wheel to the factory; from the age of tools to the age of machinery. Employments are intermingled. The shuttle is plied in the valleys where the fleece is sheared; the iron is smelted on the hills where the timber is felled for charcoal. Ships of small burden carry the products of one locality to another, up the estuaries and tributary rivers; and when navigation is impeded by sands and rocks, packhorses bear the cargo into the interior. The people of one district know very little of another district. Each district has something to exchange with its neighbour could they be brought into communication; but impracticable roads and unnavigable streams keep them separate. Every county has its peculiar dialect, the traces of which philologists eagerly hunt after. The sports of the West are not the same as those of the South—the superstitions of the North have a different character from those of the East. Yet, with all these material causes of isolation, England has one heart. She is made compact by her Protestantism, by her general laws, by her system of local government, by historical memory. Her people, in their island home, intensely feel their nationality. But on this island home, which has a greater sea-board than any other European country, there is a constant incentive to an adventurous race to go forth to the most distant shores—to trade, to colonise, to make all the choice productions of the world their own by exchange—to be the sea-kings, as were their Saxon forefathers. To comprehend what England has done in a century and a half, we must carefully look back upon the point from which she started in this wondrous race.

One of the earliest proceedings of the first Parliament of William and Mary, was to grant an extraordinary Aid of £68,820 per month, for six months, payable in certain proportions by the several counties.\* Shortly following this grant was an enactment

\* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 3.

"for the taking away the revenue arising from Hearth-money." This tax is described as "not only a great oppression to the poorer sort, but a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered into and searched at pleasure." \* But this tax of Hearth-money was in one respect a national advantage. It formed the basis of all reasonable calculations of the amount of the population of England and Wales, towards the close of the seventeenth century, and for many years afterwards. Gregory King took the number of houses returned by the hearth-money collectors as determining his estimate that the population was about five millions and a half; a calculation very nearly borne out by statistical researches in our own days. Other accounts take the population of this period at a higher rate. From a table printed in 1693 it appeared that there were 1,175,951 houses.† Upon the authority of this table, allowing six persons to each house, the population was subsequently calculated at 7,055,706.‡ In the "Magna Britannia," which commenced to be published in 1720, the number of houses in each county is given; and, in many cases, the equivalent number of the population is also given, though upon a varying scale.§ The result is not very materially different from the estimates of Gregory King; and if the houses, in number about 1,200,000, were averaged to give five persons for each house, they would show a population of six millions, at the period to which our present inquiry extends. The use we propose to make of these returns of houses, and of the assessment for Aid,|| is to endeavour to form some estimate of the comparative population, industry, and wealth of each of the great divisions of the country; with occasional glances at the striking contrasts in our own times presented by some large industrial districts.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the west of England was the seat of the greatest commercial and manufacturing industry of the kingdom. The five South-Western Counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, then contained the largest number of houses and consequently the largest population, as compared with any other of our present eleven Registration Divisions. This district was also assessed in 1689 at a higher rate than any other.

\* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 10.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. v. Appendix No. 10.

‡ Chamberlayne's Present State, 1748.

§ The principle of assigning five persons to a house is sometimes observed; sometimes, six persons; and sometimes a medium between the two.

|| The Assessment was doubled in 1693, but the proportions were the same.

It was to pay £10,850 per month in aid, whilst the North-Western District of Cheshire and Lancashire was only to pay £1753. It contained 175,403 houses whilst Cheshire and Lancashire only contained 64,256. The population of the South-Western Counties was (at the rate of 5 persons for a house) 877,015, whilst the North-Western District was 321,280. At the census of 1801, the South-Western District contained a population only increased by about one fourth during a hundred years; whilst the North-Western was three times as numerous as at the beginning of the century. The contrast will be more striking if we look at the fact that, in 1851, the population of Cheshire and Lancashire nearly doubled that of the five South-Western Counties, which counties, a century and a half earlier, contained three times as many inhabitants as the North-Western. If we add Gloucestershire to the other five counties, we shall find that these six chief counties of the West at the beginning of the eighteenth century contained 202,167 houses and therefore above a million ten thousand inhabitants. At the same period, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, only contained 209,132 houses, and therefore these great Northern counties only exceeded the West in population by about thirty-five thousand souls. In 1851 these five Northern Counties contained five millions of inhabitants, being an excess above the six Western Counties of two million seven hundred thousand.

In the first year of the new dynasty an Act was passed "for the better preventing the exportation of Wool, and encouraging the Woollen Manufacture of this kingdom."\* The great object of commercial legislation for two centuries was to encourage the Woollen Manufacture. The one mode of accomplishing this was to prevent the exportation of Wool, and to prohibit the importation of textile articles for every other country, not excepting Scotland and Ireland. Wool was justly held to be "eminently the foundation of England's riches."† To let wool go away unwrought, or even in the shape of yarn, was to lessen or destroy this source of wealth. But the richer Dutch, especially, could give a better price for the wool than the English clothiers; and, said the first political economist of that time, "they that can give the best price for a commodity shall never fail to have it, by one means or other, notwithstanding the opposition of any laws by sea or land; of such force, subtilty, and violence is the general course of trade."‡ Under the Statute of the first year of William and Mary, Commis-

\* 1 Gul. and Mar. c. 32.

† Sir Josiah Child.

‡ *Ibid.*

sioners were appointed to prevent by forcible means the exportation of Wool. They employed a sloop and boats for the search of vessels. They had army of riding-officers and superiors in the wool-growing counties and adjacent ports. The contests between these riding-officers and the carriers of the wool were frequent and sometimes deadly; and the aggregate number of packs rescued from the officers were greater than the number seized. The service was most inefficient and dangerous in the North.\* The landed interest and the manufacturing interest were for years at issue upon the question of the exportation of wool. The manufacturers desired a monopoly. The landlords and cultivators advocated a perfectly open trade, and proclaimed the most liberal principles of commercial freedom. Such is the varying course of opinion which follows the varying interests of industrial operations. The economical writers of the end of the seventeenth century, who estimated the whole annual income of England at forty-three millions, and the rental at ten millions, reckoned the annual value of the wool at two millions, and the annual value of the woollen manufacture at eight millions. That manufacture was chiefly in the Western Counties, as it had been from the time of Edward VI. In that reign, though Coventry and Worcester produced "White Cloths" and "Coloured Cloths;" though the "Coloured Long Cloths" of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex were worthy of mention, as well as "Northern Cloths" and "Welsh Friezes;" Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, were especially famous for their "Whites" and "Reds," their "Azures" and "Blues." "Devonshire Kerseys," and "Broadcloths called Tauntons and Bridgewaters," were the objects of minute regulation. "Manchester, Lancashire, and Cheshire Cottons"—(a fabric so called in which cotton is held to have had no place)—and "Manchester Rugs and Friezes" form a small object of that legislative vigilance which was to insure "the true making of cloth within this realm," and to prevent the "many subtil sleights and untruths" which were imputed to greedy clothiers.† A hundred and fifty years later the West was still the great Cloth-making district; and to this cause may be chiefly attributed its comparative superiority in wealth and population.

In the days before steam-power, and the application of chemical science to manufactures, natural advantages wholly determined the localisation of trades. The same principle must always prevail to

\* Returns given in Smith's "Memoirs of Wool," vol. ii. p. 166.

† 5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 6.

a great extent in the most advanced stage of manufacturing industry. The clothing trade of the West was created by the adaptation of the district to sheep pasturage. On the grassy downs and wide plains of Wiltshire, innumerable flocks of sheep had yielded the fleece before the time when Stonehenge and Abury were mysterious ruins. The fleeces of the long-woolled sheep of the Cotswold Hills were famous in the fifteenth century; and Camden describes the substantial cotes with which this hill-district was covered, to shelter the flocks from the winter storm or the keen winds of the lambing season. The Mendip Hills supported a short-woolled breed, whose wool was as fine as that of Spain, which entered so largely into our woollen manufacture. The supply of wool was thus at hand for the clothiers who dwelt in the valley of the Lower Avon. The waters of that river, with its many branches, were especially fitted for fulling and dressing and dyeing cloth. The finest cloths were here fabricated. Frome, Bradford, Trowbridge, Devizes, with many adjacent towns then of great importance, were the seats of this "prodigy of a trade."\* Frome had added ten thousand to its population in thirty years, and was considered to have more inhabitants than Bath or Salisbury.† The clothing towns were surrounded with their tributary villages and hamlets, in which the work of spinning was performed by women and children. To the cottages where the hum of the wheel was ceaselessly heard, the clothiers of the towns sent their pack-horses laden with wool, and brought back the spun yarn, ready for the weaver's loom. The operative weaver was also in many cases a domestic worker. In the fulling and dyeing processes was combined labour alone necessary. The forgotten poem of John Dyer, "The Fleece"—which Johnson disdained on account of "the meanness naturally adhering and the irreverence habitually annexed to trade and manufactures"—gives us many accurate as well as pleasing pictures of the weaving labours of the valleys of the Avon, the Air, and the Stroud. The young man, entering upon his career of industry, sets up his own loom; he stores his soft yarn; he strains the warp along his garden walk, or by the highway side; he drives the thready shuttle from morn to eve: he takes the web to the fulling mill near some clear-sliding river, where tumbling waters turn enormous wheels and hammers; the wet web is often steeped, and often dragged by sinewy arms to the river's grassy bank; it is hung on rugged tenters to brighten in

\* Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 35, ed. 1738.

† *Ibid.*, p. 34.

the fervid sun ; the clothier's shears and the burler's thistle skim the surface ; and lastly, the snowy web is steeped in boiling vats, where woad or fustic, logwood or cochineal, give their hues to the purple of the prince, the scarlet of the warrior, and the black of the priest.\* There can be no greater contrast than that of the Woollen trade of the West, a century and a half ago, with a Cloth factory of the North in our own times ; where, with the gigantic aid of steam, wool from every quarter of the habitable globe is carded, spun, woven by the power-loom, fulled, sheared, and dyed, in buildings one of which would turn out more cloth than a dozen old clothing-towns, with their tributary villages. The contrast between the semi-pastoral state of the great staple of England, and its factory perfection, is equally remarkable as regards the moral condition of the people. The old loom is passing away : and so is the weaver of Kidderminster, who had his book before him as he threw the shuttle, and had "time enough to read or talk of holy things."†

The Gloucestershire clothiers of Stroud and the neighbourhood were especially famous for their fine cloths of scarlet and other gaudy hues, to which the purity of their streams was held as much to contribute as the skill of the dyer. It was the fineness and brilliancy of the English broad-cloths which gave them a value beyond their own silks and brocades to the Persian and the Turk, "even for their habits of ceremony." It was their intrinsic goodness—to preserve which so many statutory regulations had been prescribed for centuries—which recommended them to Spaniards and Portuguese, to Venetians and Italians, to the Greeks of the Levant and even to the Moors of Africa.‡ But this foreign trade was greatly straitened by circumstances and opinions. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the trade with France was gone. In 1674 a jealousy of that trade was the paramount idea of the commercial legislator ; for England sent France only about eighty thousand pounds' worth of woollen manufactures, and imported ten times that value of linen and silk manufactures, besides wine, brandy, paper, and many toys and luxuries. The difference, in the economical language of that day, was called the "Balance gained by the French from us yearly."§ When, after the accession of William and Mary, the nation was at war with Louis XIV.,

\* See Dyer's "Fleece," book iii.

† See *ante*, vol. iv. p. 44.

‡ "Atlas Maritimus," 1727.

§ "Parliamentary History," vol. iv. Appendix, No. xi.

all trade and commerce with France was prohibited; and it was declared that it had been found by long experience that the importation of the commodities of France "hath much exhausted the treasure of this nation, lessened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof, and greatly impoverished the English artificers and handicrafts."\* The same proposition was repeated in the same terms in 1704.† To compensate for the loss of the French trade, the North American colonies and the West Indies had become important customers for our woollen manufactures. The ports of Bristol and of North Devon thus continued to prosper; Liverpool was growing into importance; but many of the smaller ports of the channel were ruined. The towns of Weymouth and Lyme, that drove a flourishing trade with France before the Revolution of 1688, fell into decay. Lyme once sent large cargoes of woollen goods to Brittany,‡ and its "Cobb" was busy with little vessels laden with imports of French wines and linens. In 1709, the cobb-dues were under fourteen pounds, and the houses were fast falling into decay. Ships were employed in foreign trade of a larger tonnage than was fitted for small ports. Great towns alone became the seats of external commerce.§

Such a port was Bristol at the commencement of the eighteenth century—the famous port of the West—the only port that could pretend to enter into competition with London, and to trade with an entire independence of the capital.|| The Bristol shopkeepers were also merchants—"Wholesale men"—and they conducted an inland trade through all the Western counties by means of carriers, and extended their traffic through the midland districts, even to the Trent. Roger North had observed that at Bristol all the dealers were engaged in adventures by sea;—"a poor shopkeeper that sells candles will have a bale of stockings, or a piece of stuff, for Nevis or Virginia."¶ There was too much truth in his notice of one portion of the Bristol commerce—"rather than fail, they trade in men." The planters with whom the Bristol traders corresponded wanted labour, and in exchange for rum, and sugar, and tobacco, men were sent—wretched outcasts who had been kidnapped, or "small rogues" who were threatened by the justices with the extreme penalties of the law, and were instructed to pray for transportation "before any indictment was found

\* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 33.

† 3 & 4 Anne, c. 12.

‡ "British Merchant," 1713.

§ Roberts' "Southern Counties," p. 540.

|| Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 249.

¶ "Life of Lord Guilford," vol. i. p. 25.

against them."\* Bristol had this dishonour in the days of Charles II., as it was the last to cling to the dishonour of the slave trade in the days of George III. The Bristol traders, moreover, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had to bear a reproach, which even the noble charities of one of their great merchants, and their old reputation for hospitality, which earned them the title of "the courteous Bristolians," † could not outweigh. Defoe, in general no illiberal judge, complained of the inconveniences of Bristol—its narrow streets, its narrow river, and "also another narrow—that is, the minds of the generality of its people." He recommends them to travel to London—"from the second great trading town to the first; and they will see examples worth their imitating, as well for princely spirit as for upright and generous dealings." ‡ At that period Bristol was cursed with a very exclusive prosperity, and its uneducated freemen, amongst whom strangers were jealously forbidden to settle, indulged, when their adventures were prosperous, in that vulgar display which is the general accompaniment of sudden riches. § It was also cursed with an exclusive municipal government. From this great port of the Severn, Sebastian Cabot, "a Bristol man born," went forth in 1497 to set his foot upon Newfoundland. Two centuries later Bristol was the great emporium for American produce, and Dampier, with other bold buccaneers, sailed from Avon to come back rich with Spanish prizes. A century and a half later, the "Great Western" steamed down between the narrow rocks of St. Vincent, on her first voyage to New York, caring little for tides and adverse winds, for she had a self-contained power which took away the uncertainty of maritime communication, and made time and space of small amount in commercial calculations. The difference between the Bristol of Cabot and the Bristol of Dampier, is not greater than the difference between the Bristol of William III., whose statue was worthily raised in Queen Square by her citizens, and the Bristol of Queen Victoria. The Avon is now far too narrow for the mighty vessels, crowded amongst the diminutive, that steam to her quays from South Wales and Ireland, from Africa and America. But the old commerce of wool and woollen manufactures, of which

\* "Life of Lord Guilford," vol. i. p. 250, and vol. ii. p. 24.

† Fuller's "Worthies."

‡ "Tour," vol. ii. p. 250.

§ Defoe perhaps wrote under the influence of some personal slight. He sought a refuge in Bristol when under pecuniary difficulties; and was there pointed at as "the Sunday gentleman."



Bristol was the seat, is gone. The North has carried away the woollen manufacture from the West, to a very considerable extent. South Wales has far more productive industry than the making of flannels. The hearth-money returns of Bristol show little above five thousand houses, which would give a population not much exceeding twenty-five thousand. Defoe says, "Bristol is supposed to have a hundred thousand inhabitants within the city, and within three miles of its circumference." This is a material increase in less than forty years. A later writer observes that "Bristol, the second city in England, next to London has made the largest improvements since the Revolution, of any place in the kingdom, unless Manchester shall be thought an exception to this."\*

The great woollen manufacture extended itself in the eighteenth century still further west. At Taunton Defoe found eleven hundred looms at work for the weaving of common stuffs; and he was told that there was not a child in the town of above five years old who could not earn its own bread. At Honiton he first saw the serge manufacture of Devonshire, which occupied the whole county. At Exeter, a city then full of trade and manufacture, he looked with admiration upon the serge market, where the people assured him that serges to the value of a hundred thousand pounds were sometimes sold in one week. The port of Topsham was then one of the most considerable amongst the smaller ports of England; and the woollen manufactures of Devonshire were thence largely exported to Holland, to Portugal and Spain, to Italy. The commerce of the Exe is now comparatively small. Devonshire has still its scattered woollen manufactures, which give employ to fifteen hundred males and two thousand five hundred females; and five hundred males, and eight thousand five hundred females are now connected with the production of gloves and lace. But new populations have been created by circumstances of which the Devonians of a century and a half ago had no conception. It was for modern times to behold all the bays of the south-western coast where the myrtle is unharmed by the winter gales, transformed into flourishing towns, where a few fishermen once earned a precarious livelihood. The rush to the coast for sea-bathing and sea-air was a fashion unknown in the middle of the last century. Still less was it the fashion to locate the invalid under the shelter of hills and promontories, where the south-west breeze might give its soft but invigorating freshness to those who were held to have been per-

\* Smith's "M. moirs of Wool," 1747. Vol. i. p. 263.

ishing in the crowded city. Torquay was then a name for a few huts. Even more rare was the fashion of travelling for pleasure through scenes which we now call beautiful, but which our forefathers held to be horrible wastes. In the days of almost impassable roads, and when wheel conveyances were not common, the hills of Devonshire and Derbyshire, the mountains of Wales and Westmoreland, were left to their primitive occupants, unsought by the tourist, and hated by the business traveller. No one sailed down the Wye and the Dart for pleasure; the Dove and the Wharf were known in their inaccessible beauties only to the solitary angler. When the companion of Charles Cotton rides with him near Ashbourn, the Essex man exclaims, "Bless me, what mountains are here!" and when told that the hills bred and fed good beef and mutton, ejaculates, "They had need of all those commodities to make amends for the ill landscape."\* To the eyes of Defoe, Westmoreland was a country eminent only for being the wildest, most barren, and frightful of any that he had passed over in England, or even in Wales itself. He talks of the terrible aspect of the hills, and laments that all the pleasant part of England was at an end.† Gray was the first who looked at Windermere and Borrowdale, at Skiddaw and Saddleback, with the eye of the poet. Whateley was the first who described the Wye; and Gray, who followed him, is in raptures with its "succession of nameless wonders."‡ Such a change in the taste of the present and the past century may be accounted for without imputing to our predecessors an indifference to the beauties of nature. Travelling was to them weary work. The most populous districts, with the least execrable roads, were to them the most attractive. The only inns were in the great thoroughfares. The chance hospitality of a cottage on a mountain side was not to their tastes. Long after the middle of the eighteenth century good roads were the exception. Turnpikes had done something to amend the evil. But up to 1770, when Arthur Young wrote, the roads of the North, and especially of Lancashire, were mostly execrable; so that, speaking of the turnpike road from Preston to Wigan, this shrewd observer says, "Let me most seriously caution all travellers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country, to avoid it, as they would the devil."§ The love of the picturesque was not sufficient to bear the ordinary tourist through such difficulties.

\* "Complete Angler," Part ii.

† "Tour," vol. iii. p. 18.

‡ "Works," vol. iv. 1836.

§ "Six months' Tour in the North of England," vol. iv. p. 580.

In the West was the most celebrated watering-place of England. From the earliest times the hot springs of Bath had been the resort of the invalid. The city at the beginning of the eighteenth century was a small cluster of narrow streets, where the houses, although built of stone, were mean and ill-furnished. Yet it had long been the resort of the rich health-seekers and the rich pleasure-seekers. It was proverbial also for its beggars. Fuller, noticing the proverb, says that many repair to Bath from all parts of the land, "the poor for alms, the pained for ease." The beggars came, like fowl to the barn-door, where there was "the general confluence of gentry." Wood, the architect, changed Bath from a crowded nest of dirty lodgings into a city of palaces. But after these improvements were begun, Defoe compared "the close city of Bath" to a foul prison; and laments that physicians, by not giving equal praise to the hot springs of Matlock and Buxton, had not encouraged the building there of "noble and convenient bathing places, and instead of a house or two, a city raised for the entertainment of company."\* The passion for drinking mineral waters, and for bathing in medicinal springs, sent the fashionable world, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, to a similar round of idleness and dissipation, of card-playing and dancing, at the crowded cottages of Tunbridge Wells, and the fishing hovels of Scarborough. The virtues of the "Spa-waters" of the great sea-bathing place of the North were known in the days of Elizabeth. Those who walked from the town over the sands, to the mineral spring which issued from the cliff, never thought of a swim in the sea. There was then no gathering on the coast, east or west, north or south, to inhale the breeze or to float in the brine. The sea was as much dreaded by inland dwellers, as the mountains were hateful to the inhabitants of the plains.

When the Prince of Orange landed at Brixham, the probability was that the governor of Plymouth would have opposed the descent of a Dutch army upon the Western coast. The island of St. Nicholas had been fortified in the time of Elizabeth. The citadel had been built by Charles II. But at the end of the seventeenth century Plymouth was not a great naval station. No fleets of men-of-war anchored in the Hamoaze; no docks and victualling yards gave employment to two thousand five hundred workmen. William III. imparted the first impulse to the creation of the great arsenal which was to rival Portsmouth, by building two docks, which were

\* "Tour," vol. iii. p. 43.

begun in 1691: But Plymouth, the noble estuary of the Tamar and the Plym, had long been the most considerable port for merchandise of South Devon, as Bideford on the Torridge, and Barnstaple on the Taw, had chiefly absorbed the commerce of North Devon. The Plymouth of the end of the seventeenth century, and the Plymouth of the middle of the nineteenth century, are as essentially different as the war ships of each period. The perils of the Eddystone rock, "whereon many a good ship hath been split," \* were not averted by the warning light which has securely burnt there since the days of Smeaton. A light-house was commenced to be built on the Eddystone in 1696. In three years it was finished, and the dangers of the approach to the Sound were greatly lessened. The mighty storm of 1703, almost unequalled in its destructive violence, swept the first lighthouse away. There had been signals for help from the doomed fabric when the tempest began on the 24th of November. On the morning of the 26th, the people of Plymouth looked out upon the stormy sea with their perspective glasses, and behold, the lighthouse was gone. Its engineer, Winstanley, perished with it. Another lighthouse, formed like the first, of wood upon a stone foundation, was commenced in 1706. It was destroyed by fire in 1755. The force of the South Western gales always made the anchorage of Plymouth harbour somewhat unsafe, till Telford's breakwater, one of the triumphs of modern engineering, rendered the port as eminent for its safety as it is unequalled for picturesque beauty.

The ship-building of Plymouth Dock, of Portsmouth, and of the other naval stations, leads us to look at one of the most extraordinary contrasts between the end of the seventeenth century and the middle of the nineteenth. What mighty efforts of invention and energy between England depending upon foreign countries for iron, and England supplying the whole world with iron: England without iron to hold together its "wooden walls," and England building iron ships; using iron as the great material of the grandest as well as of the humblest purposes of constructive art; covering the whole island with iron roads for vehicles drawn by iron engines; connecting opposite hills by iron viaducts, and carrying iron bridges over the narrowest river and the broadest estuary—the England of every tool and every machine produced from iron, and the England with scarcely iron enough to make its ploughshares. In such considerations of the grandeur of Art

\* Teonge's "Diary," p. 25.

there is the poetical element, as deep if not so vivid, as in the contemplation of the grandeur of Nature. To connect poetry with manufacture, according to Dr. Johnson, "is to couple the serpent with the fowl." Whateley, in a celebrated passage, described the smoky cloud of an iron forge on the Wye as adding to the grandeur of the scene at the New Weir. This was simply the picturesque of poetry. But what images of the past, the present, and the future are connected with an incident of the iron manufacture on the same river. The first mass was performed in "the Cistercian house of the blessed Mary of Tintern," in 1287. Now, five hundred and seventy years afterwards, the majestic ruins of the conventual church are the admiration of every visitor. To our minds the impressiveness of this noble monument of the piety of the days of Edward I. is enhanced by the solemn thought of the vast social changes of six centuries—changes never more strikingly manifested than in the fact that, within a few hundred yards of the Abbey, the best wire was manufactured for the Atlantic Telegraph.

In the seventeenth century the forest of Dean was the principal seat of the iron manufacture. It had been an iron-making district from the time of the Romans. The cinders from the old Roman furnaces still lie like pebbles on the sea-shore on the left bank of the Wye, and deep cavities from which the iron-stone has been dug attest the labours of the industrious race whose coins are found in the same pits.\* The work of smelting iron, which the Romans only half performed with imperfect mechanical aids, was carried through, though still imperfectly, by the miners of fourteen hundred years later. The woods of the forest of Dean were burnt for charcoal, in a country of pit-coal, and the best "sow-iron" was made from the half-smelted Roman cinders. This sow-iron was sent by the Severn into Worcestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire, and there made into bar-iron. The forges of Stourbridge, Dudley, Wolverhampton, Walsall, and Birmingham were chiefly kept at work by the fine iron from this Western country. "The forest of Dean," says Yaranton, "is, as to the iron, to be compared to the sheep's back, as to the woollen; nothing being of more advantage to England than these two are."† Nevertheless, there were a few iron works in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, in Worcestershire and Shropshire, where iron of inferior quality, a "a short soft iron, commonly

\* *Ante*, vol. i. p. 48.

† "England's Improvement," p. 58.

called cold-shore iron," was produced: it was chiefly used in the nail manufacture.\* An Act of 1668 recites, that the wood and timber of the Crown in the forest of Dean had become totally destroyed.† The manufacture of iron was unpopular. Many said, "it were well if there were no iron works in England, and it was better when no iron was made in England: the iron works destroy all the woods, and foreign iron from Spain will do better and last longer.‡ Drayton makes the trees of the Weald of Sussex utter their lament for "these iron times." Iron works had been nearly driven from Kent and Surrey by statutes of Elizabeth and James I. The iron railings round St. Paul's Churchyard were almost the last produce of southern iron-works. Plant woods to burn for charcoal, was the advice of those who believed that home-made iron was a necessity. A man wiser than others in his generation, Edward lord Dudley, obtained in 1619 a patent for smelting iron-ore by pit coal. He would probably have bestowed immense riches upon his country had not his iron-works been destroyed in an outbreak of that popular ignorance which had too often interrupted the course of scientific improvement. The notion of smelting the iron ore by coal was not fairly tried till after 1740, at which time the annual produce of iron in the whole country was only about seventeen thousand tons. What a contrast is the conveyance of iron from the mouth of the Wye in those days, and from the mouth of the Taff in our day. The furnaces of South Wales produce as much pig-iron in one week, as all the furnaces of England produced in the whole year of 1740. The seventeen thousand tons, smelted by charcoal in that year, are only the hundred and fortieth part of all the iron produced in the United Kingdom in 1851, and only the two-hundredth part of the produce of 1857. The iron of 1851, compared with the population, was estimated at a hundred and sixty-eight pounds (1½ cwt.) per head. The iron of 1740 gave less than seven pounds per head. The iron workers of Merthyr-Tydvil are greater now in number than the whole population of Glamorganshire at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The western extremity of England was the most ancient seat of her mining riches. The Romans worked the tin-mines of Cornwall, as they worked the lead-mines of Derbyshire. The sea-coast is full of the traces of the earliest mining industry. At a comparatively modern period, the reign of John, the Jews were the chief workers of the tin-mines. In the middle of the eighteenth

\* "England's Improvements," p. 58.

† 19 & 20 Car. II. c. 8.

‡ "England's Improvement," p. 56.

century the produce of these mines was about sixteen hundred tons; and no great increase was observable for another half century. That quantity is about a seventh of the present annual produce. The tin that was used to make the pewter dishes of the rich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is now chiefly employed to produce the tinned iron plates that form the cooking utensils of the mansion and the cottage, and the tea-pots of Britannia-metal and queen's-metal that are the luxuries of the mechanic's household. The first tin-plate manufactory was established in Monmouthshire in 1730. We now export tin-plates to the value, annually, of a million and a half sterling. The mines of Cornwall created the Stannary towns, of which Truro was the chief, for the stamping of tin, and the assessment of its "coinage," as the revenue of the dukes of Cornwall. But the county, in the time of William III., was full of decayed boroughs, which successive governments have reckoned amongst the best foundations of public security. Of the five hundred and thirteen representatives of England and Wales, Cornwall, with a population of a hundred and twenty-six thousand, sent forty-four members to parliament. It contained about a fiftieth part of the whole population, and it had a voice in the legislature as potent as if it contained a twelfth of all the inhabitants of the kingdom. This inequality did not contribute to the prosperity of the district. It was poor, and it was venal. The adventurers from Bristol who, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, thought that copper ore might be found in Cornwall; and Newcomen, the engineer, who, in 1713, employed the first steam-engine to drain a tin-mine near Helstone; conferred more substantial benefits upon Cornwall than all the privileges that kings and ministers had ever bestowed upon the Duchy. The Bristol traders set up mills in their city for the production of brass-ware, and to this use was the first copper ore applied. Sixty years afterwards, the copper produced from the ore of Cornwall was only about three thousand tons. In another century it had quadrupled in amount and value. The copper mines have brought about a commercial marriage between Cornwall and South Wales. The ore of the country which has no coal is conveyed across the Bristol Channel to the country which has coal in abundance. The works for smelting copper upon the Neath and the Tawe are as remarkable as the iron-works of the Taff. They are the more remarkable from the fact that the copper-ore of the Cornish mines now forms only a portion of the quantity smelted. The ship that has borne

the copper of Australia ten thousand miles, now enters the port of Swansea in company with the small vessel that has only dared the roll of the Atlantic, as she sailed beneath the bold cliffs from the Land's End to Hartland Point.

One great element of the mineral wealth of South Wales, whose existence is assumed in this brief notice of her iron-works and her copper-works, is to be found in her coal-fields. The other coal districts of the West, those of Bristol and the Mendip hills, are small in comparison with the vast range that extends from the mouth of the Severn through the whole coast of Wales bordering on the Bristol Channel. The South Welsh coal-field covers a workable area of six hundred thousand acres. At the beginning of the eighteenth century this vast mineral wealth was scarcely worked. There was an export trade of coal from Swansea to Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Ireland; and there was the same trade from Neath.\* But no adequate machinery was employed in the mines, and the works were carried on very little below the surface, in pits which could be easily drained by hand-labour. The demands of London for the "sea-coal fire" very early made the Newcastle trade of importance. But Wales had no share of this large supply; and the peculiar value of its coal was not felt till the age of steam-engines had arrived.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the industry of the West of England probably exhibited a greater variety of employments than any other district. The people were miners, fishers, cultivators, orchardists, shepherds, weavers, sailors. The Cornish tanners had been engaged in the same unvarying occupation, from times that make other branches of the manufacturing industry of England look as the mere growth of modern necessities. Their peculiar language has died out; but there is the remnant of an old system of co-operative industry in the "tributer" system of their mining labour, which assigns each man a reward different from the ordinary system of wages.† Such arrangements especially belong to an early age of society, before capital had organised industry by its all-controlling power. The Cornish fisheries are conducted upon the same principle, which has probably prevailed from very remote times, when the shoals of pilchards came into the Western bays, and have never ceased to come, although Fuller

\* Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 283.

† See Babbage's "Economy of Machinery," &c. p. 177.



thought they were "varying more westward, to Ireland."\* The same system of co-operation prevailed in one of the industries of Somersetshire—the cheese-making of Cheddar—for which Fuller has the characteristic name of "Join-dairies." In this village under the ridge of the Mendip, the whole population were cow-keepers. They all united in manuring the common upon which their cows fed. Every cow-keeper brought his milk daily to a common-room, where the quantity was measured and recorded. The making of a great cheese went duly forward; and when the milk of a poor man who kept but one cow was sufficient for one cheese, he received his cheese. The rich owner of many cows had his return earlier, but the poor man was sure of his just share.† In the rural economy of the West there was nothing peculiar but the apple-growth. It was especially the "Cider-land."‡ The Christmas festivities were not complete, unless the old sacrifices to Pomona were kept up in sprinkling cider upon the apple-trees.§ The superstition is gone; but the apple-orchards of the West have increased in fruitfulness as they have increased in number. The payment by the farmer of a portion of his labourers' wages in cider is perhaps also a relic of an ancient system, which appears in our day to have become an evil.|| Other distinguishing characteristics of this district have passed away. "The Western English"—the dialect of which the genuine characteristics are to be found in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle¶—has left no very marked traces. The Somersetshire school-boy would no longer translate, as Defoe heard, the words of the Canticles, "I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on?" into "Chow a doff'd my coot; how shall I donn't?"\*\* The old tourist found the "jouring" dialect prevail when he had come "that length from London." Rapid and easy communication have nearly swept away all such peculiarities, and have made the Southern English absorb the Western, the Mercian, the Anglian, and the Northumbrian.

\* "Worthies," vol. i. p. 206.

† Defoe's "Tour," vol. ii. p. 30.

‡ J. Philips's "Cider," book ii.

§ "For more or less fruits they will bring

As you do give them wassalling."—Herrick, "Hesperides."

|| "Journal of the Bath and West of England Society," vol. vi. p. 136.

¶ "Quarterly Review," vol. lv. p. 386.

\*\* "Tour," vol. i. p. 319.

## CHAPTER XIX.

The West-Midland and North-Midland Counties.—Birmingham.—Hardware.—The Potteries.—Glass.—Nottingham.—Stockings.—Lace.—Derby.—Silk.—Lead Mines.—Lincolnshire.—Salt.—Soda.—Soap.—Lancashire before the Cotton era.—Manchester.—Liverpool.—Linen Trade.—Yorkshire.—The Clothing Villages.—Leeds.—Sheffield.—Hull.—The Greenland Trade.—Newcastle.—Cumberland and Westmorland.—Scotland.—Agricultural Counties.—Norwich.—South-Eastern Coasts.—Cinque Ports.—Brighton.—Dover.—Portsmouth.—Southampton.

THE progress of Manufactures in districts favourable to their pursuit is decidedly marked by the rapid increase of population. The extension and improvement of Cultivation are not ordinarily followed by any such proportionate increase of the numbers of the people. Thus, of the West Midland Counties, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, did not add more than one fourth to their population throughout the eighteenth century. Warwickshire and Staffordshire, which before the end of that period had become great seats of the iron and hardware trade, and of the trade in earthenware, had doubled their population. In the same manner, though not in the same degree, of the North Midland Counties, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, which had grown up into large hosiery districts, added half to their numbers during that century. Of Lincolnshire, in the same period, the population was nearly stationary.

Bishop Berkeley, in 1737, by way of example to the Irish of the rapid turning of money, asks "Whether the small town of Birmingham alone doth not, upon an average, circulate every week, one way or other, to the value of fifty-thousand pounds?"\* The iron-ware of Birmingham was in repute long before the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the time of Henry VIII. Leland wrote that "a great part of the town is maintained by smiths, who have their iron and sea-coal out of Staffordshire." The people of Birmingham were then makers of knives, of bridle-bits, of nails. In the reign of Charles II. they still manufactured scarcely anything more than iron tools and husbandry implements. Their forges were open to the public streets, by the side of the rough

\* "The Querist"—Works, vol. ii. p. 273, ed. 1843.

shop where the spade and the bag of nails were exposed for sale. Under the encouragement given by William III., Birmingham began in his reign to make fire-arms. But how insufficient at that period was the home production of iron articles we may judge from the table of duties on imports,\* in which we have iron pots, backs for chimneys, frying-pans, anvils. The vast surface of the great coal and iron field around Birmingham was then scarcely penetrated. The blaze of the furnaces that now lights up the country for miles, was then a very feeble illumination from the few works where iron was smelted by wood. The anvils of Wolverhampton, Dudley, Walsall, Bilston, Wednesbury, were then employed in the humblest work of iron manufacture. Birmingham before the middle of the eighteenth century, had attempted no manufactures in brass; and the greater part of that wonderful variety of industry which has given Berkeley's "small town" a population of a quarter of a million of souls was quite unattempted. The great prosperity of Birmingham belongs even to a much later period than that in which Burke called it "the toy-shop of Europe." It was always employed at work more important than toy-making. It supplied England and its Settlements with many articles of convenience and utility, before it became famous through the world for those manifold products of ingenuity and taste which no nation can rival. Every house that was newly built in England during the eighteenth century gave a stimulus to the activity of Birmingham to provide its locks and bolts. Every acre of ground that was cleared for building in the American Plantations made a similar demand upon the labour of the iron-working district. The Sheffield axe hewed down the woods. The Birmingham spade trenched the ground, and the thorns cracked under the Birmingham cauldron. Slowly but certainly did the exports increase of those articles which we imported at the beginning of this eighteenth century, until, in 1856, the exports of hardware alone amounted to three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

In that district of North Staffordshire, now known as The Potteries—a district of many towns, extending, with few intervals, for eight miles—there was a manufacture of common cooking ware at one of these towns, Burslem, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It had been discovered that the Brown-ware could be glazed with salt, instead of with pulverised lead-ore; and thus Burslem, in 1700, had twenty-two glazing ovens. This district

\* 2 Gul. & Mar. Sess. 2. c. 4.

abounded in clays fit for earthenware ; but the art of producing the finer sorts was wholly neglected. These clays were prepared and dried in the sun ; and from these "sun-kiln potteries" was turned out a coarse porous ware, which was called "butter-ware"—from its property of keeping butter cool. Burslem was marked in maps as the "Butter Pottery." About the time of the Revolution, superior clays were introduced ; and an improved ware was manufactured in small quantities. Nevertheless, the coarse white ware of Holland, known as Delft, was a luxury for the rich. The wooden trencher was the plate of the cottager and the small tradesman. Any approach to a home manufacture of porcelain was far distant. The East India Company imported ornamented ware known as China, for which the introduction of Tea created a demand. The middle of the eighteenth century was passed, before Josiah Wedgwood brought his science and taste to the manufacture of earthenware ; and finally produced specimens as admirable for their beauty of design as for their general utility. It is impossible to overrate the blessing to the great body of the people of cheap and good crockery. This is indeed a higher national advantage, even, than the amount of industry, and of high artistical skill, called into activity by our present manufacture of earthenware ; which employs thirty-six thousand persons, and of which the exports amount to nearly a million and a half sterling.

The manufacture of Glass was one of those industries to which William III. was solicited to give encouragement. The government, in the unwise spirit that has not altogether died out with reference to other manufactures, had thought fit to subject glass to an excise. The duties were partially repealed, and they were wholly removed before the end of the seventeenth century. By a Statute of 1698, they are declared to be very vexatious and troublesome, and of small advantage to the Crown ; would lessen the duties on Coals much more than the duty on Glass would yield ; and would endanger the loss of the manufacture to the kingdom.\* In 1746 duties on glass were re-imposed ; and for another century the profitable employment of capital and labour in this admirable manufacture was repressed. A wise statesman abolished the duties, and we look upon the result with wonder and admiration. The manufacture, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and during its first half, was principally confined to green glass and the commonest window glass. Defoe says, "there were, when I was

\* 10 Gul. III. c. 24.

there, no less than fifteen glass houses in Bristol, which is more than are in the city of London."\* The glass-houses of London had nothing of the character of factories about them. They were scattered in obscure districts amidst a wretched population. Colonel Jack, the hero of one of those fictions of Defoe which have all the truth of real life, says, "As for lodging, we lay in the summer-time about the watchhouses, and on bulk-heads and shop-doors, where we were known; and in winter we got into the ash-holes and nealing-arches, in the glass-house called Dallow's Glass-house, in Rosemary Lane, or at another glass-house, in Ratcliff-Highway."

Leicestershire had the reputation of producing the largest sheep and horses in England. The graziers, in some places, were so rich that they had become gentlemen. † But Leicestershire was also a manufacturing county. The long wool of the Leicester sheep gave rise to the worsted stocking-trade. In the town of Leicester, and in other neighbouring towns, the weaving of stockings by frames had become the general employment. "One would scarce think it possible," says the tourist of the early part of the eighteenth century, "that so small an article of trade could employ such multitudes of people as it does." ‡ The wonder, no doubt, proceeded from the fact that the great body of the people did not wear stockings; and hence stocking-weaving was "so small an article of trade." At Nottingham and Derby Defoe saw the same industry affording general employment for labour in combination with machinery. The stocking-loom of William Lea was invented in 1589. In 1670 there were only six hundred and sixty looms in the kingdom, and these were chiefly employed upon silk stockings. At the close of the reign of queen Anne there were nine thousand looms. In the early part of the reign of queen Victoria, the stocking-loom of Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire were computed at forty-three thousand. In the northern counties, stockings long continued to be made by hand. At Richmond there was "a market for woollen and yarn stockings, which they make very coarse and ordinary, and sell accordingly. Here you see great and small a-knitting." § It was the same in Westmorland. Machinery more effective than the stocking-frame is now extensively employed in the production of hosiery.

Nottingham is at present the great seat of the Lace-trade—of

\* "Tour," vol. ii. p. 251.

† Defoe, "Tour," vol. ii. p. 332.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 115.

the Lace produced by that wonder of mechanical ingenuity, the Bobbin-net-frame, invented in 1809. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Western and Southern counties were the great seats of the bone-lace manufacture—of that lace which “the free maids who weave their thread with bones” had been fabricating in the days of Elizabeth and James I. In the reign of William III. the importation of foreign bone-lace was prohibited. The Flemings, who had been accustomed to send us their rich point-lace, refused in consequence to take our woollen cloth; and then the prohibition was removed, “by being the occasion that our woollen manufactures are prohibited to be imported into Flanders.” Bone-lace making was not exclusively a feminine industry. There is a charming passage in Berkeley’s “Word to the Wise,” in which he exhibits the domestic industry of England, as a reproof to the Irish labourers “who close the day with a game on greasy cards, or lying stretched before the fire.” “In England, when the labour of the field is over, it is usual for men to betake themselves to some other labour of a different kind. In the northern parts of that industrious land, the inhabitants meet, a jolly crew, at one another’s houses, where they merrily and frugally pass the long and dark winter evenings; several families, by the same light and the same fire, working at their different manufactures of wool, flax, or hemp; company meanwhile mutually cheering and provoking to labour.” In certain other parts you may see, on a summer’s evening, the common labourers sitting along the streets of a town or village, each at his own door, with a cushion before him, making bone-lace, and earning more in an evening’s pastime than an Irish family would in a whole day.”\* Alas, for the bone-lace makers. Their industry was almost extinguished by the inexorable machine of 1809. But a change of fashion is bringing their labour again into repute. The endowment in 1626 of a free-school at Great Marlow, to teach twenty-four girls to knit, spin, and make bone-lace, had become a provision for the continuance of obsolete arts and unprofitable labour. The revival of the prettiest of these arts is one of the many proofs that whilst machinery does its proper work for the great bulk of comforts and luxuries, there are elegancies and niceties of hand-labour which machines cannot wholly supersede.

Lombe’s famous silk-mill at Derby, completed in 1717, was not the first attempt to supersede the foreign thrown, or spun, silk, by the conversion of the raw silk into what was called organzine. The

\* Works, vol. ii. p. 227.

silk-mill at Derby, "afterwards much improved by sir Thomas Lombe, was first erected by one Soracole, a man expert in making mill-work, especially for raising water to supply towns for family use."\* The almost exclusive use of woollen cloth had been entrenched upon before the end of the reign of Charles II., by the silks of France.† In 1699, it was bitterly complained of, that "the unreasonable and indiscreet preference of India manufactures, especially that of India silks and stuffs, hath almost wholly overthrown, and unhinged, this profitable and necessary trade of silk throwing and weaving."‡ The clamour was so great against Indian silks and printed cottons, that after the 29th of September, 1701, the wearing all wrought silks, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, and all calicoes, painted, dyed, or stained therein, was absolutely prohibited.§ If we may believe the advocates of prohibition, this Statute had the effect of repeopling Spitalfields, "that looked before like a deserted place."|| The weavers went blithely to work; and an ingenious experiment was tried to furnish them with silk spun by machinery. Yet the weavers of silk would not be satisfied with the home manufacture. The mercer tried to palm off the wares of Spitalfields as French goods illicitly imported.¶ Bishop Berkeley, with the large view of a philosopher, saw the reason of this preference; and, when the clandestine importation went on, to a great extent, in spite of all custom-house vigilance, asks "whether France and Flanders could have drawn so much money from England, for figured silks, lace and tapestry, if they had not had Academies for Design?" We should have remained till this day inferior in design, and in every every other quality of the silk manufacture, had not a great statesman, who was denounced as "a hard-hearted political economist," made a partial beginning of that system of free trade which has raised this particular manufacture, as it has raised so many others, to an eminence which utterly disregards every danger of foreign competition. The country which in 1825, was to be ruined by the importation of foreign silks, now exports silk of native manufacture, to an extent little short of two millions value in one year.

The Lead mines of the High Peak, in Derbyshire, were worked in the period of which we write, without much mechanical aid. The miner descended into the pit by a narrow square opening

\* Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 33.

† Smith on Wool, vol. ii. p. 44.

|| Smith, vol. ii. p. 191.

† Smith on Wool, vol. i. p. 259.

§ 11 & 12 Gul. III. c. 10.

¶ "English Tradesman," vol. ii. p. 199

called a groove, in the angles of which groove pieces of wood were inserted. He ascended with his load of ore in the same rude fashion. "We saw," says Defoe, "the poor wretch working and heaving himself up gradually, as we thought with difficulty. \* \* \* He was clothed all in leather; had a cap of the same without brims; and some tools in a little basket which he drew up with him. \* \* \* Besides his basket of tools, he brought up with him about three-quarters of a hundred weight of ore." This poor man, who could not express himself intelligibly, signified through an interpreter that he was at work sixty fathoms deep; but that there were five other men of his party, two of whom were eleven fathoms deeper, and the other three fifteen fathoms deeper. These had an easier labour, for they had a way out at the side of a hill. Such was mining, in days before the steam engine. The lead mines have always been worked with the expectation of obtaining silver, for the extraction of which modern chemistry has afforded facilities. In 1699 one impediment to such experiments was removed. By a Statute of Henry IV., the "multiplying" gold and silver was made felony. This law, directed against the alchemist, made the attempt to extract gold and silver, by refining metals, a high penal offence; and men of "study, industry, and learning," who in metallurgy had "arrived to great skill and perfection, dare not exercise their said skill." The Act of Henry IV. was therefore repealed. \* Such are the mistakes of legislation, when it fancies that matters wholly belonging to its own time will have a perpetual endurance. Our Statute book is full of such examples of blind lawgiving; and the remedy seldom comes till the evil has become insupportable.

Lincolnshire is now universally acknowledged to be the most fertile county in England. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it numbered 40,590 houses, and a consequent population of about two hundred and three thousand. In 1801 it contained a population only of about two hundred and eight thousand. In 1851 its numbers reached four hundred and seven thousand. This is the most remarkable example of the increase of a purely agricultural population, by the application, upon the largest scale, of the resources of mechanical and chemical science. Defoe looked upon the fen-country—the "often-drowned country," whose very ditches were navigable, and whose inhabitants went from town to town in boats. Here he heard the hoarse voice of the bittern.

\* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 30.



Here he saw the Decoys for wild-fowl, which were taken in incredible quantities for the London market, The bittern no longer shakes "the sounding marsh;" the Decoys are swept away to yield a better supply of beef and mutton. The drainage of the Fens was in progress when Defoe wrote; and there were large outlays of capital upon this great undertaking. But, "notwithstanding all that hands could do, or art contrive, yet sometimes the waters do still prevail, the banks break, and whole levels are overflowed together."\* The work which the Romans began; which the skilful monks of the middle age continued; which spirited adventurers undertook in the time of Charles I., but were interrupted by the rapacity of his unwise government, and the subsequent troubled times; which was set on foot again in 1668; and which was an especial subject of legislation in 1697,—has steadily gone forward. The time may arrive when the Great level of the Fens may become as wholly firm land, as the remains of ancient roads and trees below the surface show it once to have been. The contrast between the great corn-bearing and grazing country of our own times, and of the period of the Revolution, is sufficiently impressive, although some land has yet to be reclaimed from the dominion of the waters.

The brine springs of Cheshire and of Worcestershire had been producing Salt from time immemorial. On all parts of the coast sea-water had been evaporated for salt, from days probably coeval with the earliest labour of the fisherman. In 1670, the first bed of rock salt was discovered at Nantwich, in Cheshire. Defoe mentions that after this discovery of rock-salt, the salt of the brine springs was not so much in request. At the beginning of the eighteenth century England was known to possess an unlimited supply of the material of salt; yet the manufacture was so imperfect, that the only salt fit for the tables of the opulent was imported. There was no gabelle, as in France, to prevent the free consumption of salt; but the nauseous taste, and the deleterious effects, of our common salt, necessarily limited its use. Then came the long era of injudicious taxation. A duty was imposed upon salt in the reign of William III., and in a century it was increased to twelve times the value of the article taxed. But this was not enough for the grasp of self-defeating fiscal rapacity. The duty was raised at last to fifteen shillings a bushel, or forty times the value of the article taxed. In 1823 the salt duties were wholly

\* "Tour," vol. ii. pp. 341-344.

abolished. Then this necessary of life was to be used without stint; and salt was also to become one of the most important materials of chemical manufacture. It is curious to trace the changes in industry produced by the magic relief from taxation. The abolition of the duty on salt produced the manufacture of soda. The cheapness of soda, and its certain and unlimited supply, wholly altered the manufacture of soap. The alkali which was obtained on every shore of England and Scotland, by burning the sea-weed to produce kelp, now comes from the chemical works of Newcastle and Glasgow, at a price which renders the labour of the meanest peasant who earned the scantiest pittance by collecting the weed, far too costly for the purposes of commerce. Every farmer, in the middle of the last century, endeavoured to prevent any clause being inserted in his lease to regulate his cutting of underwood. He wanted not the underwood for his own hearth. He wanted to burn the wood to make ashes for the soap-boiler. In Suffolk, the soap-boiler's men were always travelling the round of the hamlets. They visited every house with light quartering carts, to collect the wood ashes. There were scarcely any roads impracticable to these vehicles.\* The misery of a country with bad salt and dear soap—both evils chiefly produced by misdirected taxation—can scarcely be overestimated. The contrast of these matters of the present and the past is astounding. The annual consumption of salt by every individual of the population of Great Britain was estimated at twenty-two pounds in 1839.† Upon a population of twenty-one millions, this would give a consumption of four hundred and sixty-two million pounds, or eight million two hundred and fifty thousand bushels. In addition, we now export thirty million bushels of salt. Soap duties are now also abolished. The first excise of a penny per pound was imposed in the reign of Anne. The duties on soap went on increasing, till they were utterly repealed in the reign of Victoria. The consumption of soap in 1851 was four times as great as that of 1801.

If the fire-nymphs and water-nymphs, and earth-nymphs of Darwin had been endued with the spirit of prophecy—if his "nymph Gossypia,"‡ especially, had looked back upon the past, and predicted of the future—the population of Lancashire, when Darwin wrote in 1790, would have incredulously listened to facts

\* Cullum's *Hawsted*, p. 250.

† M'Culloch. "Statistics of British Empire," vol. i. p. 592

‡ A name derived from *Gossypium*, the cotton plant.

such as these, whether told in sonorous verse or simple prose : You numbered two hundred thousand souls at the beginning of the eighteenth century ; you will number two million souls in the middle of the nineteenth century. The vegetable fibre of which you scarcely knew the use when the first ship entered the first dock of Liverpool, in the year 1700, and when Liverpool and Manchester had no water communication, shall be brought from North America, from Brazil, from Egypt, and from India, in quantities that will annually reach a thousand millions of pounds. This cotton-wool shall be worked by machines which in their elaborate contrivances shall make the " spinning jenny " of Arkwright appear a feeble substitute for fingers. Enormous factories for converting the wool into yarn, and for weaving the yarn into cloth by mechanical power, shall rise up in barren districts, where the human foot now scarcely treads ; and villages, each with a few hundred souls scattered around its parish church, shall become enormous towns, with their thousands of inhabitants. The products of this industry shall furnish twenty millions of our own nation with fabrics of wondrous cheapness, and of beauty far surpassing the painted calicoes of the East, which were so jealously prohibited about a century ago. Foreign nations shall purchase these cotton manufactures to the annual amount in money value of nearly forty million pounds. This manufacture shall give direct employ to half-a-million of people in the factories, and to a hundred thousand engineers and machinists in connexion with these mills. All these wonderful results shall be accomplished by almost incredible skill and perseverance, during a period not longer than the ordinary term of human life. But the most marvellous expansion of this industry, and of all other industries, shall take place in the generation succeeding you ; and at the termination of the first half of the nineteenth century, three persons shall subsist on this soil of Lancashire where one subsisted at its commencement ; and ten shall subsist where one subsisted a hundred years earlier.

To look at the condition of Lancashire before the cotton era is to look at the Hercules in his cradle. But we must endeavour to continue the sketch which we have attempted of other districts about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Manchester, in the early part of the reign of Charles II., was reckoned to contain six thousand people.\* Fifty years later its population was estimated at fifty thousand ; but this estimate

\* Macaulay ; History, vol. i.

included "the suburb, or village, on the other side of the bridge." \* There were no very precise data for this estimate, beyond the manifest increase of buildings and of trade; the increase of inhabitants having demanded a new church, that of St. Anne. "If this calculation be just, as I believe it really is," writes Defoe, "you have here an open village, which is greater and more populous than most cities in England: neither York, Lincoln, Chester, Salisbury, Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, no, nor Norwich itself, can come up to it." † The social condition of Manchester, at the end of the seventeenth century, was very primitive. Its manufactures of fustian, girth web, ticking, tapes, were carried on by small masters, who had apprentices residing in their houses. These lads were employed in the servile offices of turning the warping-mills, and carrying packages from place to place. The master and his young men breakfasted together upon "water-pottage, boiled thick," and a bowl of milk stood upon the table, into which all dipped their spoons, ‡ In 1702 there was the portentous entry in a tradesman's household book, of a sum expended for tea and sugar. In the reign of George I. it was held that "the luxury of the age will be the ruin of the nation; and one of the proofs of this degeneracy was that "the wholesome breakfast of water-gruel and milk-pottage is changed for coffee and tea." § The present mill-owners of Manchester, each with his enormous transactions, represented by hundreds of thousands of pounds in a year, furnish a remarkable contrast to "those travelling tradesmen whom we call Manchester-men." To every town the fustians and "small things called Manchester-ware" were borne by horse-packs; "the Manchester men being, saving their wealth, a kind of pedlars who carry their goods themselves to the country-shopkeepers everywhere." || The perils of their land journeys were not trifling: "The horse is driven away by some sudden flood, or falls down in the water and spoils the goods." ¶ Manchester had few rival neighbours in its trade of fustians and dimities, in which a little hand-spun cotton was used. Towns such as Bolton, to which "the cotton manufacture had reached," did not presume to compete with Manchester's warping-mills, and Manchester's looms, "which work twenty-four laces at a time," as is recorded with wondering commendation. At Bury, the cotton manufacture was

\* Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 174.

† "Tour," vol. iii. p. 174.

‡ Aikin.

§ "Augusta Triumphans."

|| "Complete Tradesman," vol. i.

¶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii.

ended, and the woollen manufacture of coarse sorts begun. At Preston, the tourist "had come beyond the trading part of the country." This gay town, known as Proud Preston, was full of attorneys, proctors, and notaries.\* Between the trading towns there was very imperfect communication; and until the Mersey, the Irwell, and the Weaver were made navigable, land-carriage to and from Liverpool was an important addition to the cost of exported and imported goods.

The traveller entering Lancashire from the Western part of the country would be ferried over the Mersey to Liverpool. Instead of steamers and magnificent landing-places adjusting themselves to the rise or fall of the tide, the traveller in the reign of Anne, having reached the flat shore in the ferry, was carried "on the shoulders of some Lancashire clown, who comes knee-deep to the boat's side to truss you up."† Liverpool, at the date of the Revolution, had no proper harbour and no quay. The trading-ships lay in the offing, and their cargoes were borne to them or from them in boats. In 1700 Liverpool had built a Dock—now known as the Old Dock. "The like of this Dock was not to be seen in any place of England, London excepted."‡ From the beginning of the eighteenth century the rapid progress of Liverpool may be dated. In 1709 it had eighty-four ships, and nine hundred sailors. Its Customs soon became next in amount to those of Bristol, which was only exceeded by London. Its warehouses were filled with tobacco and sugar from the Plantations. Thus Liverpool went on increasing for a century and a half, until in 1851 it numbered three hundred and seventy-five thousand inhabitants; and the British and Foreign vessels entering the port exceeded four thousand in one year. When the detestable Slave Trade was abolished, the ruin of Liverpool was predicted. It had been engaged in that traffic from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it strove to rival Bristol in the extent of the iniquity. Yet we must not forget that in this matter the heart of trading England was long hardened. The merchants of Lyme, in 1700, petitioned Parliament against the apprehended monopoly of the African Company; and prayed "to be allowed to trade to the plantations, and kidnap on the coast of Africa."§

Warrington, whilst Manchester was making its dimities, was the

\* "Tour," vol. iii. p. 180—83.

† Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 164.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

§ Roberts' "Southern Counties," p. 467.

seat of a considerable Linen trade. The table-linen, called Huck-aback, was extensively made in the neighbourhood of this place. But every discouragement was given to the English linen manufacture. It was maintained that Divine Providence had appointed, the especial employment of manufacturing England, and that the first acceptable sacrifice to His omnipotency was that of the flock. Ireland might grow flax and make linen, as some compensation for the injustice that had been committed towards her in absolutely prohibiting the importation of her cattle.\* But let England attempt no other manufacture than the woollen manufacture which had been for ages the support of the nation.† The same dread of permitting any wear for the living or the dead but that of woollen, made the flock-masters and clothiers frantic, when printed cottons, of English production, had become not only fashionable but common in 1719. Drapers' wives, and even maid-servants and children, it is alleged, wore calicoes or printed linen, attracted by their lightness, cheapness, and gaiety of colour. The example of the gentry had corrupted the common people; and so the manufacture of light woollen stuffs would be ruined.‡ The result of this clamour was an Act of 1721, to preserve and encourage the Woollen and Silk Manufactures, by prohibiting the use and wear of all printed, painted, stained, or dyed Calicoes, in apparel, household stuff, or furniture.§ Of course such legislation was nugatory; but here is the evidence, amongst many other proofs, of the supreme ignorance and folly of law-makers, who, from the earliest days of the loom and the plough in England, have struggled to "regiment" all industry—to encourage or to prohibit—to determine what wages labourers should be paid, and what should be the profit of capitalists—to crush rising industries by taxation—to compel the people to eat dear food for the supposed benefit of the landowner—and, finally, to find out that the nation was never so universally prosperous as when its industry was wholly left to the care of itself, under the guidance of God's natural laws.

Yorkshire had a population at the beginning of the eighteenth century of five hundred and thirty thousand. The great woollen manufacture, chiefly of the stuffs known as Yorkshire Kerseys, had raised five centres of this manufacture, which were known as Clothing-towns — Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Halifax, Leeds. The inhabitants of these five towns are now equal to a

\* 18 Car. II. c. 2.

† Tract of 1671.—Smith on Wool, vol. i. p. 384.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 195.

§ 7 Geo. I. c. 7.

fifth of the whole population of Yorkshire. They were, a hundred and fifty years ago, small places, but full of busy and enterprising dealers. It is noted as a remarkable proof of the importance of the commerce of this district, that a cross-post had been established to connect the West of England with the North, which post began at Plymouth and ended at Hull.\* Defoe followed the course of this post-road from Liverpool to Bury, and thence to Halifax. There are few things in the books of the modern tourist that can compare with his life-like picture of this country, then in some parts almost inaccessible, but now covered with a web of railways, more complicated than in any other portion of the island. It was the end of August. The snow, even then lying on the hills, appeared alarming. At Rochdale the travellers were offered a guide; but they apprehended no danger, and went on, satisfied with a description of the land-marks. They ascended Blackstone Edge amidst a snow-storm, but the way down was a very frightful one. In the valley they had to cross a brook knee-deep. Again they had to mount a hill, and again to cross a stream; and in a journey of eight miles they repeated this labour eight times, much to their discontent. The tourist records not the picturesque beauties of these Yorkshire valleys; but he has given us a charming sketch of their industry. As he approached nearer to Halifax the houses were closer together, in every bottom and on every hill-side. After the third hill was passed, the country became one continued village, though every way mountainous; and as the day cleared up, he could see at every house a tenter, and on almost every tenter a piece of white cloth, sparkling in the sun. Every house on the hill-side had its little rill, conveyed in gutters from the springs above; and on the heights there was coal, so that the great necessities of the manufacture were close at hand. In every house the women were carding and spinning. The men were some at the loom, some at the dyeing vat. Not an idle person was to be seen. The corn of this region, and of other part of the great clothing district, was supplied from the East Riding, and from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. In the autumn the markets for black cattle were prodigiously thronged, for the clothiers then bought as many oxen as would serve their families for the whole year, salted, and hung up in the smoke to dry. One product of Yorkshire was abundant amongst them—"the store of good ale which flows plentifully in the most mountainous part of this country." The domestic system

\* Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 72.

of the cloth-making villages of Yorkshire has not been wholly driven out by the factory system; but it is very different from the time when the clothier kept "his one horse to fetch home his wool and his provisions from the market, to carry his yarn to the spinners, his manufacture to the fulling-mill, and, when finished, to the market to be sold."\*

If the inhabitants of the clothing villages are now essentially different in their mode of life, how much more striking is the difference between the Leeds of queen Anne and the Leeds that assembled a quarter of a million of people to greet queen Victoria in 1858. The great cloth-market of Leeds was, in the seventeenth century, kept upon the bridge over the Aire. As the market increased it was removed to the High-street. From the Bridge to the Market-house tressels were placed in the street, and a temporary counter was formed. The clothiers came in from the country, few bringing more than one piece of cloth; and, after the refreshment of a pot of ale, a bowl of porridge, and a trencher of beef, regularly provided for twopence by the public-house keepers, they were at their tressels by six o'clock in summer and by seven in winter. Each clothier placed his cloth lengthwise upon the counter;—"a mercantile regiment drawn up in line." The factors come; examine the cloth; and conclude a bargain in a whisper. In a short time the clothiers begin to move, each bearing his piece of cloth to the buyer's house. In an hour the business is over, and the market is left to the shoemakers, hardware-men, and other retailers. Such was the Cloth-market also at Halifax and Bradford, before the days of the Cloth Hall of Leeds, which was built in 1711.† The Linen manufacture of Yorkshire did not then exist. There was no flax-factory to give employment to a thousand spinners under one roof, attending upon the movements of innumerable steam-driven wheels and spindles. Yet in the small industry of the West Riding in the eighteenth century, we see the germ of its gigantic operations in the nineteenth; and we are by no means sure that in the twentieth century the mighty industry of our own day may not be looked upon as an imperfect development of the resources of English wealth and energy.

Sheffield had been famous for its Cutlery from the time of Edward III. At the end of the seventeenth century it had machinery which had lent no aid to the fabrication of the whittle which Chaucer's Miller of Trumpington wore in his hose. Sheffield had

\* Defoe, "Tour," pp. 73-84.

† Thoresby's "Leeds" and Defoe's "Tour."



one mill for turning grindstones. The "grinders" of Sheffield are now of themselves a large population. It was boasted that around Sheffield were six iron-furnaces; supplied by its neighbouring woods. How many wood-furnaces would now be required for the production of its steel, and for the almost innumerable products of this great metropolis of steel, giving employment to a population of a hundred and fifty thousand?

Hull was an exceedingly prosperous port at the beginning of the eighteenth century; although it had no dock till 1788. Its commerce on the Northern shore of the Humber included shipments to London, to Holland, and to the Baltic, of the woollens of the West Riding, the hardwares of Sheffield, and the lead of Derbyshire. Its imports were of iron, copper, flax, and linen. But the exports of corn from Hull exceeded those of any other port. One trade, however, was lost to Hull at this period. An Act of 1692 recites that "the trade to Greenland and the Greenland seas, in the fishing for Whales there, hath been heretofore a very beneficial trade to this kingdom;" and the preamble concludes by saying that "the said trade is now quite decayed and lost." The Company then established had little success; and the Whale Fishery was not resumed till 1750. England had little need of oil during the first half of the eighteenth century; for London and all other towns were lighted chiefly by lanterns and link-boys. When light could no longer be dispensed with, the parliament granted a heavy bounty to all ships engaged in the Whale Fishery; and many ships were sent out "as much certainly in the view of catching the bounty as of catching the whales."\* The whales, however, shifted their course; and the Greenland fishery came nearly to an end, in spite of the Act "for the regaining, encouraging, and settling the Greenland trade."†

The tourist whom we have followed in his observant course, says that from Durham to Newcastle the mountains of Coal, lying at the mouth of numerous pits, gave a view of the unexhausted store which supplies not only London but all the South part of England. The people of London, he remarks, when they see the prodigious fleets of ships which come constantly in with coal for that increasing city, wonder whence they come, and "that they do not bring the whole country away." The quantity of sea-borne coal brought to London in 1856 was above three million tons, or ten times the amount required about the end of the seventeenth

\* M'Culloch, "Statistics," vol. i. p. 609 (ed. 1839).

† 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 17.

century. But the foreign export of coal from the northern pits is now enormous; and large quantities are borne by railway and canal. It has been calculated that if three million five hundred thousand tons of coals were raised annually, it would require a period of seventeen hundred years to exhaust the coal-pits of Durham and Northumberland. The colliers of the Thames will not speedily "bring the whole country away." The wondrous coal-trade, and the other industries of the towns of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Gateshead, South Shields, and Sunderland, have raised up a population of nearly two hundred and fifty thousand, being considerably in excess of the entire population of Northumberland and Durham in the early part of the eighteenth century. But we must not forget that the vast expansion of mining and manufacturing industry which we have recorded in this our general view, may be dated, in great part, from a Private Bill of the tenth year of the reign of William III., entitled "An Act for the encouragement of a new Invention of Thomas Savery, for raising Water, and occasioning Motion in all sorts of Mill-Work, by the impellant force of Fire." Nor must we overlook the fact, that in the time of Charles II., Roger North describes the admiration of his brother at the ingenuity of the coal-workers of Newcastle, whose "manner of carriage was, by laying rails of timber, from the colliery down to the river, exactly straight and parallel; and bulky carts are made with four rowlets fitting these rails; whereby the carriage is so easy that one horse will draw four or five chaldron of coals, and is an immense benefit to the coal-merchant." \*

The population of Cumberland and of Westmorland was, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, by far the smallest of any English county. The two counties did not contain more than twenty-one thousand houses, and a hundred and six thousand inhabitants. They had increased by one-half in 1801; which number was again increased by another half in 1851. They did not contribute much more than Rutland to the Aid of 1689. The Fells of Westmorland were held to be almost impassable. Kirkby-Lonsdale and Kirkby-Stephen, Appleby and Kendal, were considered pleasant manufacturing towns; but all the rest of the district was proclaimed to be wild, barren, and horrible. Penrith was said to be a handsome market-town, and of good trade. The people made woollen cloth, as they had made from the old times when the outlaws of Sherwood were clothed in Kendal Green. Pack-

\* "Life of Lord Guilford."

horses travelled about the villages with cloth ; and the pedlar continued to be the principal merchant, as he was up to the days of "The Excursion." Whitehaven was a port of shipping coals, chiefly to Ireland. The copper-mines of the Derwent Fells, which had been wrought in search of gold, in the time of queen Elizabeth, had been abandoned. The Black Lead mine of Borrowdale had also been worked at that period : it continued to be worked in the days when pencils were in small demand ; and it still yields its rare and valuable produce, but in quantities unequal to the demand of our own times. After the Union, the castles and great houses of the Border went most of them to ruin. Carlisle had its Cathedral, its Castle, and its walls ; but it was a small city of old buildings ; and its population of twenty-six thousand had to be created after a century was past. There was one remarkable industry of this remote district. The salmon taken in the Derwent were carried fresh to London, by horses which travelled day and night without intermission. They travelled faster than the post, and the extraordinary price of the luxury—from half-a-crown to four shillings a pound—repaid the cost of carriage.\* Railways serve London with salmon at a cheaper rate.

The industry of Scotland before the Union, in 1707, was so limited in its character, that this is scarcely the period to attempt any comparison between its productive and commercial power previous to that fortunate consummation, and its present condition of agricultural and manufacturing excellence. The two countries, when under separate legislatures, offered a wretched example of mutual prohibitions, under which the smaller country was by far the greater sufferer. Scotland would not admit the English woolen-cloth. England would not permit a Scotch trade with her Colonies. These miserable rivalries came to an end. A Glasgow vessel of sixty tons first crossed the Atlantic in 1718 ; and from that period Scotland steadily went forward in a noble career of generous emulation with her sister kingdom. Her progress was for many years slow. Capital was not rapidly accumulated after generations of clan hostility. The hordes of beggars, that Fletcher of Saltoun would have sold to slavery in 1698, could not be wholly removed by the absorption of profitable labour in a few years. The violent religious and political hostilities of six reigns could not wholly subside when George I. came to the throne. But the parochial school establishment of Scotland, which dates its effi-

\* Defoe, "Tour," vol. iii. p. 192.

ciency from 1696, was to gradually produce the certain effects of general education upon a keen and energetic race. The mode of living amongst the peasantry of Scotland might be mean, as compared with the diet of the peasantry of England; but the agency was at work which would raise the condition of every labourer in Scotland to a level with his compeers beyond the Border. A humble lot in life was not incompatible with mental cultivation. Allan Ramsay, in the reign of Anne, was a worker in the lead-mines of the earl of Hopeton. Robert Burns, even in 1781, subsisted upon oatmeal when a flax-dresser. But if Johnson, with his usual prejudices, chose to describe oats as a grain eaten by horses in England and by men in Scotland, the time was fast approaching when the national food would cease to be associated with national poverty; when agriculture, improved beyond all example, should fill the land with unprecedented fertility; when the mineral wealth of Scotland should be worked with the same diligence as the cultivation of the soil; when the commerce of the Clyde should approach that of the Thames and the Mersey, and its iron steam-ships should go forth to every sea; when cotton-factories, and print-works should emulate the gigantic mills of Lancashire; when, in a word, there should be no distinctions of enterprise or wealth, and national jealousies should only put on the form of harmless local opinions, that belong to the past of romance, rather than to the past of history.

In the purely Agricultural Counties of England the changes, even of a whole century, are not so remarkable as to demand from us any attempt to point out such extraordinary contrasts as we have heretofore dwelt upon. The great seats of tillage were the South Eastern, the South Midland, and the Eastern districts. The slow increase of population is the index of their progressive condition. Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Berks, had an aggregate population at the beginning of the eighteenth century of about seven hundred thousand; at the end of that century they were a little above ten hundred and fifty thousand. Herts, Bucks, Oxon, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Cambridge, had, at the beginning of the same period, about five hundred and eighty-two thousand inhabitants; at its termination they had only about six hundred and forty thousand. The Eastern Counties had, during the same hundred years, only increased from five hundred and eighty-two thousand people to seven hundred and fifteen thousand. But it must

be remarked that the aggregate population of these fifteen counties had increased from about two millions and a half, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to about four millions and a half at its end. The whole of the eighteenth century had been a period of very tardy improvement in cultivation. The first fifty years of the nineteenth had been a period of extraordinary development of agricultural resources.

In the reign of Anne the quantity of land under cultivation in England and Wales was very little more than in the reign of James I. One solitary inclosure Act was passed in the reign of Charles II. There were two inclosure Acts passed in the reign of Anne. Field-turnips were cultivated in King William's time; but their cultivation was not encouraged till the time of George II. The cultivation of clover was advocated by Andrew Yarranton before the Revolution; but the peculiar value of green crops was little understood. The alternate system of husbandry—the growth of turnips or clover after a corn crop—was recommended in the middle of the seventeenth century. But the old system of fallows, by which half of the cultivated land always lay idle, was steadily adhered to. The horse-hoeing husbandry of Jethro Tull was considered only as a costly experiment which had ruined its originator. The value of manure was little understood by the improvident farmer; and even the system of folding sheep upon ploughed lands is mentioned as “a new method of husbandry.”\* Improvement in the breeds of cattle was not attempted till the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1710 Davenant estimated the average net weight of the cattle sold at Smithfield at 370 lbs. The average nett weight in 1800 was 800 lbs. The sheep of 1710 weighed 28 lbs. The sheep in 1800 weighed 80 lbs. Without the alternate husbandry neither the ox nor the sheep could be supported through the winter, or adequately fattened at any time, except in low meadows and marshes.

The comparatively large population of London and Westminster, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had a marked influence upon the agricultural industry of the South Eastern, South Midland, and Eastern Districts. A large quantity of corn was necessary for the consumption of the populous city, and much corn was grown within the districts most convenient for carriage. In 1696, it was estimated by Gregory King that the annual growth of wheat, oats, barley, rye, and beans in the whole kingdom, amounted

\* Defoe, “Tour,” vol. i. p. 283.

to ten million quarters, of which growth wheat was only one-fifth. The greater portion of the wheat went to the large towns. The rural population lived upon rye-bread, and barley-bread; and oat-cake. The Eastern counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and the counties of Kent, Hampshire, and Sussex, had ready water-communication with London by the Thames, below-bridge. Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, had the same facilities by the Thames above-bridge. We may trace the incessant industry necessary to keep up the land and water communication with the capital, displaying itself in districts somewhat remote from the seaports and main-roads. With every natural advantage the communication was laborious and costly; and its cost added very considerably to the price of grain and meat to the consumer. Some of the corn-trade of the port of London gradually resolved itself into the meal-trade. Farnham was the greatest commercial corn-market in England, particularly for wheat, until the farmers of Sussex and Chichester ground their wheat, and sent the meal to London by sea.\* This trade was increased when the Wey was made navigable from Guildford, and thence to the Thames. By this navigation of the Wey, timber was brought by land carriage, for a distance of thirty miles, from the woody districts of Sussex and Hampshire.† The demand for timber to meet the increase of London was more profitable than its use in the iron-works of Sussex, which were still smelting iron ore, and casting cauldrons and chimney-backs, cannon and cannon-balls, in the reign of George II.‡ In Essex, we see the influence of the wants of London. There was little to be noticed at Chelmsford, but that it was a large thoroughfare town, full of inns, maintained by the multitude of carriers and passengers on their way to London with droves of cattle, and with provisions and manufactures.§ Not the least remarkable of these supplies for the capital by the eastern parts, were the droves of turkeys, crowding the roads from Ipswich, and making their way over the heaths and commons, in almost incredible quantities to the great devourer. From the farthest parts of Norfolk, and from the fen countries, droves of geese, sometimes a thousand or two thousand in a drove, were slowly moving on to their fate, from the beginning of August, feeding on the stubbles after harvest; and “thus they hold on to the end of October, when the roads begin

\* Defoe, “Tour,” vol. i. p. 214.

† *Ibid.*, p. 230.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

to be too stiff and deep for their broad feet and short legs to march in." \*

The weaving industry of Norwich was more important at this period than the industry of any other city or town of England. The villages round Norwich were wholly employed in spinning yarn for what was known as the stuff-weaving trade, which had been there pursued for four centuries. Every inhabitant of Norwich was working at his loom, his combing-shop, or his twisting-mill. The rich marshes watered by the Yare fed hundreds of black cattle from the Scotch hills; so that the thickly populated districts of the eastern parts of Norfolk were plentifully supplied with animal food. The fishery of Yarmouth not only furnished an enormous export of cured herrings, but gave all the towns and villages another cheap article of food. The whole country was full of business activity whether in manufactures or in sea-faring occupations; a curious evidence of that unremitting industry being, that pheasants were unmolested in the stubbles, which showed, says Defoe, "that the country had more tradesmen than gentlemen in it."

In the immediate neighbourhood of Cambridge there were presented, in the autumn of every year, two remarkable spectacles, in striking contrast to each other. To Newmarket went William III. in 1695, with his staid court, as Charles II. had gone thither with his troops of dissipated followers. But Newmarket was still a scene of vice and folly, of frantic gaming and wild profaneness. The highest of the land were at Newmarket,—“so eager, so busy, upon their wagers and bets, that they seemed just like so many horse-courers in Smithfield; descending from their high dignity and quality to picking one another's pockets.” So writes the sturdy moralist, who speaks of vice in no courtly fashion. † The other scene near Cambridge was Stourbridge Fair—the greatest fair in England. Thither came to a row of booths called Cheapside, every sort of retailer from London. Here were prodigious wholesale transactions accomplished in wool and woollen goods, brought from Lancashire and Yorkshire and the Western Counties. But more extensive than any other traffic was that of hops. From this fair the whole country beyond Trent was supplied with hops, grown chiefly in Kent and Surrey, in addition to the supply of all the Midland counties. It is no small proof of the energy which overcame every natural difficulty of communication—bad roads—imperfect water-carriage—that a produce of considerable bulk

\* Defoe, "Tour," vol. i. p. 62.

† *Ibid.*, p. 87.

should be brought from two distant counties to an inland common, thence to be distributed over the whole kingdom.

The two great ports of the Eastern coast, Ipswich and Harwich, were not in a flourishing condition after the Revolution. Ipswich had lost its colliery trade, and its cloth trade. Much of its ancient splendour had gone. More than a century was to pass before it was to take the lead in carrying forward those great changes of agricultural economy, which were to mark the age of thrashing-machines, of sewing-machines and of the almost countless implements of scientific husbandry. Harwich was the packet-station for Holland. When the army of Marlborough was fighting, year after year, on the great battle-field of Europe, Harwich was the busiest of ports. Coaches went twice a week to carry London passengers from and to this famous place of embarkation and of landing. But when peace came, the Londoners set up passage-boats which went direct from the Thames; the coaches ran no more; and Harwich decayed. On the opposite South-eastern shore, Sheerness had been fortified; and the Medway bristled with lines of guns; so that the danger with which Chatham, the greatest naval arsenal, had been threatened in the time of Charles II., was held to be sufficiently guarded against. Margate was a small port, the inhabitants making no boast of its summer visits of shoals of shrimp-eating Londoners, but of the frequent landings there of William III. Ramsgate boasted only of the more antique honour which it claimed, that Julius Cæsar had there landed. The inhabitants of these little places long continued to be, as they were described by Camden, "amphibious creatures, and get their living both by sea and land." \* \* \* The self-same hand that holds the plough steers the ship." The port of Sandwich had become choked with sand. Dover was prosperous as the principal packet-station for France. Folkestone was a mere village. The harbours of Rye and Winchelsea had been ruined by the inexorable changes of the coast-line. The sea had receded, and had left them desolate. Hastings was in little better condition. Winchelsea had still a trade remaining to it, that of electioneering venality; and so had Shoreham, Bramber, and Steyning. Brighthelmstone was "a poor fishing town, old built, and on the very edge of the sea," which had at the beginning of the century swept away many houses; so that the inhabitants had obtained a brief to beg money throughout England, to raise embankments. These were estimated to cost eight thousand pounds; "which," says the tourist of those times, "if one were to look on



the town would seem to be more than all the houses in it are worth. Portsmouth was in a prosperous condition through the French war; and was strongly fortified. Southampton was a port whose commerce had decayed; but it had a noble High-street and a spacious quay. As we advance to the Western Coast, we find Purbeck prosperous in fitting out ships to carry paving-stone to London; and the quarries of Portland profitably worked, in furnishing the free-stone with which the new cathedral of St. Paul's, and other public edifices of London, were being built.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Gregory King's Scheme of the Income of the several families in England.—Degrees of Society.—Town and Country Populations.—London.—Its Population.—Commerce.—Trading Companies.—Banking.—Unemployed Capital.—Projects for New Companies.—Lotteries.—Tradesmen.—Their character and habits.—Extent of London.—Progress of Fashion Westward.—Street Economy, and Police.—Robberies and Outrages.

IN 1688, "A Scheme of the income and Expense of the several Families in England" was calculated by Gregory King. He gives the number of families in each degree, and the number of persons. Of course there can be no absolute dependence upon such a document; although other political arithmeticians gave it their approval. In 1851, the Census of that year included a minute return of the infinitely varied Occupations of the People. The Census of 1841 exhibits a general Classification, which is more available for some points of comparison with the "Scheme" of 1688. The changes in the component parts of Society in about a century and a half are very strikingly brought out by this comparison.

I. The "Scheme," in the first place, gives us, of persons of independent means, 160 temporal lords, 800 baronets, 600 knights, 3000 esquires, 12,000 gentlemen. The income of an esquire is taken at £450, and that of a gentleman at £280. There were, moreover, 40,000 "Freeholders of the better sort," whose incomes are taken at £91 each. There were also 120,000 Freeholders of the lesser sort, each with an income of £55. These constituted the class of yeomen, and many, no doubt, farmed their own land. The Census of 1841 shows upwards of five hundred thousand persons returned as independent; but three fourths of these are females. The more minute return of 1851 shows a large number of annuitants, chiefly females. This class has been created by those facilities of investment in the Government Funds and other Stock, which scarcely existed in 1688.

II. We have next, in the "Scheme," 10,000 persons in the Civil Service of the country;—5000 being in the greater offices and

places, and 5000 in the lesser. The class of placemen was very numerous at a period when places were openly sold, and were regarded as amongst the best of investments, for persons who desired the happy lot of sinecurists. The Civil offices of our time are filled by about 16,000 persons of whom the greater number are amongst the hardest workers of the community. The offices now connected with local administration, and the servants of the dock-yards, are not included in this comparison.

III. The mercantile class in 1688 was estimated at 2000 eminent merchants and traders by sea—each with the modest income of £400: and 8000 lesser merchants, each with an income of £200. The shopkeepers and tradesmen were taken at 50,000, each with an income of £45. The artisans and handicraftsmen at 60,000, each earning £38 by the year. The adult males engaged in Commerce, Trade, and Manufacture, in 1841, exceeded two millions. The miners and other labourers were more than half a million.

IV. In 1688, there were, as we have mentioned, 160,000 Freeholders. There were also 150,000 Farmers, each with an income of £42 10s. We may conclude that the greater number of the small owners, as well as the renters of land, were engaged in agricultural occupations. The Farmers and Graziers in 1841 were 399,000. Gregory King's estimate gives 364,000 labouring people and out-servants, and 400,000 cottagers and paupers. At a period when there was necessarily a great mixture of occupations, it is impossible to say that these heads of families, amounting to more than three-quarters of a million, were for the most part agriculturists. But we apprehend that a large portion were chiefly engaged in occupations of a rural character. In 1841, the number of agricultural labourers and gardeners, amounted to about twelve hundred thousand.

V. The naval officers of 1688 were estimated at 5000; the common seamen at 50,000. The navy of the queen's and merchant service in 1841 was returned as comprising 220,000 men and boys. The officers of the army in 1688 were reckoned as 4000; the common soldiers as 35,000. In 1841 the army comprised 131,000 officers and men. In 1851 the numbers were largely increased.

VI. The clergy were estimated in 1688 to consist of 2000 "eminent clergymen," each with an income of £72; and of 8000 "lesser clergymen," each with an income of £50. In 1851 there were 18,587 ministers of the established Church; 8521 Protestant dissenting ministers; and 1093 Roman Catholic priests. The

"persons in liberal arts and sciences" in 1688 were reckoned as 15,000, each with an income of £60. In 1841 the legal profession comprised 17,454 persons; and the medical 22,187. Other educated persons following miscellaneous pursuits were 143,836, of whom 34,618 were females.

In looking at the amount of country and town population in Gregory King's estimate, we may take the number of persons to be as follows, in each of the preceding general divisions :—

## COUNTRY POPULATION IN 1688.

Belonging to Families of Rank . . . . .	153,520
Clergy (estimated portion of the whole) . . . . .	40,000
Freeholders . . . . .	940,000
Farmers . . . . .	750,000
Labourers and out-servants (half of the whole) . . . . .	637,500
Cottagers, &c . . . . .	1,300,000
Vagrants . . . . .	30,000
	<hr/>
	3,851,020

## TOWN POPULATION IN 1688.

Belonging to Families of Persons in Office . . . . .	70,000
Merchants . . . . .	64,000
Clergy (remaining portion of the whole) . . . . .	12,000
Law . . . . .	70,000
Liberal Arts and Sciences . . . . .	75,000
Shopkeepers and Tradesmen . . . . .	255,000
Artisans . . . . .	240,000
Army and Navy . . . . .	256,000
Labourers and out-servants (half of the whole) . . . . .	637,500
	<hr/>
	1,679,500

As nearly as we can judge from these imperfect data, the country population in 1688 comprised five-sevenths of the entire number of the people; the town population comprised only two-sevenths. In 1851, the town population slightly exceeded the population of the country; that of the towns being 8,990,809; that of villages and detached dwellings in the country being 8,936,800.

Of the town populations, that of London probably comprised one-third of the aggregate number. Three years before the Revolution, the inhabitants of the metropolis were estimated by King at five hundred and thirty thousand. This was about one-tenth of the whole population of the kingdom. Sir William Petty estimated the inhabitants of London at a million of persons. This calculation was founded upon very loose data; and still looser were the

assertions derived from the increase of houses, that in the reign of George I. the City, with Southwark and Westminster, contained a million and a half of people. Under the precise enumeration of the census of 1801 London contained less than a million inhabitants. The entire population of England and Wales was then under nine millions. Compared with other large towns at the end of the seventeenth century, London was considered able to bear an assessment in Aid that indicated her superiority in wealth as much as in population. In 1693 she was called upon to pay a monthly tax six times as great as the united assessments of Bristol, Norwich, Exeter, Worcester, Chester, and Gloucester. In 1702, there belonged to the port of London 560 vessels, averaging 151 tons each, giving an aggregate of 84,560 tons. The number of merchant vessels of all the ports of England was 3281, with an average of nearly 80 tons, and an aggregate of 261,222 tons. London thus engrossed about one third of the entire trade of the kingdom.

The commerce of the port of London, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, inconsiderable as it was when compared with the gigantic operations of our own time, must have been sufficiently imposing to the foreigner, and even to those who habitually looked upon it. The magnificent docks of the Thames belong to the present century; one small dock belonged to the earlier period of which we write. But the Pool was crowded in the reigns of William III. and Anne with colliers and coal-barges, waiting to deliver their cargoes at numerous private wharfs. Billingsgate, in 1699, was made a free market for the sale of fish; and the fishermen of little vessels that now came with every tide laden with mackerel and soles, with lobsters and oysters, were no longer compelled to sell exclusively to the fishmongers, but were free to supply the street-hawkers. At three o'clock in summer, and at five in winter, this famous market was opened. The dispute of fishers and costermongers produced that variety of our language which was once termed "Billingsgate;" but which is known by more general names since the great fish market has become refined. But more speculative commercial operations were going forward in the port of London than those connected with the supply of grain, or coal, or fish. During the quarter of a century from the accession of William and Mary to the death of Anne, there had been only four years and a half of peace. To the ordinary sea risks, at a time when marine insurance was little resorted to, was added the risk of capture by a foreign enemy, in distant seas, and not unfrequently in the Channel.

Nevertheless,—although during the eight years and a half of war in the reign of William, the tonnage of English shipping declined by more than a half its previous amount,—immediately after the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, the commerce of the country took a sudden spring; and although the war was renewed in 1702, it went on increasing during the reign of Anne. Two East India Companies had been quarrelling for the twelve years succeeding the Revolution; but at length their differences were composed; they established a common stock; and the Old Company which was formed at the beginning of the seventeenth century was incorporated into the New Company at the beginning of the eighteenth. The anxiety of the merchants of London to overthrow the monopoly of the India Trade, which was in the hands of a few individuals of enormous wealth, was at last successful. The silks and painted calicoes of India were prohibited; but the use of tea was spreading amongst the higher and middle ranks, and a new source of profitable commerce was opened by the change of habits in the people. Even whilst tea and coffee were taxed in their liquid state, and families sent to the coffee-house for a quart of the precious infusions, it was observed that excess in drinking, especially about London, was somewhat lessened through their use.\* Immediately after the Revolution, tea and coffee were made subject to the Customs' duties. The shops of London then retailed the new luxuries, but at a price which must have forbidden their general use. In 1710, Bohea is advertised at twelve, sixteen, twenty and twenty-four shillings per lb.; the lowest green at twelve shillings.† Eighteen years afterwards, it is complained that "tea and wine are all we seem anxious for."‡ There was another change in the habits of the people produced by political causes operating upon the accustomed course of trade. The war with France was accompanied by a prohibition of French wines and brandy, of which the previous returns showed an annual consumption of twenty-two thousand tuns of wine, and eleven thousand tuns of brandy. The Methuen treaty of 1703, under which the wines of Portugal were put upon the most favoured footing, sent the wine consumers from Claret to Port, of which twenty-thousand pipes were imported into London in 1721. The loss of brandy was supplied by the consumption of home made spirits; and in a very few years "the

\* Chamberlayne's "Present State," 1687, p. 41.

† Advertisement in "Tatler," No. 157, original edition.

‡ "Augusta Triumphans," by Defoe, p. 311.

distillers found out a way to hit the palate of the poor, by their new-fashioned compound water, called Geneva." \*

Several of the old trading Companies of London were at this period carrying on their adventures with success. The Russia Company, established in 1553, had certain privileges; but each member of the Company traded on his own account. The Turkey Company was formed in 1579; and two hundred years later was denounced by Adam Smith as "a strict and oppressive monopoly." This was also what was called "a regulated Company," or a monopoly for individual traders. The African Company, which began its operations in 1530, was, on the contrary, a joint-stock Company; its constitution being such as that which the East India Company set forth as their own great claim to support, in which "noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, orphans, and all other subjects may be traders, and employ their capital in a joint-stock." The Hudson's Bay Company was chartered in 1670, for the purpose of opening a trade for furs and minerals. For nearly two centuries the trade in furs, conducted by this Company and the North West Company, who were once rival but were at last united, was held to be the sole use to which a region some forty times larger than England could be applied. The minerals which prince Rupert sent out a ship to search for, in the time of Charles II., have been discovered in the time of queen Victoria. The reign of the Hudson's Bay Company has suddenly passed away upon the discovery of gold. A new Colony has been added to the British Crown, in the same year which has also seen the transfer of the sovereignty of India from a Joint-stock Company to the Imperial government. It is impossible to look upon such mighty changes without a conviction that events which may change the destinies of millions of Asiatics, and fill another American region of boundless swamps and forests with the greatest civilising race of the European family, are amongst the most wonderful of the Special Providences of the Almighty.

The system of Banking, which had been slowly growing up in London from the time of Charles II., when the goldsmiths kept the cash of the merchants, and large business transactions were arranged by the payment of bills, or what we now call cheques, was not followed at all, or at least very imperfectly, in the country districts. Remittances to London, even of the taxes collected for the government, were made in specie. In 1692 the collectors of the

\* "Complete Tradesman," vol. ii. p. 220.

tax-money of the North, carrying their precious burden on sixteen horses, were attacked in Hertfordshire, and the treasure being borne off, all the horses were killed by the robbers to prevent pursuit.\* In the instructions of the "Complete Tradesman," at a much later period, we have this form of entry in the Account of Petty Cash :—"To the Exeter carriers, for carriage of money, 15s 3d." In 1694 the Bank of England was incorporated, and carried on its first operations, with fifty-four cashiers and clerks, in the hall of the Grocers' Company. This great Corporation commenced its functions under the most auspicious circumstances. Its subscribers anticipated the payment of a million two hundred thousand pounds of taxes voted by Parliament, and the Company was allowed eight per cent. upon the money advanced, besides an annual sum of four thousand pounds for management. The system which was recommended by the East India Company, under which the unemployed capital of noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, and orphans, could be made profitable, was coming to be understood. But the facilities for the development of the system were extremely few. Capital was raising its inarticulate voice for employment; and there were projectors at hand to hold out the most tempting prospects of increase without labour and without risk, to the persons of every degree, whose money was unprofitably locked up in the strong-box. The age of Companies came very soon after the Revolution. No scheme of fraud, no delusion of folly, was transparent enough to make its victims stay their headlong pursuit of imaginary wealth. The mania never stopped. Several years after the ruin which was produced by the infatuation of the South Sea scheme—of which we shall make mention in due course—the management of Companies was thus spoken of: "We are so fond of Companies, it is a wonder we have not our shoes blacked by one, and a set of directors made rich at the expense of our very blackguards."† The fluctuations, soon after the Revolution, in the price of shares—not only of "new projects and schemes, promising mountains of gold," but of the established trading Companies—were so excessive, that the business of the Royal Exchange, in its stock-jobbing department, might be compared to the operations of a great gambling-house. Indeed the spirit of gaming had taken possession of the people in the humblest as well as the highest transactions. In a Statute of 1698, it is recited that many evil-disposed persons, for divers years last

\* Evelyn, "Diary," 20th November.

† "Augusta Triumphans."



past, had set up mischievous and unlawful games called Lotteries, in London and Westminster, and in other parts, and had fraudulently obtained great sums of money from unwary persons. The Lotteries were therefore declared to be public nuisances. But the newspapers of 1710 are full of the most curious advertisements of Lotteries, called Sales. Some tickets were as high as two guineas: many as low as sixpence.\* Mrs. Lowe, the milliner, next door to the Crown in Red Lion Street, has a sixpenny sale. Six houses in Limehouse, and £2499 in new fashionable plate, are to be disposed of by tickets, and the numbers are to be drawn by two parish boys, out of two wheels, at the Three Tun Tavern in Wood-street.† There is even a twopenny sale, at the Pasty-cook's, at Porter's-block, near Smithfield.‡ But there are signs of the cheats coming to an end. The sale of goods for £7500, to be drawn on Wednesday last, is postponed for weighty reasons; but it will certainly be drawn at Stationers' Hall, for eminent Counsel have given under their hands that this sale of goods is not within the Act for suppressing of Lotteries.§ The Act was passed; and the "heavy plate" and "stitched petticoats" had to find an honest market. Utterly opposed in principle to the spirit of Lotteries was the principle of Insurance. There were two Insurance Offices against Fire established before 1687—The Royal Exchange, and the Friendly Society. The Amicable Society for insuring Lives was chartered in 1706. But these most valuable institutions were imitated in a gambling spirit. Insurances upon births and marriages were opened; and became such covers for fraud that they were suppressed by Statute in 1710.

The projectors of schemes for making all men suddenly rich,—the managers of fraudulent insurances—the sellers of plate, jewellery, and mercery by lottery—all these, and many others, who trafficked in human credulity, were exceptions to the general spirit of the English tradesman. In an age of somewhat loose morality amongst the higher classes, Burnet, writing in 1708, says, "As for the men of trade and business, they are, generally speaking, the best body in the nation; generous, sober, and charitable." He describes the inhabitants of cities as having "more knowledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more of devotion" than "the people in the country." Berkeley, who took a broader view of human affairs than the historian of his own time, points to

\* Advertisements in "Tatler," No. 239.

† *Ibid.*, No. 245.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 240.

§ *Ibid.*, No. 252.

"country gentlemen and farmers, and the better sort of tradesmen," as believers in the efficacy of virtue to make a nation happy, rather than as confiding in the power of wealth. \* Burnet rather qualifies his praise of "the best body in the nation," by admitting that in the capital city "there may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior." † Of this vanity and pompous exterior there is various evidence. It was the natural result of a prosperous social condition, in which there were very few industrious men who were not bettering their circumstances. It may seem somewhat strange at a period not very far beyond a time when the income of an eminent merchant was taken at four hundred pounds a year, and that of a lesser merchant at not more than two hundred, that we find indications of a pompous exterior which would necessarily be very costly. We can understand how sir Josiah Child, who married his daughter to a duke's son, and gave her a portion of fifty thousand pounds, should have lived at a splendid mansion at Wanstead, and covered acres with his plantations. We do not wonder at the large expenditure of sir Robert Clayton, who changed the barren hills of Marden, in Surrey, into a scene that "represented some foreign country, which would produce spontaneously pines, firs, cypress, yew, holly, and juniper." ‡ But we cannot avoid thinking that the average mercantile income was underrated, when we know that the suburbs of London were full of country houses, to which merchants and retailers always repaired in the summer. Carshalton is described as crowded with fine houses of the citizens, some of which were built at profuse expense. § Other parts of Surrey presented the same show of wealth, in such retreats of the traders, "who in their abundance make these gay excursions, and live thus deliciously all the summer, retiring within themselves in the winter, the better to lay up for the next summer's expense." || The frugality of the citizen's London dwelling, over his shop or over his warehouse, must not be too readily assumed. "It is with no small concern that I behold," says a correspondent of Mr. Bickerstaff, "in coffee-houses and public places, my brethren, the tradesmen of this city put off the smooth, even, and ancient decorum of thriving citizens, for a fantastical dress and figure improper for their persons and charac-

\* "Alciphron," Works, vol. i. p. 337.

† "Our Times," Conclusion, vol. vi. p. 203, Oxford ed.

‡ Evelyn, "Diary," July 13, 1700.

§ Defoe, "Tour," i. 232.

|| Defoe, "Tour," i. p. 239.

ters."\* The tradesmen and shopkeepers even aspired "to keep footmen as well as the gentlemen; witness the infinite number of blue liveries, which are so common now that they are called the tradesmen's liveries." Again: "Citizens and tradesmen's tables are now the emblems, not of plenty, but of luxury."† Three or four maid-servants were said to be kept in a house, where two formerly were thought sufficient. Of course, there is the usual exaggeration, in much of this complaint. One of the most certain indications of an improving state of the middle classes is the more luxurious nature of their diet; the wear of better clothing; the employ of more domestic servants; the furnishing their houses with articles of improved taste. It does not necessarily follow that convenience is more costly than discomfort, or refinement than coarseness. The satirist is not always to be relied upon who looks back to a past generation for his models of virtuous simplicity. What was denounced as vanity and extravagance in Anne's reign, might be held up as the most pattern frugality, to shame the universal love of display in our time.

The rebuilding of the City after the great Fire, was a work of marvellous energy, which offers an example, rarely paralleled, of public spirit. It was scarcely to be expected that there should have been no sacrifices to mere expediency; that a houseless population should have set about the work of reconstruction by raising up a city of wide streets instead of narrow alleys; and of regular architecture instead of the diversified adaptations to individual means and wants. Yet much was accomplished. Brick or stone houses replaced those of timber and plaster; and light and air were not excluded by the topmost story of every house almost touching its opposite neighbour. London was made more convenient, but infinitely less picturesque. In one respect the new city was not so airy as the old. Gardens behind many of the opulent traders' houses, and large side-yards, were built over. The nobility had migrated from the East to the West, and their old mansions in Bishopsgate, and Houndsditch, and Barbican, with vast courts and offices, were covered with new squares. The fire of London gave habitations to a more numerous population; and it was asserted that when the City had been rebuilt, four thousand additional houses stood upon the area that was desolated by the fire. If the new shops and warehouses and dwellings had no great architectural pretensions, many public edifices had risen, which

\* "Tatler," No. 270.

† "Complete Tradesman."

gave London a feature characteristic of its age. The churches which were destroyed had been mostly erected during the period when the old religion was in the ascendant. They were adapted to the ceremonials of Catholicism, and not for the accommodation of congregations to whom the sermon was the all-important part of public worship. It was fortunate that a man of real genius existed at the time of the Fire, who had a higher notion of the functions of an Architect than to produce copies of buildings belonging to a past age. It was fortunate that Sir Christopher Wren did not set about re-producing a Gothic St. Paul's, but, after the labour of thirty-five years, gave London the noblest Protestant Temple of the world. It was fortunate that instead of repeating in his new Parish Churches the gabled roofs and lancet windows of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he left us, in his fifty-one Churches, built under every possible disadvantage, edifices of consummate beauty and variety in one great feature of their external appearance. He had to build these churches upon small areas, many behind the main streets. He made his very difficulties the main cause of his success. "Wren, with consummate judgment put his strength into his steeples and campanili, which soar above the sordid and dingy mass of habitations, and, clustering like satellites round the majestic-dome of the Cathedral, impart to the general aspect of the city a picturesque grandeur scarcely rivalled by Rome itself."\* The accomplished artist from whom we quote truly characterises Wren as an inventor.

After the fire of London, as the nobility and the opulent gentry had gone Westward for their dwellings, the course of retail trade took the same direction. In the latter years of Charles II., the mercers occupied Paternoster Row; the street was built for them; it was thronged with coaches in two rows; the neighbouring streets were occupied by dependants upon the mercery trade, by the lacemen and fringe-sellers. Gradually the court came no longer to the city to buy its silks and velvets; and the mercers followed the court, and settled in Covent Garden.† Paternoster Row was deserted by the dealers in brocades, to be ultimately supplanted by the dealers in books, who, in like manner, deserted their old quarters in Little Britain. The "persons of quality" had begun to congregate a little north of Holborn. Great Ormond Street, with one side open to the fields, was a seat of fashion; and so was

\* Mr. A. Poynter, in "Pictorial History of England," vol. iv. p. 742.

† "Complete Tradesman." vol. ii.

Bloomsbury Square. Spring Gardens, whose thickets were once the resort of gallants in laced ruffles and periwigs, and of ladies in masks, was now covered with gay houses. Covent Garden Square was the very centre of high life. Drury Lane had not quite lost the aristocratic perfume which belonged to Craven House and Clare House. The fashionable tenants of the side boxes of Drury Lane theatre, and of Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, were not far removed from these two famous resorts of "the Town," which was now corrupted by Farquhar and Congreve, in lessons of human conduct only made more dangerous by their wit. Soho Square and St. James's Square were built before the Revolution. Golden Square was in fashion a quarter of a century later. The land of gentility was gradually stretching away still westward, in the direction of Piccadilly. But in 1708 Bolton Street was the most westerly street of London, Albemarle Street, to erect which Clarendon's proud mansion had been cleared away, was in an unfinished district of what are called "carcasses," at the end of the eighteenth century. Squares were growing up towards Tyburn Road, which did not acquire its genteel name of Oxford Road, till it became the seat of a new Bear Garden. The hangman's cart duly travelled to the ancient gallows long after this road of deep sloughs had been formed into a street. Changes marking the changes of society were going on. May Fair, "held in Brookfield Market-place, at the east corner of Hyde Park," dwindled away; and the Brook which flowed from Tyburn was covered over by the houses of Brook Street. The May-pole in the Strand, which James duke of York employed his sailors to hoist up at the Restoration, to typify the downfall of Puritanism, was removed to Wanstead, to support "the largest telescope in the world." Puritanism lost its power of domination, and gradually slid into Dissent. At the Revolution there was a transient struggle, in which a little toleration was the only victory of the principle which had overthrown the monarchy. The New Church in the Strand took the place of the old May-pole. Addison's Tory Fox-hunter seeing this church of St. Mary le Strand half-built, thought that Dissent had triumphed, and that an old temple of the establishment was in process of demolition. He "was agreeably surprised to find that instead of pulling it down they were building it up, and that fifty more were raising in other parts of the town." \*

The Street Economy, as it may be called, and the Police of the

\* "Freholder," No. 47, June 1, 1716.

London of the beginning of the eighteenth century, have so often been described, that we can merely glance at these subjects, which are the peculiar province of the essayist. It was a city, cleaner probably, and with more public conveniences than any other capital of Europe; but in what we should now deem a condition most unfavourable to health, comfort, and security. There were no foot-pavements as distinguished from the carriage-road. There were lines of posts in the chief streets, within which it was only safe to walk. The carmen in the principal road were fighting with the hackney coach drivers. The chairmen drove the foot-passengers off the railed-in way; and the foot-passengers themselves struggled for the honour of the wall. Every square and open place was a deposit for rubbish and filth, gathering in heaps of abomination, to be very tardily removed by the dustman. The streets were resonant with the bawlings of higlers and wandering merchants of every denomination. The pick-pockets and ring-droppers had no preventive police to regulate the exercise of their profession. A crowd of vagabond boys were often pursuing their sports in the most crowded thoroughfares, of which sports foot-ball was the favourite. The apprentice in the merchant's counting-house enters in his petty cash-book—"For mending the back-shop sashes broken by the foot-ball, 2s. 6d."\* The Thames was the most convenient highway between the City and Westminster, with wherries employing four or five thousand watermen. The hackney-coaches, to the number of eight hundred, had not displaced them. But a more rugged set than the Thames watermen—more terrific to a timid squire from the country, or an ancient lady going down Blackfriars to take the air—it is impossible to conceive. Their shouts of "Next oars" and "Skullers," were appalling. No sooner was the boat on its way, up or down the stream, but every passenger in another boat was assailed with a volley of "water compliments," compared with which the "slang" of our politer day is soft as the oaths of Hotspur's wife.† It was at night that the real dangers of the street began. The Watch was in the most lamentable state of imbecility. The Court of Common Council, in 1716, decreed that the streets should be lighted—but the few glass lamps only made "darkness visible." Robberies were common in every great thoroughfare. The very link-boy was a thief. The resorts of bullies and cut-throats, Whitefriars and the Savoy the Mint and the

\* "Complete Tradesman," vol. ii.

† *Vide* (but you had better not) "Tom Brown's Works," vol. iii. p. 288, ed. 1730.

Clink, were put down by Act of Parliament in 1697, as places of refuge for fraudulent debtors; and the great haunts of villainy no longer bade defiance to the officers of the law. But the drunken outrages of the night-prowlers, "The Mohawks," who had "an outrageous ambition of doing all possible hurt to their fellow-creatures," were denounced by the "Spectator," on the 12th of March, 1712; though on the 8th of April he says, some "are apt to think that these Mohawks are a kind of bull-beggars, first invented by prudent married men and masters of families, in order to deter their wives and daughters from taking the air at unseasonable hours." \* Swift was terrified about them; and a royal proclamation was issued offering a reward of £100 for the detection of any person wounding or maiming one of her majesty's subjects. There was probably much exaggeration in these terrors. The historian of London deduces their origin from "fictitious stories artfully contrived to intimidate the people;" and adds, "It does not appear that ever any person was detected of any of the said crimes." He made all inquiry in places where they were said to have been chiefly committed, and could never learn of any one person having received the least hurt.† Nevertheless, the deportment of some of the rich, "flown with insolence and wine," was one of the reasonable terrors of a street guarded by decrepit old men, and during an administration of justice which might be often bribed by wealth and awed by rank.

\* Nos. 324 and 347.

† "Maitland's London," i. 511

*Comparative Table of the Number of Houses and estimated Population at the Revolution, and of the Populations of 1801 and 1851; with the Assessment for Aid in 1689—arranged in Registration divisions.*

	Hearth-money. Return of Houses.	Population at 5 to a House.	Population, 1801.	Population, 1851.	Aid, 1689.
<i>South-Western Counties.</i>					
Wiltshire - - - - -	27,093	135,465	183,820	254,221	£1966
Dorset - - - - -	21,940	109,700	114,432	184,207	1346
Devon - - - - -	56,310	281,550	340,305	507,008	3225
Cornwall - - - - -	25,574	127,870	192,281	355,558	1549
Somerset - - - - -	44,086	220,430	273,577	443,916	2771
	175,403	877,015	1,104,438	1,803,000	10,850
<i>West Midland Counties.</i>					
Gloucestershire - - -	26,764	133,820	250,723	458,805	1803
Herefordshire - - -	15,000	75,000	88,496	115,489	1131
Shropshire - - - - -	22,284	111,420	169,248	229,341	1203
Worcestershire - - -	20,654	103,270	146,441	276,026	1053
Warwickshire - - - -	21,973	109,865	206,708	475,013	1192
Staffordshire - - - -	23,747	118,735	242,036	608,716	882
	131,402	657,010	1,104,329	2,164,230	7,239
<i>London Division.</i>					
Middlesex and Westminster	60,139				£9040
London - - - - -	30,397	500,080	958,000	2,362,000	£4201
<i>South Eastern.</i>					
Surrey - - - - -	34,218	171,090	268,233	689,082	1597
Kent - - - - -	30,242	151,210	308,007	615,760	3320
Sussex - - - - -	21,537	107,685	159,471	326,844	1821
Hants - - - - -	26,851	134,255	219,020	465,370	2189
Berks - - - - -	16,906	84,530	116,480	170,065	1132
	128,754	638,770	1,066,771	2,211,127	10,005
<i>North Western.</i>					
Cheshire - - - - -	24,054	120,270	192,995	455,725	747
Lancashire - - - - -	40,202	201,010	675,489	2,031,296	1006
	64,256	321,280	868,791	2,486,161	1753
<i>York</i>					
York - - - - -	106,151	530,755	851,000	1,790,705	3460
<i>South Midland.</i>					
Herts - - - - -	16,509	82,545	97,209	167,298	1345
Bucks - - - - -	18,340	91,700	108,132	163,723	1315
Oxon - - - - -	19,097	95,485	111,077	170,430	1195
Northampton - - - -	24,808	124,040	131,325	212,380	1413
Huntingdon - - - - -	8,217	41,085	37,568	64,183	653
Bedford - - - - -	12,170	60,850	63,833	124,478	806
Cambridge - - - - -	17,347	86,735	89,346	185,405	1020
	116,508	582,540	630,324	1,087,806	8,126
<i>Eastern.</i>					
Essex - - - - -	34,810	174,055	227,082	369,818	2068
Suffolk - - - - -	24,422	122,110	214,401	337,215	3208
Norfolk - - - - -	47,180	235,900	273,479	442,714	3578
	116,412	532,105	715,962	1,149,247	9774
<i>North Midland.</i>					
Leicester - - - - -	18,702	93,510	130,082	220,708	1084
Rutland - - - - -	3,293	16,465	16,300	22,083	240
Lincoln - - - - -	40,539	202,690	298,025	467,222	2375
Nottingham - - - - -	17,554	87,770	140,330	270,427	873
Derbyshire - - - - -	21,155	105,775	161,367	290,684	862
	101,264	506,820	636,024	1,227,024	5634
<i>Northern.</i>					
Durham - - - - -	15,984	79,920	149,584	300,007	323
Northumberland - - -	22,741	113,705	168,078	305,568	372
Cumberland - - - - -	14,825	74,125	117,220	195,492	168
Westmorland - - - - -	6,501	32,505	40,805	58,287	116
	60,051	300,255	475,497	948,344	979
<i>Wales and Monmouth</i>					
Wales and Monmouth - -	53,983	269,915	601,000	1,003,721	2369



## CHAPTER XXI.

Fixed position of the various Classes.—Difficulty of passing from one position to another.  
 —The Rural Population.—The Cottager.—The Agricultural Labourer.—Character of the Agricultural Labourer.—The Farmers and Small Freeholders.—The Gentlemen and Esquires.—Character of the Country Gentleman.—His Animosities.—The Nobility.—The Nobility and Esquires in London.—The Clergy.—Great Social Evils.—Neglect.—The Press.—Liberal Arts and Sciences.

IN considering the proportions of the various degrees of society, as presented by the approximating "Scheme" of 1688, and the exact Census of 1851, we must bear in mind that, a century and a half ago, the facilities possessed by the people of passing from one occupation to another were very limited; and that the power of what we term rising in the world was equally restricted. In the locality in which a labourer was born he generally remained to the end of his life. The laws of Settlement were attempted to be relaxed in 1697; for it was felt and avowed that paupers were created by the restraints which prevented them seeking employ where there was work to be done, and compelled them to starve upon the parochial pittance where there was no capital to support labour.\* But the clumsy machinery for remedying the evil would not act; and this semi-slavery continued unmitigated till our own time. The barriers which prevented the artificer or the trader from passing out of his first condition into one more eligible were almost as onerous. The severe enforcement of the laws of Apprenticeship kept a man for ever in the particular pursuits for which he had served seven years of dreary education; and the devices of Guilds and Companies and City-freedoms created a practical monopoly, which it was very difficult to overthrow. Some few men of great ability certainly overcame the impediments of birth and education, and rose to opulence and honours; but the rise of the commonalty was always regarded with extreme jealousy by the born great. The servile literature of the days before the Revolution echoed this sentiment. It was sedulously inculcated, in the fashionable belief, that all the wealth of the community was

\* 8 & 9 Gul. iii., c. 3.

derived from the expenditure of the higher classes ; that the prodigality of the gentry was the sole cause "that cooks, vintners, innkeepers, and such mean fellows, enrich themselves ; and that not only these, but tailors, dancing-masters, and such trifling fellows, arrive to that riches and pride, as to ride in their coaches, keep their summer houses, to be served in plate, &c., an insolence insupportable in other well-governed nations."\* Philosophers arose to tell the prodigal great that they were in the right course, for that private vices were public benefits ; and so, in very charity to the providers of luxuries, the country squire became a rake upon town, and his estates went to ruin, and all his poor dependents felt the curse of his licentiousness. It was this extreme dependence of many of the peasantry upon the landowners, that held them bound in more ignoble chains than those of the old feudality. They might receive a capricious patronage, but they could not demand a constant protection.

We may probably arrive at some view, however unsatisfactory, of the component parts and condition of the Rural Population, by a further analysis of Gregory King's scheme. We have assumed that the incomes of families of rank, independent of the incomes of those in "greater offices and places," are derived from their landed estates. This aggregate income is somewhat under six millions sterling. It is appropriated to sixteen thousand six hundred families, who altogether number about a hundred and fifty-four thousand persons, or between nine and ten in each family. This is an excess of five in each family above the usual rate of families, and it will show that eighty-three thousand servants and retainers are maintained in these great households. But there are also forty thousand "freeholders of the better sort," with an aggregate income of more than three millions and a half, who have each two in family beyond the average. This gives another eighty thousand dependents. The aggregate income of a hundred and twenty thousand "freeholders of the lesser sort" is about six millions and a half ; and these maintain sixty thousand in their households beyond the usual proportion. There are thus two hundred and twenty thousand persons directly maintained by the expenditure of the independent classes—of the classes who are not dependent upon their industry for their support, or only partially so. These households, living upon a total revenue of sixteen millions and a half, comprise about eleven hundred thousand

\* Chamberlayne ; "Present State of England," 1687, p. 43.

persons, or one-fifth of the whole population. The income from the land is very nearly equal to the total income of the other accumulating classes,—of the clergy, the lawyers, the physicians, the naval and military officers, the civil officers, the merchants, the men of science and arts, the traders, the artisans, and the farmers. These possess an aggregate revenue from their industry of eighteen millions, and maintain about sixteen hundred thousand persons. The independent classes, and their dependents, and the other accumulating classes, comprise one-half of the population, each person deriving twelve pounds for his annual support. The remaining population of very nearly three millions have an income of nine million pounds, or three pounds for the annual support of each person.

The labouring people and out-servants have been supposed by us to belong, half to the town population and half to the country population. They are estimated to receive fifteen pounds for each family. But the income of each family of the cottagers and paupers is put as low as six pounds ten shillings, or one-sixth of the income of the artisan. We would recommend this consideration to those who are in the habit of asserting that in such happy times as the beginning of the eighteenth century, the English cottager was abundantly fed and clothed; comfortably housed; was well cared for by his betters—a contented man, who enjoyed a golden age that will never return.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the enclosed land of England was estimated at half the area of the kingdom. Since that time there have been enclosed ten thousand square miles of land, which, a hundred and fifty years ago, was heath, morass, and forest. This vast tract of land, which was capable of yielding something to spade cultivation, was the region in which Gregory King's "cottagers" gained their scanty livelihood. They were the "squatters" upon the edges of commons; and the farmer regarded them with as much suspicion as he regarded the "vagrants." The squire would toss them a penny when they opened a gate, or told him which way the fox was gone. The parson cared very little for them, for they were too ragged to appear in church. Undoubtedly the out-door agricultural labourer was in a better condition than this wretched class who were so much below him. His wages varied in different localities, from four shillings to six shillings a week, without food. The average was probably five shillings. This rate agrees with King's calculation, that fifteen

pounds was the annual income for a labouring man's family. The mode in which we are accustomed to regard the difference in the value of money might lead us to the conclusion, that the labourer had a better lot with five shillings a week, than with ten shillings in the present day. He indeed bought many things cheaper than the labourer of our time, but there were many articles of necessity or comfort much dearer than now, or wholly out of his reach. In 1706 wheat was forty shillings a quarter. The difference is not great between the price of 1858. But the labourer of the eighteenth century never ate wheaten bread. Woollen clothing of every sort was far dearer then. Linen was almost beyond the reach of his wife and children. There were no cheap calicoes for their shirts; no smart prints equally cheap for their frocks. Tea and sugar, the comforts of the modern cottage, were wholly for the rich. Fresh meat was only eaten twice a week by half the working people; and never tasted at all by the other half. The salt to cure the flesh of his hog was very dear, and frightfully unwholesome. His hovel with "one chimney," was unglazed, and its thatched roof and battered walls offered the most miserable shelter. Furniture he had none, beyond a bench and a plank on tressels,—an iron-pot, and a brown basin or two. All the minor comforts of the poorest in our age were absolutely wanting. He was no partaker of the common advantages that have accrued during a century and a half, to the humblest as well as to the highest. No commodity was made cheap to him by modern facilities of communication, which in that age would have been considered miraculous. He had the ague, and his children died of the small-pox, without medical aid. The village practitioner, who might be called in at the last extremity, was an empiric, to whom the knowledge and sagacity of Sydenham were unknown, and who had no faith in the theories of Harvey. Less fortunate than the peasant of the nineteenth century, he had, in England, not the slightest chance of going out of his condition through education; or of making a humble lot more endurable by some small share of the scantily diffused stores of knowledge. His children were equally shut out from any broader view of life than that of their native hamlet; for charity schools, few and mean as they were, founded for the education of the poor, were only established in some favoured towns. Yet the peasant of the reigns of William and Anne was not an unhappy or degraded being. He had not been humiliated by a century of pauperism. He was emphatically a man—ignorant, in

our sense of ignorance ; believing in witches and omens ; fond of rough sports, his wrestling and his cudgel-playing, and of some cruel sports, his cock-fighting, and his bull-baiting. He was not unfrequently a poacher, without any great sense of criminality. But he had a salutary respect for the constable and the justice, and was under a willing submission to the law, as were most other Englishmen. On rare occasions he freely took his glass of strong ale—at the fair or the wake, the sheep-shearing or the harvest home ; had his honest merriment on the village-green, and sometimes was asleep on the bench over which the arms of the parish squire creaked in the wind. But he was not an habitual drunkard. He had a clean smock frock for the day when he heard the bells tolling for church ; and he felt, when listening to the same words, and joining in the same ritual, as the lord of the manor heard or joined in, that he had some position in the human family. He was always a hard-worker ; and he moreover knew that without industry he should fall to a condition below that in which God had placed him. "A neighbour of mine made it his remark," writes Berkeley, "in a journey from London to Bristol, that all the labourers of whom he inquired the road constantly answered without looking up, or interrupting their work, except one, who stood staring and leaning on his spade, and him he found to be an Irishman."\*

The Farmers, and the smaller Freeholders, were, with the exception of their greater command over the necessities and comforts of life, at no great elevation above the husbandman who worked for wages. They were almost equally shut out from any very extensive commerce with the general world. They attended markets and fairs, but there the price of grain and of stock was the principal object of their inquiries. The local rate was the sole guide of their dealings. They had no price-currents to enable them to sell, or to hold back, according to the averages of the kingdom ; nor indeed had they the power, in their limited command of labour, and in their utter want of machinery more effective than labour, to take advantage of a sudden rise in the price of food. Their bargains were hurried and improvident. The laws against forestalling prevented speculation in corn, and interfered with the natural foresight against coming seasons of scarcity. After the harvest the grain was sold as speedily as possible, to provide capital for the labour of another season. The people consumed without stint for a time ; and then came terrible scarcities, with

\* "Works," vol. ii., p. 229.

miseries innumerable in their train. The cultivators, as we have indicated, were slow to receive any improvement; and in their pursuit, as in many commercial pursuits, it was held that labour-saving expedients were an injury to the poor. They worked with the same rough tools as their grandfathers had used; for the plough and the harrow were incompetent to prepare the soil for seed without being followed up by much manual industry. There was a rough hospitality in their households. The great kitchen served for all domestic uses. Their home-servants took their meals at the same board with themselves; the children crowded about the floor; the dogs and the poultry gathered up the bones and the crumbs. They were a sturdy race, full of the independence which they had inherited from the times which made them free of the old lords of the soil; with many prejudices which had an intimate alliance with virtues—a very difficult race for courtiers and preachers of divine right to manage; such a race as rallied round Hampden when he stood up against ship-money; such a race as Cromwell chose for his Ironsides; men who preserved their traditions in their hatred of Popery, and of everything which approached Popery and arbitrary power.

The forty thousand "Freeholders of the better sort," whose incomes are reckoned at ninety-one pounds a year for each family, though entitled to some of the privileges of men of worship, were separated from the "Gentlemen" and the "Esquires" by barriers more difficult to pass than those of mere wealth. We have a precise description of the "yeoman of about a hundred pounds a year, an honest man." He may sport over his own lands without being informed against. "He is just within the Game Act, and qualified to kill a hare or a pheasant." He often earns his dinner with his gun. "In short, he is a very sensible man; shoots flying, and has been several times foreman of the petty jury."\* But there was an insurmountable obstacle to any approach to equality between even the richest yeoman and the most impoverished esquire. The genealogy of the esquire was at once his strength and his weakness. His family pride kept him from meannesses unworthy of a gentleman; but it did not always preserve him from excesses that would appear more properly to belong to the humble origin of the coarsest peasant. Too often he fancied that his rank exempted him from the ordinary restraints of decent society. Yet, in the dissipation of the higher classes, which inevitably followed a quar-

\* "Spectator," No. 122.

ter of a century of profligacy that had almost destroyed the old English character, there was, we are inclined to believe, some struggle against the fashionable temptation, to which the great wholly abandoned themselves in the court of Charles II. The family ties were too often worn loosely; but the belief in those happy times "ere one to one was cursedly confined,"\* was not a general creed. The barbarous hospitality that induced "gentlemen to think it is one of the honours of their houses that none must go out of them sober,"† was a little wearing away. One who looked at mankind from the philosophical as well as the religious point of view, attributes to idleness and ignorance the sensual excesses of "the uneducated fine gentleman." The Englishman is held to be "the most unsuccessful rake in the world. He is at variance with himself. He is neither brute enough to enjoy his appetites, nor man enough to govern them."‡ Burnet boldly says of the gentry of his time, "They are for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing, of any of their rank I ever met with." They are ill-taught and ill-bred; haughty and insolent; they have no love for their country, or of public liberty; they desire to return to tyranny, provided they might be the under-tyrants. In their marriages they look only for fortune. This is an awful picture, though some of the shadows may be a little too dark. Burnet was a Whig. The majority of the country gentlemen, having set up a constitutional sovereign, were again howling for divine right, and manifesting their love for a Protestant Church by sighing for the old days of confiscation and imprisonment to sweep out non-conformity. The times are long past when a lover of his country's liberty had a right to be angry at this temper. We would rather look at it as a folly to be laughed at, as Addison looked at it. His Tory Fox-hunter is the true representative of that class of "country gentlemen, who have always lived out of the way of being better informed." The Fox-hunter was of opinion that there had been no good weather since the Revolution; and that the weather was always fine in Charles II.'s reign. He loved his spaniel, because he had once worried a Dissenting teacher. He chose an inn for his quarters because the landlord was the best Church of England man upon the road. England, he maintained, would be the happiest country in the world, if we could live within ourselves, for trade would be the

\* Dryden, "Absalom and Achitophel." † Burnet, "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 199.

‡ Berkeley, "Alciphron," Works, vol. i. p. 34

ruin of the nation.\* The Toryism of sir Roger de Coverley, whom all love, was never offensive. He maintained the landed interest as opposed to the moneyed. He would not bait at a Whig inn. When he saw the headless statue of an English king in Westminster Abbey, and was told that it had been stolen, "Some Whig, I warrant you," says sir Roger. Burnet may denounce the gentry of his time as ignorant and irreligious. A far greater historian may describe the squires who were in Charles II.'s commissions of peace and lieutenancy—and they could not have changed much, in less than the term of one generation—as differing little "from a rustic miller or ale-house keeper of our time;" and paint their wives and daughters "in tastes and acquirements below a housekeeper or a still-room maid of the present day."† The country gentleman's "unrefined sensuality;" his "language and pronunciation such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns;" his "oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse;" his habitual intoxication "with strong beer;" his "bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop-merchants"—are given as characteristics of the country gentleman "of the time when the crown passed from Charles II. to his brother." But some sketches of the country gentleman, written in 1711—sketches which will endure as long as our language—may be set in merciful contrast to the highly coloured composition of our eloquent contemporary, "derived from sources too numerous to be recapitulated." With the sir Roger de Coverley of Addison and Steele we live for a month at his house in the country, and see only sober and staid servants, and a chaplain, who was chosen for plain sense rather than learning, and as "a man that understood a little of backgammon." Will Wimble, an idle younger brother to a baronet, describes a "large cock-pheasant," and how he caught "the huge jack;" but we do not see him and the host laid under the table. The knight's knowledge is not extensive. He takes care to parade his acquaintance with Baker's Chronicle; and tells that there is fine reading in the casualties of Henry IV.'s reign. But he does not pretend to be what he is not, and he has a reverence for the intellectual qualities of his visitor from London. Nor is he ill-bred, haughty, and insolent, as Burnet describes the class. With true politeness he lets his guest rise or go to bed when he pleases; dine in his own chamber, or at the general table; sit still and say nothing

\* "Freeholder," No. 22.

† Macaulay, vol. i. chap. iii.



without being called upon to be merry. He indeed is somewhat dictatorial and exclusive at church; and will suffer nobody to sleep in it besides himself; counts the congregation to see if any of his tenants are missing; and when John Mathews kicks his heels, calls out to him to mind what he is about, and not disturb the congregation. But he is compassionate even to the hare that he rescues from his hounds; and when he is doubting whether he ought not, as a justice of the peace, to commit the gipsy as a vagrant, he ends by crossing her hand with a piece of money. This, it may be said, is the fancy-picture of the most gentle of the great English humourists. But all the life-like traits of past manners must be derived from similar sources. Those who describe their own age with the greatest bitterness of satire are not always the most trustworthy. The exceptional cases of gross vice and degrading ignorance in the gentry may be as often mistaken as characteristics of a class, as the ruffians and outcasts of a great city may be mistaken for specimens of the hard-working and ill-paid tenants of its hovels and garrets.

The most repulsive feature in the character of the English Country Gentleman of the time of William and Anne is his political and religious bigotry. He does not only avoid the company of his neighbour for their difference of opinion, but he positively hates him. This is not a quiescent humour, whose chief evil is to destroy good fellowship. It takes the practical form of one continued struggle for political supremacy. The dominion of King without Parliament he knows has passed away; the most devoted Tory has no serious hopes that it can be brought back again. If the nation were to call over the son of James II., he fancies that, although the young Stuart is a papist, there will be no interference with the national religion; and although the exiled family have been taught from their cradles to venerate a heaven-appointed despotism, that they will not be despots. Whig and Tory accept parliamentary government as an accomplished fact, and they will each see what they can make of it for their own advantage. Both parties had their strongholds in the boroughs that had representatives without population. If they could manage the country districts that were populous, they might wholly control the troublesome cities and towns. The machinery of both sides was unlimited bribery. The degradation of the briber was as great as that of the bribed. "This corruption has become a national crime, having infected the lowest as well as the highest amongst us," writes

Berkeley in 1721. The base politics of that age drew from the high-minded churchman the following noble denunciation: "God grant the time be not near, when men shall say, 'this island was once inhabited by a religious, brave, sincere people, of plain uncorrupt manners, respecting inbred worth rather than titles and appearances, assertors of liberty, lovers of their country, jealous of their own rights, and unwilling to infringe the rights of others; improvers of learning and useful arts, enemies to luxury, tender of other men's lives and prodigal of their own; inferior in nothing to the old Greeks or Romans, and superior to each of those people in the perfections of the other. Such were our ancestors during their rise and greatness; but they degenerated, grew servile flatterers of men in power, adopted epicurean notions, became venal, corrupt, injurious, which drew upon them the hatred of God and man, and occasioned their final ruin.' " \*

The Nobility—the "temporal lords"—were, as they always had been, a most important portion of the rural aristocracy. Some resided for considerable periods of the year in their mansions upon their great estates. Their aggregate income was very nearly equal to one half of the income of the whole body of the esquires. They were the lords-lieutenant of counties, and, as such, had the control of the militia force of the kingdom. They were not attended to county meetings by hundreds of gentry wearing their liveries, as in the feudal days; they could not call out to the field their thousands of vassals. But they nevertheless mainly swayed the course of political action, under the system which we call "constitutional." As born legislators their direct power was far greater than in the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth, they made far more overt attempts to determine the composition of the Lower House. Yet, perhaps, all things considered, they were then, as a body, the most incapable of taking a large view of the destinies of their country, and of nourishing a deep sympathy with the condition of the people. But nevertheless they could not segregate themselves from the people. They could not repose in safety upon exclusive pretensions; and thus they headed the Revolution, and imparted to it the somewhat aristocratic character which it has taken more than another century to repair. They made no attempt to proportion representation by the numbers of the represented, or by the amount they paid in taxation. They had no very clear insight into the changes which had been produced by the rise of the trading

\* Berkeley, "Works," vol. ii. p. 197.

classes. They made no exertions to better the condition of the poorest. They did not train their children to discharge the high functions to which they were born. They had them taught dancing, fencing, and riding. It looks like a satire when Burnet recommends that the sons of the nobility should be instructed in geography and history. Nevertheless, he admits that in his time, four or five lords, by their knowledge, good judgment, and integrity, had raised the house of peers to a pitch of reputation that seemed beyond expectation.\*

The desire of the nobility and other landowners to congregate in London was not an unnatural one, and was in some degree absolutely necessary when the Parliamentary system of government became the rule under which England was to live. The jealousy of commerce, and of the use of foreign commodities, made the patriot of the end of the seventeenth century mildly reprove the growing desire of the rich to gather round the seat of luxury and fashion; as the despot of the beginning of the century had attempted forcibly to restrain this desire. "Heretofore," writes the descendant of John Hampden, "the gentry and nobility of England lived altogether in the country, where they continually spent the product of the land. Now they all flock to London, where their way of living is quite different from that used heretofore; and they do not expend in proportion the third part of things of our product, to what they did when they lived among their neighbours."† We know, at the present day, that the chief evils of absenteeism are moral evils; that the landlord who is a mere receiver of rents, without taking thought for the general welfare of the humbler classes upon his estates, does not do his duty in that state of life to which he has been called. "The yeomen and gentlemen of smaller estates," adds Mr. Hampden, "are now, generally speaking, the only constant residents in the country." But even the gentlemen of smaller estates were frequently craving for "a Journey to London." The dramatists and essayists exhibit the figures which the boorish squire, and his wife and daughters, presented in the novel pleasures and temptations of the metropolis. The squire was too often in the tavern, where he was told the wits and the quality were ready to welcome the stranger. Here he drank punch, the favourite beverage, and found it stronger than his strongest October; or he played at hazard with sharpers, and went home penni-

\* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 207.

† Tract of 1692, in "State Tracts published during the reign of William III.

less. His ladies resorted to the theatre, which was not a school of morality. They walked in the New Spring Gardens \* in their "hoop petticoats;" and thus "invested in whalebone" thought themselves "sufficiently secured against the approaches of an ill-bred fellow." † But the smart gentlemen who hovered about "this new-fashioned rotunda" could still whisper such words of compliment as ladies dare not now read in Wycherley and Congreve. "The Folly," a floating Coffee House, where ladies of very different degrees of respectability were entertained by the beaux of the reign of Anne, was another place of genteel resort, which the lower popular literature has described with sympathising coarseness. To the country visitors of London the fashionable amusement of the masquerade was the most dangerous of pleasures. It was in vain that the preacher and the moralist denounced this as a contagion of the worst kind. The duchess and the courtesan equally frequented such an assemblage—the peer of the parliament and the mercer's apprentice from Covent Garden. The mask made the licentious even more free than in their ordinary talk; and though an English lady could bear many coarse jokes and sly allusions without blushing, from the masquerade she would take back to her wondering friends such specimens of "polite conversation" as would corrupt the most secluded districts for half a century. These excursions of the gentry to London, however rare, at any rate spread the worst follies of the town. The neglect of the indigent at home—the neglect not of mere almsgiving but of kindly intercourse—was certainly one of the evil consequences of the habitual residence, and even of the occasional sojourn, of the gentry in the metropolis.

The worldly estate of the great body of the Clergy may in some degree account for the low estimate of their condition and character which had been taken at this period. Their political action we shall have to describe, in their senseless dislike of the great man who had saved the English Church from ruin, and their puerile hankerings after the dynasty that they had united to eject. The revenue of each of the twenty-six "spiritual lords" has been reckoned at about three times as much as that of an esquire. The income of "eminent clergymen" is estimated for each at little more than one-fourth of that of a gentleman. The lesser clergyman ranks, in point of the annual means for the support of his family, as below the small freeholder; a little above the farmer; and not very much above the handicraftsman. These incomes being taken

\* Vauxhall.

† "Spectator," No. 127, 1711.

upon the average of ten thousand livings, would undoubtedly leave some of the clergy with a pittance not higher than that of the common seaman, and even of the out-door labourer. Can we wonder, therefore, that servility and coarseness were considered the characteristics of the class? They went from the Grammar-school to the College upon an exhibition or a sizarship which had its own humiliations. If fortunate, they began their career as Chaplains in noble or other privileged households, where it was a blessed fate if they were treated with as much respect as was bestowed upon the butler. When they obtained a benefice they had to perform the most menial labours to extract from it the means of subsistence. In this last stage, can we wonder that some might be found, instead of taking rank as gentlemen, drinking ale and smoking with the village cowkeeper? Perhaps it was not the worst society for them. But in spite of these familiar pictures of the addiction of the country parson to low company, and of his necessary connection with mean labours, may we not consider that there were many who felt an honest pride in ploughing their own field, and feeding their own hogs; whose wives were spinning the wool of their own sheep, and whose daughters were scouring their bricked kitchen, without mental degradation? Burnet, who was a severe censurer of his brethren, admits that the greatest part of them live without scandal; but in the very next sentence he says, "I have observed the clergy in all places throughout which I have travelled—Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters: but of them all our clergy are much the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives."\* In another place he speaks of the zeal of the Romish clergy, and of Dissenters; "But I must own, that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me, and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one asleep."† The right reverend friend of William III. had sustained many mortifications from the restlessness of the great body of the country clergy; from their intolerance; from their extravagant notions of Church supremacy; from their narrow views of political affairs. The eminent divines of that day were great scholars and great reasoners. The whole course of human thought was tending to the actual rather than to the ideal. The philosophy of Locke may be traced in many a powerful religious argument which could confound the sceptic, but could not rouse the indifferent. The divinity of that generation, and indeed of the next, was for the

\* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 183.

† *Ibid.*, p. 179.

most part formal and unimpassioned. Methodism arose; and the most ignorant of the human race found nourishment and hope in words which came home to their bosoms and understandings. Tillotson reasoning to the benchers of Lincoln's Inn, and Whitefield moving the colliers of Bristol to tears, are contrasts of which the lessons were not speedily learnt in the Church, but which when learnt could not be easily forgotten.

The historian of his own time, to do him justice, saw what was chiefly wanting to make the clergy efficient for good. He exhorted them "to labour more," instead of cherishing extravagant notions of the authority of the Church. If to an exemplary course of life in their own persons, clergymen would add a little more labour,—not only performing public offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occasion is given, from house to house, making their calling the business of their whole life,—they would soon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would show more esteem and regard for them." We who have now the happiness to feel that the Clergy are the great civilisers, also know how slowly this sage advice was taken by them as a class.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, and long after, we see no struggle against great social evils, on the part of the clergy or the laity. Every attempt at social reform was left to the Legislature, which was utterly indifferent to those manifestations of wretchedness and crime that ought to have been dealt with by the strong hand. Education, in any large sense, there was none. Disease committed its ravages, unchecked by any attempt to mitigate the evils of standing pools before the cottage door, and pestilential ditches in the towns. These were not peculiar evils of the last century; they continued long beyond that century, because they were the results of social ignorance. But there were evils so abhorrent to humanity, that their endurance without the slightest endeavour to mitigate or remove them was an opprobrium of that age. The horrible state of the prisons was well known. The nosegay laid on the desk of the judge at every assize proclaimed that starvation and filth were sweeping away far more than perished by the executioner, terrible as that number was. The judge's chaplain ate the sheriff's dinner; and all was well unless a few jurymen took the jail-fever. The justices never entered the jails. The vicar heeded not the Saviour's reproach,—“I was sick and in

prison, and ye visited me not." London, and all other great towns, were swarming with destitute children, who slept in ash holes and at the street doors. They were left to starve, or to become thieves and in due course be hanged. The Church, in 1701, established "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The worse than heathen at home were left to swell the festering mass of sin and sorrow, until the whole fabric of society was in peril from its outcasts, and no man's life or property was safe. The only evidence that was listened to of something wrong in the entire social economy was this: one-fifth of the whole population were paupers. Locke attributed the rapid increase of the poor-rates to "the relaxation of discipline and the corruption of manners." Those who by their rank or their office were especially called to guide the ignorant, and to discourage the licentious, were certainly to be charged with some neglect of their great duties, if such were the causes of pauperism.

The evils of society, at the opening of the eighteenth century, were not laid bare by publicity, the one first step towards their remedy. There was only one popular writer who approached social questions with any practical knowledge joined to sound benevolence. He was Daniel Defoe. He looked for remedies, not in drivelling schemes for setting the poor to work under parochial superintendence, but he told the capitalist and the labourer how to raise their condition under the natural laws of demand and supply. His "Review" was the first periodical work that sought readers amongst the people. Addison and Steele saw that a popular Literature was to be created; and from that time the lay preachers became effective. Newspapers multiplied. But even Addison could not see that they were capable of becoming great instruments of public good. It is remarkable that the man who did as much as any one to prove the efficiency of the Press, should have thus chosen to "hesitate dislike" against the humblest labourers in the same field. Perhaps he had a foresight of the power that was to grow out of small beginnings. "Of all the ways and means by which this political humour hath been propagated among the People of Great Britain, I cannot single out any so prevalent and universal, as the late constant application of the Press to the publishing of State matters. We hear of several that are newly erected in the country, and set apart for this particular use. For, it seems the people of Exeter, Salisbury, and other large towns, are resolved to be as great politicians as the inhabitants of London

and Westminster; and deal out such news of their own printing, as is best suited to the genius of the market-people, and the taste of the county. One cannot but be sorry, for the sake of these places, that such a pernicious machine is erected among them."\*

We have left for the conclusion of this general view of the chief aspects of England's social condition about the beginning of the last century, a very brief allusion to those "liberal Arts and Sciences," which were slowly, but very surely, to change the half-developed industry of the time of Anne to the marvellous proportions of the commercial era of the first sovereign lady who came after that queen. In the fifteen thousand engaged in these liberal pursuits in 1688, we must include the medical profession. The study of facts had succeeded to the theories and empirical remedies of the school before Harvey and Sydenham. Botany had been systematised by Ray; and the medical student had the opportunity of becoming familiar with plants in the "Physic Garden." The Royal Society was incorporated by charter in 1662; and commenced the publication of its Transactions in 1665. This was a great step towards popularising science; and if many of the papers which were read at the Society's meetings appear now to be frivolous, they kept alive a spirit of investigation which in time produced results beyond the amusement of the small knot of virtuosi in the capital, and in some of the chief towns. But, many years before the end of the seventeenth century, that great genius had arisen whose discoveries made the astonished philosopher of France figure Newton as "entirely disengaged from matter," and the enthusiastic poet of England exclaim, "God said let Newton be, and there was light."† In noticing the wondrous powers of intellect which called forth such tributes from contemporaries, and which succeeding generations have gratefully echoed, we desire chiefly to point out that the discoverer of the law of universal Gravitation was equally fitted for the solution of a problem that might appear capable of being solved by minds of an inferior order. The great reform of the Currency, one of the most difficult operations of the ministers of William III., was carried through under the advice of Newton, working at the same question of practical utility with Locke. It is only just to the statesmen of the seventeenth century

\* "Freeholder," No. 53, June 22, 1716.

† It is a worthy occupation of a life which, in its closing years, is more elevated by science than excited by politics, for Lord Brougham to preside over the inauguration of a statue of Newton, at Grantham, on the 22nd September, 1858.

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to point out that, in several instances, they manifested their convictions of the direct value of philosophical research and discovery. From the foundation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, in 1676, may be dated the progress of scientific navigation. It would be impossible to calculate the amount of obligation which English Commerce alone owes to the labours of the great men who have followed in the track of Galileo and Kepler, from the Newton and Halley of the age which we have now imperfectly glanced at, to the Herschel and Airy of our own time.

Of the indirect power of Science to give its impulse to the commonest labours of man—to call forth new exercises of industry, to improve the processes already in existence, to furnish higher aims to manufactures and commerce, to bring remote regions within the range of maritime communication, to carry forward the heaven-ordained design of spreading the blessings of civilisation over the earth—no one who looks at what England was a century and a half ago, and what England is now, can have the smallest doubt. But it must not be forgotten that our country was a soil adapted for the reception of this seed; that abstract Science would have remained in a great degree unproductive for practical ends, except its powers had been developed amongst an energetic race living under a system of public liberty. Amidst such a race the spark of knowledge does not glimmer in mere speculative thought, but becomes a fire, diffusing its warmth over an improving country. Governments may be slow in seeing this indissoluble connection between the discoveries of the philosopher and the province of the statesmen. But if in a land of freedom they retard not the work which they can never more than feebly aid, and even if they attempt to retard it, mind will assert its own empire, and produce the results which constitute the essential differences between the age before the steam-engine and the age of the electric telegraph.

*A Scheme of the Income and Expense of the several Families in England, Calculated for the Year 1688.*

Number of Families.	Ranks, Degrees, Titles, and Qualifications.	Heads per Family.	Number of Persons.	Yearly Income per Family.		Yearly Income in General.
				£	s.	£
160	Temporal Lords.....	40	6,400	3,200	0	512,000
26	Spiritual Lords.....	20	520	1,300	0	33,800
800	Baronets.....	16	12,800	880	0	704,000
600	Knights.....	13	7,800	650	0	390,000
3,000	Esquires.....	10	30,000	450	0	1,200,000
12,000	Gentlemen.....	8	96,000	280	0	2,880,000
5,000	Persons in greater offices and places.....	8	40,000	240	0	1,200,000
5,000	Persons in lesser offices and places.....	6	30,000	120	0	600,000
2,000	Eminent merchants and traders by sea.....	8	16,000	400	0	800,000
8,000	Lesser merchants and traders by sea.....	6	48,000	200	0	1,600,000
10,000	Persons in the law.....	7	70,000	154	0	1,540,000
2,000	Eminent clergymen.....	6	12,000	72	0	144,000
8,000	Lesser clergymen.....	5	40,000	50	0	400,000
40,000	Freeholders of the better sort..	7	280,000	91	0	3,640,000
120,000	Freeholders of the lesser sort..	5½	660,000	55	0	6,000,000
150,000	Farmers.....	5	750,000	42	10	6,750,000
15,000	Persons in liberal arts and sciences.....	5	75,000	60	0	900,000
50,000	Shopkeepers and tradesmen....	4½	225,000	45	0	2,250,000
60,000	Artisans and handicraftsmen....	4	240,000	38	0	2,280,000
5,000	Naval officers.....	4	20,000	80	0	400,000
4,000	Military officers.....	4	16,000	60	0	240,000
500,586	Common seamen.....	5⅓	2,675,520	68	18	34,488,800
50,000	Labouring people and out-servants.....	3	150,000	20	0	1,000,000
364,000	Cottagers and paupers.....	3½	1,275,000	15	0	5,460,000
400,000	Common soldiers.....	3¼	1,300,000	6	10	2,000,000
35,000	Vagrants, as gipsies, thieves, beggars, &c.....	2	70,000	14	0	490,000
			30,000	10	10	60,000
1,349,586	Neat totals.....	41⅓	5,500,520	32	5	43,498,800

NOTE.—Mr. Gregory King, the author of this Scheme, considers that the 21 classes, whose families amount to 500,586, are accumulators, spending less than their income; and that the other classes require some support beyond their earnings—that they decrease the National Capital.

There are some few discrepancies between the items and the totals in the above Table but they do not affect the conclusions to be derived from this "Scheme."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Resolution and conduct of the Prince of Orange set forth in the Proclamation of William and Mary.—Character of William.—Aspirants for office.—The king's ministers.—The judges.—Jealousy of William's Dutch friends.—The Convention declared to be a Parliament.—Oath of Allegiance.—Refused by some spiritual and lay peers.—Non-jurors.—A Supply voted.—The principle of appropriation established.—Comprehension Bill.—Reform of the Liturgy.—The Test Act.—The Toleration Act.—High and Low Church.—Mutiny at Ipswich.—The first Mutiny Act.—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.—Bill of Indemnity postponed.—The Coronation Oath.—The Coronation.—War with France.

"WHEREAS it hath pleased Almighty God, in his great mercy to this kingdom, to vouchsafe us a merciful deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power; and that our preservation is due, next under God, to the resolution and conduct of his highness the prince of Orange." Such were the opening words of the proclamation, which, on the 13th of February, 1689, announced to the people of England that William and Mary were king and queen of these realms. The same "resolution and conduct" which had delivered England from the most imminent dangers, had to support the man who was acknowledged as her deliverer, amidst perils and difficulties of which not the least were the treachery, the self-seeking, the ingratitude of the greater number of those who had called him to rule over them. For thirteen years this Dutch William almost stood alone as the representative of what was heroic in England. He is not a hero to look upon, according to the vulgar notion of the hero. "He had a thin and weak body. . . . He was always asthmatical, and the dregs of the small-pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant deep cough."\* This prince had no power of subduing men to his will by rhetorical arts. He was a master of seven languages, speaking "Dutch, French, English, and German, equally well," as Burnet records. But his possession of this necessary accomplishment of a prince did not lead him to the ambition of employing words to conceal his thoughts. "He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness," †

\* Burnet, "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 547.

† *Ibid.*

says Burnet. "He speaks well, and to the point," says one of the French negotiators of the peace of Ryswick. He came amongst courtiers who recollected the charm of the manners of Charles the Second—that fascinating gossip which always evaded "the point"—and in a few weeks they talked of "the morose temper of the prince of Orange." \* Under this frigid demeanour superficial observers could comprehend nothing of the marvellous energy of this man of action; and they descanted upon "the slothful, sickly temper of the new king." † Though "he had a memory that amazed all about him," his great abilities were not generally recognised, for he had few of the showy qualities which pass for genius. Men of that time had not studied the science of Lavater and Spurzheim, yet they had a notion that "foreheads villainous low," were symbols of imbecility: and when they looked upon the "large front" of this cautious undemonstrative stranger, they might perchance have thought that there was something in him, and that there was meaning in the silent eloquence of his bright and sparkling eyes." There was no vivacity in the man—"solemn and serious, seldom cheerful, and but with a few," says Burnet. Yet he managed to use his talents, such as they were, not for display but for service. In war he carried the hearts of all along with him by his fire and his daring. In negotiation he accomplished the most difficult objects by his perseverance, and, above all, by his truthfulness. Tallard, the ambassador from Louis XIV., writes to his master: "He is honourable in all he does; his conduct is sincere. . . . If he once enters into a treaty with your majesty, he will scrupulously adhere to it." ‡ The same impartial observer bears testimony to his sagacity: "He is very quick-sighted, and has a correct judgment, and will soon perceive that we are trifling with him if we protract matters too much." § "Few men had stronger passions," according to Burnet; but "few men had the art of concealing and governing passion more than he had." He disarmed the hostility of factions by his seeming imperturbability. "The wishes of the king are checked," writes Tallard, "and it is only by his extreme patience, and by incessantly applying remedies to everything, that he succeeds in a part of what he desires." || And yet from the depths of this seemingly impassive nature breaks out the secret agony of

\* Evelyn, "Diary," January 29.

† *Ibid.*, March 29.

‡ Grimblot—"Letters of William and Louis," vol. ii. pp. 48 and 56.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 233.

his real sensitiveness, told only to his friend Heinsius: "Matters in Parliament here are taking a turn which drives me mad." \* Such was the man who was called to rule over England, in times when a statesman not to be treacherous, unpatriotic, corrupt, was a rare distinction. "He is generally hated by all the great men, and the whole of the nobility," says the French ambassador, after William had been ten years on the throne. † But Tallard adds: "It is not the same with the people, who are very favourably inclined towards him, yet less so than at the beginning." What this prince had done for England, from the beginning to the end, to raise her in the scale of nations, to save her from foreign domination, to keep her safe from domestic tyranny, to uphold that liberty of conscience which is the basis of true Protestantism, to make constitutional government a reality in spite of the low ambition of ignorant factions,—this, the people of that generation could not wholly appreciate, however they might feel that it was good for them to be under a ruler who knew that he had a work to do in the world, and who did it.

"Innumerable were the crowds who solicited for and expected offices," says a bystander in 1689, who saw the progress of the game. ‡ "The pasture was not large enough for the flock," writes an anonymous historian of the next generation. § In those days statesmen were justly open to the reproach of seeking high place out of the lust of gain, rather than for the gratification of an honourable ambition. The official salaries were extravagantly large. It was no part of the policy of the aristocratic movers in the settlement of 1689 to disturb the lavish bounties of the Stuarts to their obsequious servants. But the people felt these burdens. In 1690, Sir Charles Sedley, in a debate on the Supply, said of William, "He is a brave and generous prince, but he is a young king, encompassed and hemmed in by a company of crafty old courtiers. To say no more, some have places of 3000*l.*, some of 6000*l.*, and others of 8600*l.* per annum." || In the lower offices of the household and of the revenue, the pay was disproportionately large, and the perquisites still larger. The coach and six horses of the Comptroller of the Customs was a deep offence to the country gentlemen. ¶ We may readily imagine that in such a total change as that of 1689, there was a scramble for office, in which the real principles

\* Grimblot—"Letters of William and Louis," vol. i. p. 355. † *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 466.

‡ Evelyn, "Diary," February 21.

§ Ralph, "History," vol. ii. p. 57—1746.

|| "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 562.

¶ *Ibid.*, col. 670.

of public men were severely tested. The king—called to the succour of England by the united voice of men of all parties, and placed upon the throne with the partial approbation of many who were opposed to the principles of his most ardent supporters,—ventured upon an experiment in government, which to us would be perfectly unintelligible if we were to judge of it by the practice of modern times. He desired to govern by a balance of parties; he sought to carry that desire into effect by choosing his ministers from parties whose principles were diametrically opposed, each to the other. To comprehend why it was thought possible to twist such a rope of sand into a state-cable, we must bear in mind that, under the system which had passed away, of governing as much as possible without parliaments, an administration was merely composed of men who were thought qualified to serve the king in their respective offices without any common agreement upon particular measures. An active king, such as Charles I. and James II., was in many respects his own administrator. William III. was willing to give the same personal superintendence to the conduct of that great policy, whose advancement had chiefly moved him to contend for the English throne. He would himself conduct the foreign relations of the country, for which duty, indeed, he was more fitted than any man. But his confidential advisers in domestic politics should be officers who had influence with the two great parties in the State, and with the sub-divisions of the Whig and Tory factions. There was Halifax, who was known as the Trimmer,—one who was selected to tender the crown to William and Mary, but who had taken no part in the first steps which deprived James of the crown. There was Danby, who had been impeached under Charles II. for his arbitrary and corrupt practices, and who had only given a modified support to the present change of government. There was Nottingham, whose nomination to office was a propitiation to the High Church party. There was Shrewsbury, who had borne a distinguished part in the battle which had resulted in the great victory of the Whigs. But the Revolution was the triumph of Whig principles; and thus it was natural, in the hour of triumph, after some concessions to open adversaries or doubtful friends, that the Whigs should have the larger share of the spoils. The Great Seal was put in Commission. The great office of Lord High Treasurer was not filled up, but Commissioners of the Treasury were appointed. In the same way the duties of Lord High Admiral were entrusted to a Board. These arrangements for Com-

missions were considered as politic devices "to gratify the more."\* One signal benefit of the great change was manifested to the nation—there would be no attempt to suppress public opinion by the agency of corruption on the judgment seat: "Nothing gave a more general satisfaction than the naming of the judges. The king ordered every privy counsellor to bring a list of twelve; and out of these, twelve very learned and worthy judges were chosen."† Somers, to whose eloquence and sagacity the success of the Revolution was so much indebted, was named Solicitor-General.

In the spirit of that mean dislike of foreigners which characterises the vulgar Englishman, a writer of our own day thus records one of the complaints against the arrangements of 1689: "Three of the king's Dutch followers, Bentinck, Auverquerque, and Zuylistein, were placed by him about his person,—with a disdain, not of the prejudices, but of the feelings of the nation, which might have recalled to mind his Norman predecessor."‡ There were others about William's person, who were amongst the most true-hearted of Englishmen. The Duke of Devonshire was Lord Steward; the earl of Dorset was Lord Chamberlain; Sidney, the brother of the republican, Algernon, was a gentleman of the bed-chamber. Yet William is held to have outraged the national feeling because he gave one place, not of political importance, but of necessary companionship, to Bentinck, the friend of his youth—the man who had nursed him in sickness, who had stood by him in battle; because he gave another to Auverquerque, who had saved his life by personal intrepidity in the field of St. Dennis, in 1678; and another to Zuylistein, whose father had earned a debt of gratitude from the saviour of Holland, by perishing in his cause, when Luxemburg stormed his quarters in 1672. We doubt if the people—not the mere place-hunters—were so unreasonable as to expect that their deliverer, as they called him, should be isolated amongst strangers; should have wholly to make new friends; should cast aside all memories of old affections; should forget all the associations of that life of toil and danger which he had endured from his twenty-second year to this his thirty-ninth. They could not surely forget that William was Stadtholder of Holland, as well as King of England; that the interests of both countries were the same; that the first magistrate of each of the two free states of Europe was embarked in a contest against the absolute monarch

\* Evelyn, "Diary," March 8.

† Burnet, vol. iv. p. 7.

‡ Continuation of Mackintosh's "History," by William Wallace, vol. viii. p. 300.

who aimed at universal dominion; that for the proper conduct of this great enterprise, it were well that he should have some few faithful friends, to whom he could pour out his heart without dread of fickleness and faithlessness. Yet against such popular prejudices it is hard to contend. William must have felt that the mere circumstance of his being a foreigner was a serious impediment to his power of doing his duty efficiently; and thus amidst undeserved suspicions, and causeless jealousies, he pined for that happier state from which he had been called; he felt the want of that admiration which surrounded him at the Hague; he intensely longed for the return of the tranquillity that he had thrown away when he quitted his quiet home at Loo.

King William opened the Parliament on the 18th of February. He addressed the two Houses in a very brief speech, composed of the plainest words: "I have lately told you how sensible I am of your kindness, and how much I value the confidence you have reposed in me. And I am come hither to assure you, that I shall never do anything that may justly lessen your good opinion of me." The chief point of the speech was a recommendation "to consider of the most effectual ways of preventing the inconveniences which may arise by delays; and to judge what forms may be most proper, to bring those things to pass for the good of the nation, which I am confident are in all your minds, and which I, on my part, shall be always ready to promote." The possible delays to which the king alluded grew out of the agitation of the question, whether the Convention which had altered the Succession could continue to sit as a Parliament. The Lords immediately passed a Bill "for removing and preventing all questions and disputes touching the assembly and sitting of this present Parliament," in which it was declared that the Convention which assembled on the 22nd of January are the two Houses of Parliament, "as if they had been summoned according to the usual form." But in the Commons the question was debated with great violence, upon what were maintained as constitutional principles. There had been two months of excitement since James had quitted the kingdom; and the inevitable re-action of opinion made many eager to unsettle the Settlement. Old Serjeant Maynard maintained that this was not a time to stand upon forms. "There is a great danger in sending out writs at this time, if you consider what a ferment the nation is in. I think the clergy are out of their wits." The outrages that James had attempted upon the national religion were by many forgotten. The



dread of Popery was extinguished in the dread of Dissent. This was the first move of a powerful faction when they agitated the question whether the Convention were a Parliament ; thus to postpone the formal adhesion of the Church and the Laity to the new sovereign, and to delay the grant of supplies, at a time of impending danger on every side. The state of the parliamentary constituencies—a state that remained unaltered for nearly a century and a half—presented a wide field for intrigue and corruption. The real opinion of the people upon such a vital question as that of uncompromising fealty to a new dynasty could not be fairly arrived at, when Cornwall, with its twenty-five thousand householders, returned one-third more members than Yorkshire with its hundred thousand ; and when Sussex, another great seat of decayed boroughs returned nearly four times as many members as Middlesex and London. In this question of the legality of the Parliament, the constituencies were not however called upon to decide. The Bill was passed ; and it was accompanied with a clause that no person should sit and vote in either House of Parliament without taking the prescribed oath to be faithful and bear true allegiance to king William and queen Mary, according to the form prescribed in the Declaration of Rights.\* The 1st of March was the day after which no seat could be taken in Parliament unless allegiance had thus been previously sworn. The archbishop of Canterbury and seven other spiritual peers absented themselves, as well as various lay peers. In the Commons the absentees were not so proportionately numerous. The Jacobite party sustained a defeat ; but the example of the prelates operated upon many of the inferior Clergy, when the time arrived in which they also were to declare in the most solemn manner their adherence to the new government. An oath, in place of the old oath of allegiance and supremacy, was to be taken by all lay persons holding offices, and by all in possession of any benefice or other ecclesiastical preferment. Those churchmen who did not take this oath on or before the 1st of August were to be suspended ; and if at the end of six months they continued to refuse, were to be deprived.† About four hundred refused the oath, and, losing their benefices, were, during three reigns, a constant source of irritation and alarm, under the name, familiarised to us by our lighter as well as graver literature, of Nonjurors. Whatever opinions may be entertained of the wisdom of this resistance, we must in this case, as in the previous cases of the Episco-

\* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 1.

† *Ibid.*, c. 8.

pallians ejected by the Long Parliament, and of the Puritans ejected after the Restoration, respect the self-denial of those who suffered for conscience sake. Their devotion to the principle of hereditary right might be a weakness, but it was not a crime. The policy of their deprivation was very questionable. Those who took the oaths, and satisfied their principles by intriguing and preaching against the government *de facto*, were really more dangerous than the eminent divines, such as Ken, and Sherlock, and Leslie, who openly refused to support it by their declared allegiance. Violent and factious men might bring contempt on the name of Nonjurors ; but many of the less distinguished among them set about getting their bread by the honest exercise of their talents and learning. If some became fawning domestic chaplains to plotting Jacobite lords, others kept themselves above want by literary labours, however humble. John Blackbourn, the ejected incumbent of two livings, earned his bread as corrector of the press for William Bowyer.\*

In this first Session of the first Parliament of the Revolution, amidst signal manifestations of a narrow and a factious spirit, we have abundant evidence of statesmanlike sagacity. The king looked upon many unsettled questions with a wider range of view than his own Council, or the Grand Council of the Nation. He was confident in the justice and necessity of the objects for which he desired to have his hands strengthened. The Parliament refused its confidence. The king desired to carry out the fullest principles of religious liberty that were consistent with the public safety. The Parliament thought that there was a very strict limit even for toleration. And yet, out of these differences, resulted much practical good. The king wished to have ample means for maintaining the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, for the pacification of Scotland, for giving efficiency to the confederacy against the ambition of the French. The Commons manifested a greater jealousy of entrusting the supplies to their deliverer than they had manifested towards their oppressor. There were immediate evil consequences. The Roman Catholic adherents of James devastated the Protestant settlements in Ireland ; the standard of resistance was successfully reared in Scotland ; Louis threatened England with invasion, and was marching a great army upon Holland. But the benefits of the jealousy of the Commons are felt by us to this day. Those Whigs who carried their confidence in the intentions of William to an extreme, were of opinion that the Revenue which had been settled

\* Nichols' "Literary Anecdotes," vol. iii. p. 252.

upon king James for life should revert to the sovereign who had taken his place. Some Tories, who were adverse to the government, but were eager to secure power by a simulated confidence in the king, agreed in this view. The majority in Parliament successfully resisted it. William had proposed to his Council that the Hearth-money, or Chimney-tax, should be abolished. Sir Robert Howard told the house that the king said, "It was much in his thoughts." Sir Robert added, "I could wish the house had heard his discourse in all this business ; and in all his discourse from Exeter hither, he expressed his inclination to do good to the people."\* To abolish the Hearth-money, an especial tax upon the poor, was a duty to which William was called by the earnest solicitations of the crowds who followed his march from Torbay to London. But he frankly said to Parliament, "as in this his majesty doth consider the ease of the subject, so he doth not doubt but you will be careful of the support of the crown." The official biographer of James II. sneers at William's self-denial; "He wheedled them [the Commons] with a remission of chimney-money, when he was well assured he should be no loser by his generosity, and that it would be only like throwing water into a dry pump to make it suck better below, and cast it out with more abundance above,"† This was not exactly the best mode of wheedling the rich country gentlemen, by removing a tax from the cottage to put it in some shape upon the mansion. Yet the Commons respected the motive of the king, and substituted less oppressive taxes. But they declined to grant the temporary revenue for the lives of the king and queen. The hereditary revenue they did not touch. Moreover they resolved that whatever sums they voted should be appropriated to particular services, according to estimates. This principle, partially adhered to in the time of Charles II., but wholly disregarded by the parliament of his successor, has from the time of the Revolution been the great security of the nation against the wanton and corrupt expenditure of the Crown. Parliament may make lavish votes ; but there must be a distinct vote in every case for the service of a particular department. It is this which renders the legislative power so really supreme in England ; it is this which renders it impossible that an executive can subsist except in concord with the representatives of the people. We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to the Parliament of the Revolution that they

\* "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 153.

† "Life of James II." vol. ii., p. 310

clung to a principle and established a practice which have never since been departed from. A temporary vote of credit is sometimes asked under extraordinary circumstances; but the constitutional right of appropriation, always secured in the express words of the grant of supply, is the general rule which no minister would dare to ask the representatives of the people to forego.

But if the Parliament of William and Mary is to be commended for their jealousy of the king in the matter of Revenue, we may doubt if they were equally wise in halting far short of his known wishes in the great questions of religious liberty, and religious union. If the king's abstract sense of what was due to the consciences of men could have been carried out, we might have been saved from a century and a quarter of bitter animosities; and the Church of England might have been more secure and more influential, than during the long period when the Test Act remained in force against Protestants, and Roman Catholics were not only ineligible to civil officers, but had to undergo what we now justly regard as persecution. But in this, as in all other cases, no reform can be permanent which is premature. William desired such an alteration in the ritual and discipline of the Church, as had been vainly attempted from the time of James I., so as to satisfy the scruples of non-conformists who were honestly averse to separation. He advanced so far as to have what was called a Comprehension Bill introduced into the House of Lords, by a zealous churchman, the earl of Nottingham. It passed the Peers in a mutilated shape; was coldly received by the Commons; and dropt through upon a reference to Convocation. That ecclesiastical parliament had transacted no real business since 1665, when they gave up the right of taxing themselves. They had now been summoned, as had been usual; but, contrary to use, important measures were to be submitted to them at a time of violent divisions amongst the Clergy. A considerable number of eminent divines were disposed to such changes in the Services of the Church as would conciliate the moderate Presbyterians and others who conscientiously objected to certain portions of the ritual. A Commission was appointed to consider what changes were desirable. A Report was drawn up by the moderate Churchmen, such as Tillotson, and submitted to the Convocation. The "rigid" or high-church party had there prevailed; and their prolocutor, Dr. Jane, when presented to the bishop of London, proclaimed the resolve of the majority, in the words of the barons of Henry III.,—"Nolumus leges Angliæ

mutari." The Comprehension Bill, and the Reform of the Liturgy, went to the ground together.

Another ruling desire of the king was that all Protestants should be eligible to employments. On the occasion of giving his assent to two Bills, on the 16th of March, he said, "I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in offices and places of trust by this Revolution. I know you are sensible there is a necessity of some law to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places. I recommend to your care to make a speedy provision for it; and as I doubt not you will sufficiently provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve." William proposed this at the time when the question was under debate, whether the Clergy should be required to take the oaths. He proposed it without consulting his Council, in the hope that the two violent parties would agree to a compromise—that the Whigs would not press the oath of allegiance upon the Clergy; that the Tories would not press the Sacramental Test upon the Dissenters. He was deceived in his expectations. The Test Act remained in force against non-conformists. The Bill which deprived the nonjuring Clergy of their benefices was carried.

The last and the least objectionable wish of the king was agreed to, after long debate—that Dissenters should not be molested in the celebration of their worship. The Toleration Act—"An Act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws"—was a signal relief from a heavy burden, long borne by indignant sufferers. Judged by the opinions of our own day the Toleration Act was a very imperfect boon, requiring from dissenting ministers and teachers subscription to certain articles of faith, as contained in the Thirty-nine articles of the Church, with the exception of the 34th, 35th, and 36th Articles, and of those words of the 20th Article which declared that the Church had power to decree rights or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith. The Protestants who "scruple the baptising of infants," were further exempted from subscribing part of the 27th Article. The Quakers were exempted, upon a declaration of fidelity, and a simple profession of their Christian belief. The Act of Toleration only relaxed the severe enactments of the two former reigns, under this and other conditions, without providing for their repeal. Yet eventually, this famous Statute was a measure of real relief, for its cumbrous

and impracticable conditions gradually fell into disuse. We may judge of the satisfaction it gave to Dissenters, by the enthusiastic plaudits of Defoe, in calling upon his dissenting brethren, "annually to commemorate by a standing law among themselves, that great day of their deliverance, when it pleased God to tread down persecution, oppression, church-tyranny, and state-tyranny, under the feet of the law, and to establish the liberty of their consciences, which they had so long prayed for, in a public and legal toleration" \* The ministers of dissenting meeting-houses had thus no longer reason to dread informations under the Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Acts. Their followers were discharged from all apprehension of penalties for attending Conventicles, or for neglecting the worship of the Establishment, provided they took the oath of allegiance, and subscribed the declaration against Popery prescribed by the Statute of Charles II. The Protestant Dissenters were relieved by Act of Parliament from those restraints which James II. attempted to remove by the dispensing power. The Papists were specifically excluded from this relief; and thus the statutory indulgence was welcomed by Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, as much for what it denied to others as for what it gave to themselves. But inasmuch as it narrowed the area of state intolerance, it rendered a large proportion of the Clergy more than ever intolerant towards those legally tolerated. The king was brought up as a Calvinist; and thus his tendencies towards religious freedom were always suspected as having for their end something adverse to the Anglican church. Swift, writing in 1711, in the spirit of triumphant Toryism, says, "the Revolution being wholly brought about by Church of England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be the relieving us from the encroachments of Dissenters as well as those of Papists." The hope was happily disappointed. The Dissenters were no longer to be hunted by the constable, and imprisoned by the justice of peace. "They," says Swift, "had just made a shift to save a tide and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their protector king James; and observing a party then forming against the old principles in Church and State, under the name of Whigs and Low-churchmen, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continued." † In a subsequent paper, Swift affirms that the distinction of High and Low Church, "which came in some time after the Revolution,"

\* "Review," quoted in Wilson's "Defoe," vol. i., p. 181. † "Examiner," No. 37.

was raised by the Dissenters, "in order to break the church party by dividing the members into high and low; and the opinions raised that the high joined with the Papists, inclined the low to fall in with the Dissenters."\* The unchristian hatreds of the Revolution gave their colour to the politics of two reigns. Since the accession of the house of Brunswick, these polemics have been gradually diluted, so as to impart at last the faintest tinge to the real course of public policy. Very slowly has the hold of intolerance of all kinds been relaxed. But as past years have diminished the length and breadth of that debateable land, where deadly controversialists once fought *à l'outrance*, may we not hope that succeeding years will completely reduce the old battle-field to the dimensions of a pleasant tilting-ground, where blunt lances and daggers of lath shall leave no scars after a gentle and joyous passage-at-arms.

One of the most important securities for the liberties of England was accomplished at the Revolution. In the Declaration of Rights it was maintained "That the raising or keeping a Standing Army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law." An accidental occurrence gave a legislative shape to this doctrine, which from 1689 has been invariably adhered to. The English regiments which had served under James II. were not in a complacent humour towards his foreign successor. They looked with jealousy upon the Dutch guards that had attended William to Whitehall; and they took various occasions of manifesting their dislike to the new government. They prevented the people lighting bonfires at Cirencester when the king and queen were proclaimed. At Newbury and Abingdon they would not allow the town crier to say, "God bless king William and queen Mary." "The old army is rather grown worse than mended," said a violent Whig. "I believe the black coats and the red coats to be the grievances of the nation."† This discontent took an alarming form. Under the treaty of Nimeguen, England promised succours to the States-General, in the event of France being at war with them. France had declared war. Troops in the service of England were ordered to embark for the continent. On the 15th of March, it was announced in the House of Commons that lord Dumbarton's regiment—composed chiefly of Scotchmen—had mustered at Ipswich; had seized the artillery; and had made proclamation of king James. The Com-

\* "Examiner," No. 44. † Howe. ‡ "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 137.



mons immediately voted an address to the king, "to desire him to take effectual care to suppress the soldiers that are now in rebellion." The king quietly replied "that he had already appointed three regiments of dragoons, with orders to stop them, and bring them to their duty." One of the most distinguished of the Dutch officers headed these troops. He came up with them near Sleaford, where, after a feeble show of resistance, they surrendered. They were marched up to London. They had been guilty of high treason, in levying war against the king; and a few were brought to trial at the county assizes for Suffolk. But no life was forfeited. The government acted with a judicious mercy; and this regiment, now the first of the line, served William faithfully in his hard campaigns. This occurrence produced the first Mutiny Bill. The preamble of the Act sufficiently explains its necessity, and the caution with which the principle of a Standing Army, governed by martial law, was adopted: "Whereas the raising or keeping a Standing Army within this kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against Law. And whereas it is judged necessary by their Majesties and this present Parliament, that during this time of danger several of the forces which are now on foot should be continued and others raised for the safety of the kingdom, for the common defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the reducing of Ireland. And whereas no man may be fore-judged of life or limb or subjected to any kind of punishment by martial law, or in any other manner than by the judgment of his peers and according to the known and established laws of this realm. Yet nevertheless it being requisite for retaining such forces as are or shall be raised during this exigence of affairs in their duty, an exact discipline be observed. And that soldiers who shall mutiny or stir up sedition, or shall desert their majesties' service be brought to a more exemplary and speedy punishment than the usual forms of Law will allow."\* The Mutiny Act was limited to a duration of six months. It was necessarily renewed, again and again, during the reign of William. A standing army became an integral part of the government of this country, whether during peace or during war. But Parliament always held its effectual control over the executive, so as to prevent any abuse of military power, by never passing a Mutiny Bill for a longer term than a year. For one hundred and sixty-nine years the statute book has continued to have its "Act for punishing Mutiny and

\* 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 5.



Desertion ; " and in the Act of the 21st of Victoria, as in the Act of the 1st of William and Mary, it is still recited that the raising or keeping a Standing Army, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law ; that a body of forces is necessary for the safety of the kingdom ; that no man can be punished except by the laws of the realm ; yet nevertheless, &c. &c. This Act, now swollen to a hundred and seven Clauses, is to continue in force for one year, at dates commencing and ending according to the distribution of the forces, whether in Great Britain or Ireland, or in the numerous stations in every region of the globe where the British flag now floats. Under the two constitutional principles, therefore, of an appropriation of the supply, and the passing of an annual Mutiny Bill, the power of the Crown cannot be maintained without the co-ordinate power of Parliament. The sovereign cannot raise an army, or pay an army, without the consent of Parliament. The annual assembly of Parliament is therefore absolutely essential to the conduct of the government ; and if evil times should ever by possibility arise in which the Crown and the Parliament should be at issue, the maintenance of an army would be an act of pure despotism on the part of the executive power, only to be met by an equally unconstitutional assumption of executive power on the part of the legislature.

The position of the new government was necessarily a dangerous one. Triumphant as had been the first days of the Revolution, it was inevitable, especially whilst there was a civil war in Ireland, and whilst Scotland was distracted by party-strife, that plots should be formed in England for bringing back King James. William had notified to Parliament that he had caused several persons to be apprehended, on credible information that they were conspiring against the government ; and he asked for advice under the difficulty of his unwillingness to act against law on the one hand, or to suffer dangerous men to avail themselves of the privileges of the Habeas Corpus Act on the other hand. The Lords, in an excess of loyal devotion, recommended the king to take extraordinary care of the public safety, by securing all disaffected persons. The Commons, much more wisely, passed a Bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act till the 17th of April. This Act was twice renewed during the session.\* If William thus thought it necessary to strengthen his hands against existing dangers, he desired, as all high-minded possessors of power in troublous times should

\* 1 Gul. and Mar. c. 2, c. 7, and c. 77.

desire, that in a great degree there should be oblivion for past political offences. The cruel chancellor Jeffries; the corrupt chief-justice Wright; other unjust judges and agents of despotism, were in confinement. Many who had been manifest enemies of public liberty dreaded that the day of retribution was at hand. "The hottest of the Whigs," according to Burnet, would not forward this honest design of the king. "They thought it best to keep many under the lash; they intended severe revenge for the blood that had been shed, and for the many unjust things that had been done in the end of king Charles's reign." They carried their opposition to the king by indirect means, rather than by sweeping exceptions to a general amnesty. "They proceeded so slowly in that matter, that the Bill could not be brought to ripeness during this Session." The people admired the mildness of the king's temper. The factious politicians got up an imputation against him that he desired "to make use of a set of prerogative men, as soon as he legally could."\*

The terms of the Coronation Oath, which for many years in the memory of some living was a fatal stumbling-block in the great healing measure of Roman Catholic relief, were debated in the first Parliament of William and Mary, as if the difficulty was foreseen that did arise under a very different condition of society. The ancient oath was declared to be "framed in doubtful words and expressions with relation to ancient laws and constitutions at this time unknown."† This part of the preamble of the Act had especially reference to ecclesiastical laws. Those words of the new oath which were the subject of debate run thus: The archbishop or bishop is to ask the sovereign, "Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the free profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion, established by law?" And the sovereign promises so to do. It was moved "that the king, in the oath, swear to maintain the Protestant religion, as it is, or shall be, established by law." Those who contended for the introduction of the words "shall be," amongst whom was Somers, were in a minority. They desired that no such construction should be put upon the words "is established by law," as should lead a conscientious ruler to imagine that he was to sanction no legislative change that might affect the existing condition of the Church. The historian of this period says: "Every person who has read these debates must be fully convinced that the states-

\* Burnet, "Our Time," vol. iv. p. 26.

† 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 6.

men who framed the Coronation Oath did not mean to bind the king in his legislative capacity.\* It is indeed true that the apprehension that the words "established by law" would make the laws unalterable, was felt as an absurdity by the soundest heads in that Parliament. "Not able to alter laws as occasion requires!" indignantly exclaimed sir Robert Cotton. They looked only to such alterations as might widen the limits of the Church by a liberal comprehension of Protestant Dissenters. Sir George Treby seems, if we rightly understand his words, to have looked further. "When we are dead and gone, all these debates will be in the air, and a greater scruple remain."† One greater scruple was that which harassed the mind of George III. Happily the question is set at rest by the common sense of our own times.

The Coronation of king William and queen Mary took place on the 11th of April, according to the ancient ceremonials. The archbishop of Canterbury was absent. The bishop of London supplied his place. Burnet, now bishop of Salisbury, preached "with great applause," says Evelyn. The Members of the Lower House had especial places of honour; they were feasted in the Exchequer-chamber, and had each a gold coronation medal. The honest citizens rang their bells and made their bonfires. The Jacobites circulated their doggerel against "the dainty fine king;" and the Dutch guards who kept the ground were abused as foreign mercenaries. The House of Commons, two days after the Coronation, went up with a congratulatory address to the king and queen. But, eleven days later, the House presented an address of far greater import—declaring that they would support the crown in a war against the French king. The seconder of the address maintained "that it is of absolute necessity to declare war against the most Christian Turk, who ravages all Christendom, and makes war more barbarously than the Turks themselves." To Louis was attributed, in the address, "the present invasion of the kingdom of Ireland, and supporting your majesty's rebellious subjects there." William, in his answer, said, "I look upon the war to be so much already declared by France against England, that it is not so properly an act of choice, as an inevitable necessity, in our defence." The spirit of the king leapt up at this hearty support of the Commons in the great contest for which he had been long preparing. He is reported to have exclaimed to one of his intimates—"This is the first day of my reign!"

\* Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 117.

† "Parliamentary History, vol. v. col. 210.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

King James lands at Kinsale.—Schemes of Tyrconnel.—Condition of the Protestants in Ireland.—James enters Dublin.—Siege of Londonderry.—The Siege raised.—The Revolution in Scotland.—The Highlanders.—Dundee.—Battle of Killiecrankie.—Death of Dundee.

"WONDERFUL uncertainty where king James was, whether in France or Ireland," writes Evelyn on the 29th of March. James had landed at the port of Kinsale on the 12th of March. There was no uncertainty when, on the 22d, the House of Commons had voted a Supply for six months "towards the reducing of Ireland," and a member of the government had said, "the French king has carried king James into Ireland." What then passed in Parliament was very imperfectly known to the public. The debates, in the state in which they have come down to us, were merely the brief notes of members for their private use. Even the Votes were unpublished. There was a great debate on a motion for printing the Votes, on the 9th of March. From this debate it appeared that members were in the habit of communicating the results of their proceedings to the constituencies. "It will only save the gentlemen the trouble of writing to their corporations," said Sir Thomas Lee. "You are told," says Sir Henry Capel, "of the Roll of the 9th of Henry IV.—that nothing is to be taken notice of in Parliament but what you communicate to the king. At that time there were no coffee-houses and no printing. If you could keep your votes out of coffee-houses, and suppress the licentiousness of printing," you might oppose printing your votes, "otherwise you make secrets here of what all the world knows." There were men who had the sagacity to see that concealment only produced the propagation of falsehood. "I would not have L'Estrange and Nevil Payne," says Mr. Arnold, "write false news beyond sea. I desire the truth to be known, and am for printing the votes."\* The House decided against the printing. The majority thought

\* L'Estrange was the Censor of the press under Charles II. and editor of the "Public Intelligencer." Nevil Payne was as agent of James in Scotland, who was in correspondence with the English Jacobites.

that the Clerks of the House, who were suspected of sending the Votes to coffee-houses, should be prevented from thus committing "a great crime;" and that it was for the honour of the House not to print them. We can thus understand Mr. Evelyn's uncertainty in a world of contradictory rumours. In the midst of the popular ignorance of facts there was one consolation. They could freely abuse their rulers. "The new king being much blamed for neglecting Ireland, now like to be ruined by the lord Tyrconnel and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants," writes Evelyn, in the hour of his uncertainty. The new king was betrayed, as he was doomed to be on many future occasions. The prince of Orange, under the advice of Irish noblemen and gentlemen, had during the interregnum opened a negotiation with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, the brother of that wit of the court of Charles II., who wrote the most profligate Memoirs in the purest French, had come from Ireland to fight for king James against the prince of Orange, but was chosen to return to Ireland to arrange with Tyrconnel to preserve Ireland for king William. The son of sir William Temple gave a pledge that Hamilton would be faithful. Hamilton went to Tyrconnel and plotted with him how the Protestants could be best crushed, and James seated in Ireland as its Papist king. The too sensitive young Temple, when he found that his friend had abused his confidence, drowned himself. "He was so deeply oppressed with grief that he plunged himself out of a boat into the Thames, laden with weights to sink him."\* The schemes of Tyrconnel succeeded. He persuaded lord Mountjoy to set out on a mission to James at St. Germain's, to represent to him "the moral impossibility of holding out against the power of England." He sent with him another envoy, chief baron Rice, "to give a quite different account to the king." Mountjoy was put into the Bastille. Tyrconnel had a clear course for his operations. "Accordingly this lord's back was no sooner turned but he began by degrees to pull off the mask. He caused all the Protestants in Dublin to surrender their arms; he began to augment the standing forces; and with as much prudence as dexterity soon put the kingdom in a tolerable state of defence." Such is the explanation of the alleged neglect, not given by a partizan of king William, but by the compiler of the Life of James II. from his own Memoirs.†

\* Alexander Cunningham—"History of Great Britain," vol. i. p. 126.

† "Life of James II.

James had quitted France with this remarkable wish of the great monarch at their parting—"the best thing I can desire for you is never to see you back again." The munificent favours of Louis—his generous as well as politic honours to a fallen brother—the adulation of courtiers, who looked upon a king, however powerless, as a demi-god—these were to be exchanged for a doubtful struggle for a divided kingdom. Yet if James could maintain a position in Ireland, he might recover England. "If king James would quit his priests," said Danby, "he might still retrieve his affairs."\* His prospects in Ireland were far from desperate; they were in many particulars encouraging. The Protestants who, from the time of the plantation of Ulster in the time of James I., had been gradually changing a wild and profitless country into a flourishing seat of trade and manufactures, had recovered the effects of the massacre of 1641. Cromwell had replaced them in security by the terror of his strong arm. They were again the dominant power; the native Irish were again a subjected race. James II. out of no sense of equal justice to save the aboriginal people from the tyranny of the smaller number, had determined to depress the colonisers and subject them to the less regulated tyranny of that hatred of their race and their religion which animated the Celtic population. In two years Ireland, under the rule of Tyrconnel, was a kingdom in which the civil and military strength was almost wholly in the hands of Papists. The Protestant militia had been disarmed early in the reign of James. Tyrconnel's soldiers seized upon all arms in the possession of Protestant householders, who were alone qualified by law to carry weapons. James entered Ireland when all those likely to oppose him were thought to be naked and defenceless.

Before the Revolution was completed in England, the inhabitants of Enniskillen and Londonderry had received such warnings from the attitude of the Irish government, and the temper of the native population around them, that they prepared to defend themselves against the same sort of attack which Londonderry had successfully resisted in 1641. Enniskillen repelled the attempt to quarter Popish soldiers in their little town. Londonderry secured its gates against the entrance of a similar force. Mountjoy, who was afterwards betrayed into the mission to James, was well received at Londonderry, and left a Protestant garrison for their protection, under one of his officers, lieutenant-colonel Lundy.

\* Reresby's "Memoirs," p. 325.

Before William and Mary had received the crown, the whole Catholic population around the Protestants was preparing for rapine and revenge. The sovereigns of the Revolution were, however, proclaimed by the staunch citizens of Londonderry and the small colony of Enniskillen; and they abided the issue without shrinking. The men of Londonderry relied upon Lundy, as governor, who had sent his adhesion to England, and had received from William and Mary a formal appointment to his command. Upon Hamilton, Tyrconnel had bestowed the reward of his treachery, by placing him at the head of a body of troops to bring the Protestants of Ulster to submission. These troops desolated the country; and the wretched inhabitants fled before them to Enniskillen and to Londonderry. The city, which had been founded by Englishmen upon the site of the old ruined city of Derry granted by James I. to the Corporation of London, had become the chief refuge for many thousands, in addition to its usual inhabitants. Amongst those who had fled hither for succour, was the rector of a neighbouring parish, George Walker, whose name will always live in honoured remembrance.

The king of the Roman Catholics entered Dublin on the 24th of March. Devoted soldiers lined the streets; the houses were hung with tapestry; his horse trod upon flowers and green leaves. He was met at the castle gate by the procession of the host, and he fell on his knees in adoration. Despatches received from Hamilton, now a lieutenant-general, showed that there was work to do, beyond that of pageants and congratulations. The king himself at length determined to go amongst the troops to encourage them, taking with him the French officers that had accompanied him to Ireland.\* His march into Ulster commenced on the 13th of April. He travelled through a wasted country from which the inhabitants had fled, taking with them their moveable goods. The position of James and his followers was disagreeable enough. It was determined to return to Dublin; and so they went back to Charlemont. But, says the Memoir, "the king received by an express a letter from the duke of Berwick, in the name of all the General officers as their opinion, that in case his majesty would return to the army, and but show himself before Derry, it would infallibly surrender."† James again changed his mind; and setting out towards the obstinate city the next morning, overtook the French general Rosen within two miles of the place where his mere presence was to

\* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 330; Own Memoirs.

† *Ibid.*, p. 332.

compel submission. The trumpeter sent by the king with a summons, found the inhabitants "in very great disorder, having turned out their Governor Lundy, upon suspicion."\* The cause of this unexpected reception was the presence of "one Walker, a Minister." He was opposed to Lundy, who thought the place untenable, and counselled the townsmen to make conditions; "but the fierce Minister of the Gospel, being of the true Cromwellian or Cameronian stamp, inspired them with bolder resolutions."† James finally left Hamilton and the French generals to work their will upon the besieged, and upon the people who had not the shelter of the beleaguered city; and he went back to Dublin to meet a Parliament called for the 7th of May. We must finish this story of heroic bravery and more heroic fortitude, although the events which we shall thus attempt briefly to relate, will detain us from other events of importance for more than three months of this busy year of 1689.

Lough Foyle, the inlet of the sea which flows between the counties of Derry and Donegal, extends from its narrow entrance at Magilligan Point for about sixteen miles, when it meets the river Foyle at Culmore. The river is navigable for ships of heavy burthen to Londonderry, built by the colonists on the left bank. This city, in 1689, was contained within the walls; and it rose by a gentle ascent from the base to the summit of a hill, on the highest point of which was its cathedral. The streets were regularly laid out, in lines running to four gates, from a square in the centre, in which the Town-house and the Guard-house were placed. The gradual ascent of the city thus exposed it to the fire of an enemy. The small Bastions were insufficient for the defence of the Curtain against a vigorous assault; and there was no Moat nor Counterscarp. A ferry crossed the Foyle from the east gate; and the north gate opened upon a quay. On the east bank of the Foyle were woods and groves, with sites of villages destroyed by the marauding soldiery. On the west bank, close to the strand, was a large orchard, which became a place of ambush. At the entrance of the Foyle was the strong fort of Culmore, with a smaller fort on the opposite bank. About two miles below the city were two forts,—Charles Fort on the west bank; Grange Fort on the east.‡

Lundy, the treacherous or perhaps panic-stricken governor, had persuaded Cunningham, the colonel who commanded two

\* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 333.

† *Ibid.*, p. 334.

‡ Plan in Harris's "Life of William III." p. 193.



English regiments sent to assist in the defence of the place, to put his troops on board ship and sail away. The indignation of the English parliament was extreme when these troops returned home. Lundy's intention to surrender being manifest, the citizens, under the advice of their reverend champion, and of a more regular soldier, superseded the governor, and he was glad to escape in disguise. The battle now commenced in earnest. The reverend George Walker and Major Baker were appointed governors during the siege. They mustered seven thousand and twenty soldiers, dividing them into regiments under eight colonels. In the town there were about thirty thousand souls; but they were reduced to a less burdensome number, by ten thousand accepting an offer of the besieging commander to restore them to their dwellings. There were, according to Lundy's estimation, only provisions for ten days. The number of cannon possessed by the besieged was only twenty. With such resources a protracted defence of Londonderry might well appear impossible. On the 20th of April the city was invested, and the bombardment was begun. A strong force was planted at Pennyburn Mill, to cut off the road from Culmore to the city, that fort then being in the hands of the Protestants. It was afterwards lost. On the 21st the garrison made a sortie, and routed this force with considerable slaughter. Maumont, one of the French generals, fell by a musket ball in this desperate sally. The bombardment went on, with demi-culverins and mortars. No impression was made during nine days upon the determination to hold out; and on the 29th king James retraced his steps to Dublin, in considerable ill humour. He gave vent to that petulance which had so often alienated his friends, by exclaiming, "If my army had been English, they would have brought me the town, stone by stone, by this time."

The siege went on, amidst bombardments and sorties, for six weeks, with little change. Hamilton was the commander of James's forces, in consequence of the death of Maumont; and another French officer, Persignan, who might have assisted Hamilton's inexperience, was mortally wounded in a sortie of the sixth of May. The garrison of Londonderry and the inhabitants were gradually perishing from fatigue and insufficient food. But they bravely repelled an assault, in which four hundred of the assailants fell. Of the relief which had been promised from England there were no tidings. This solitary city had to bear, as it would appear, the whole brunt of the great contest for the fate of three king-

doms. Large bodies of troops held the country on every side, keeping in awe the trembling and starving population, that could give no succour. No friendly ship could sail up the river without receiving the fire from hostile forts at its mouth and on its banks. No messenger could safely pass by land or by water to tell of the need there was for relief. The banks of the Foyle were lined with musqueteers. The roads on the East and on the West were blocked by masses of troops. Across the narrow part of the river, from Charles Fort to Grange Fort, the enemy stretched a great boom of fir timber, joined by iron chains, and fastened on either shore by cables of a foot thick. On the 15th of June, the anxious lookers out from the high places of the city descried a fleet of thirty sail in the Lough. The English flag floated in the great æstuary, but the deliverers came no nigher for weeks. Signals were given and answered; but the ships lay at anchor, as if to drive hope to despair. Provisions were now dealt out in quantities scarcely sufficient to sustain life; and fever and dysentery seized upon their hundreds of victims. Gunpowder was still left; but the cannon balls were shot away, and the resolute men cast lead round brick bats, and fired the rough missiles upon the besiegers. At the end of June, Baker, one of the heroic governors, died. Hamilton had been superseded in his command by Rosen, when it was known in Dublin that an English fleet was in Lough Foyle. The prolonged resistance of two months by a city not fortified upon scientific principles, was too humiliating for the Frenchman, who was reported to have dragooned the Protestants of Languedoc; and Rosen, who was invested with powers as "Marshal General of all his majesty's forces," issued a savage proclamation, declaring that unless the place were surrendered by the first of July, he would collect all the Protestants from the neighbouring districts, and drive them under the walls of the city to starve with those within the walls. This was not a vain threat. For thirty miles round the remnant of the population—the old man incapable of bearing arms, and the young wife with an infant at her breast—the children who lingered about their desolate homes, and the cripple who could fly nowhere for shelter—were driven in flocks towards the city where their friends were well nigh perishing. Some dropped on the road; some were mercifully knocked on the head. A famished troop came thus beneath the walls of Londonderry, where they lay starving for three days. The besieged immediately erected a gallows, within

view of their enemies; and sent a message to their head-quarters that priests might come in to prepare the prisoners within the city for death, for they would hang every man if their friends were not immediately dismissed. The threat had its effect, and the famished crowd wended back their way to their solitary villages. It is but justice to James to state, that he expressed his displeasure at this proceeding, and wrote to Rosen, "It is positively our will, that you do not put your project in execution as far as it regards the men, women, and children, of whom you speak; but on the contrary, that you send them back to their habitations without any injury to their persons."

Meanwhile the siege went on. Batteries were brought closer and closer to the city; and the firing was continued by day and night. At last a communication was effected with the fleet in the Lough. Major-General Kirk, the evil instrument of cruelty in the expedition against Monmouth, was now in the confidence of the new government. He it was who had come to the assistance of the besieged with men, arms, and provisions. He sent word by a little boy, who carried a letter in his garter—or in his button—that he found it impossible to get up the river; that he expected six thousand more men from England; and that then he would attack the besiegers by land. A doubtful hope. Famine was now doing its terrible work. The well-known substitutes for ordinary food, of horse-flesh, and dog's-flesh, of rats, of hides, were fast failing. On the evening of the 30th of July, Walker preached in the Cathedral, exhorting his hearers still to persevere, for that God would at last deliver them from their difficulties. An hour after the sermon the lookers out descried a movement in the Lough. Three vessels are sailing to the mouth of the Foyle. There are two merchantmen and a frigate. They are fired upon by the Culmore Fort and the New Fort. They returned the fire. They are in the river. They are within a mile of the boom. They heed not the shots of the musqueteers, nor the guns of the Charles Fort and Grange Fort. And now the foremost of the merchant vessels is known by her build. She is the Mountjoy of Derry. She dashes at the boom. She breaks it, but she is driven ashore by the rebound. They are boarding. No. The frigate comes up and fires a broadside. The Mountjoy rights again. The three ships pass the boom safely. They are coming to the quay. We are saved. That night the four thousand three hundred of the garrison who, out of seven thousand four hundred, were left alive, feasted upon

something better than the nine lean horses and a pint of meal for each man, that were left. Of the abundance that was landed at the quay amidst the shouts of the brave defenders of Londonderry, there was enough to make every heart glad of that heroic population, who thus fought and who suffered for a great principle. Bonfires are lighted. Bells are rung. The fire of the besiegers is the next day continued. But at nightfall a smoke arises from their camp, as if from the huts which had given them shelter for three months. Another night of watchfulness for the besieged; and as the sun of the first of August glimmers over the waters of Lough Foyle, it is seen that Rosen, with his half disciplined soldiers and his Rapparees, had marched away on the road to Strabane. Eight thousand of the besiegers had perished in this memorable struggle.\*

At the period when Londonderry was saved, the men of Enniskillen took the field, and won the decisive battle of Newton Butler. On the 29th of July, the day before the great boom of the Foyle was broken, two English colonels, Wolseley and Berry, who had been sent by Kirk with a supply of arms and ammunition, sailed up Lough Erne to the isle of Enniskillen with their welcome cargo, and landed amidst the shouts of the people. Their arrival was very timely. A large force was advancing against Enniskillen under the command of Macarthy, Viscount Mountcashel. Wolseley and Berry went forth with three thousand men to meet the five thousand who were thus coming with a confidence of success; for the duke of Berwick was to attack Enniskillen from another quarter. The hostile forces were in presence of each other on the 30th. The larger number began to retreat; the smaller followed. Macarthy's dragoons at last turned to face the bold yeomanry, who were advancing with the determination of men whose dearest interests were at issue in this deadly strife. The Celtic army was routed amidst terrible butchery. As the besiegers of Londonderry halted on the 1st of August at Strabane, they heard the news of this defeat. They became wholly disorganised, abandoning their stores and their sick and wounded. James was already out of heart. The king's intelligence from England assured

\* There are two original narratives of the siege of Londonderry, from which many of its incidents must be derived. One is, "A true account of the siege," by the famous George Walker, published in 1689. The other, published in 1690, is "A Narrative of the Siege," by John Mackenzie, a Dissenting Minister, who was chaplain to one of the regiments in the city. These accounts are condensed and compared in the "Life and Reign of William III." by Walter Harris.

him of a speedy invasion from thence. The length of the siege of Derry, the badness of the weather, the frequent sallies, the unwholesomeness of the place of encampment "had in a manner destroyed the army, so as that no service could be expected from it for a considerable time." Add to this, "My lord Mountcashel entirely routed." Such were the griefs which, when Schomberg landed with an army on the 13th of August, "struck such a consternation amongst the generality, as made them give up all for lost." \*

We must revert to the close of the year 1688, to be able to present a rapid narrative of the course of the Revolution in Scotland.

The attempt of James to dispense with the Test Act was as ill received in Scotland as in England. The Episcopalians suspected the motive; the moderate Presbyterians did not welcome his limited indulgence; the Cameronians spurned it, with a bitter hatred of their old oppressor, and of all his evil instruments. But there was in Scotland that strong feeling of attachment to their own race of kings which would not very enthusiastically welcome their sudden and complete downfall. There was sure to be a struggle, however it might terminate, for the superiority of the Church of the minority, established by law; and for the restoration of the Church of the majority, proscribed and persecuted. Conflicting interests and passions were certain to be brought into more immediate and direct hostility than in the English Revolution, in which an outrage upon the Church with a view to the preponderance of Catholicism, united for a season the opposing principles of Establishment and of Dissent. In Scotland the government was wholly in the hands of those who had been the ministers of the intolerant tyranny of the king, and were the bitter enemies of those who clung to the Covenant. It was difficult to estimate what course events would take when the prince of Orange landed in England. The earl of Perth, the Chancellor, had declared himself a Roman Catholic on the accession of James. When the prince of Orange had landed, the Chancellor approached the Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh with the statements of what king James had done for them, and how they ought to oppose the unnatural invasion of that good king's nephew. He was answered, that the favours of the king had only for their object to ruin the Protestant religion. James fled; and then the terrified Chancellor attempted to fly also; for, says he, "Blair came from Edin-

\* "Life of James II.," vol. ii. p. 372. Original Memoirs.

burgh, and told me that the king was gone into France, and that if I did not immediately get away I was a gone man." \* The earl and his lady went on board a sloop, where the men used them "with all the barbarity Turks could have done;" and finally put them on shore "at the pier at Kirkcaldy, exposed to the mockery and hatred of the people." The mob of Edinburgh, on the 10th of December, had broken into the chapel of Holyrood House, which had been fitted up for the Roman Catholic service; had destroyed its decorations; and had committed the sacrilege of disturbing the graves of the old princes of Scotland. The rabble had been fired upon by captain Wallace, who was in command of a party of soldiers at the palace; and the people of Kirkcaldy, says the earl of Perth, "got into a tumult to have me immediately sent to Edinburgh; though the tide did not serve, and though they knew that at Edinburgh I should have been torn to pieces, for there they believed that Johnny Wallace was commanded by me to fire upon the people." † He was rescued from the furious multitude of Kirkcaldy, "who began to call for cords;" and was conveyed to Stirling Castle, where he was detained as a prisoner for four years. Such was the temper of the people towards dignitaries at whose frown they had so lately trembled. The Episcopal Clergy fared no better. The hatred of the Scottish Puritans against the observance of Christmas went far beyond the quarrel with mince-pie of the Commonwealth Puritans. On the Christmas day of 1688, as if by universal agreement in the Western counties, the obnoxious ministers were, in the phrase of the day, "rabbed." Armed bodies of Covenanters terrified each clergyman in his manse; destroyed his furniture; gave him notice to quit; or turned him and his family out of their houses. They burnt his Prayer Book, and they locked up his church. No lives were lost, and no wounds were inflicted, in these execrable outrages.

In such a temper of a long oppressed people, William had issued his letters, as in England, for the assembly of a Convention. In England the strictest regard was paid to the existing state of the representation. In Scotland, the Act of 1681, which compelled every elector to renounce the Covenant, was superseded by William's authority; and Lords were summoned who had been deprived of their seats in the recent times of tyrannical rule. Meanwhile, in the interval of two months before the Convention was to assemble, furious passions were well nigh leading to a state of

\* "Letters from James, Earl of Perth," 1845, p. 1.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5.

public confusion. Edinburgh Castle was held for king James by the duke of Gordon. The Whigs of Edinburgh and of the West were secretly arming. But each party was looking to the Convention as the test of their political strength, and each prepared for a contest which should decide the future fortunes of Scotland. Nobles of each party were in London. The consistent opposers of the popish James flocked round the prince of Orange at Whitehall. The most ardent supporters of the Stuart king were not driven from the new court. The earl of Dundee, says Burnet, "had employed me to carry messages from him to the king, to know what security he might expect if he should go and live in Scotland without owning the government. The king said, if he would live peaceably, and at home, he would protect him; to this he answered, that, unless he were forced to it, he would live quietly." William was pressed to proscribe the Claverhouse who had borne so hateful a part in the days of persecution; but he refused to make any exception to the general amnesty, by which he hoped to make Scotland in some degree a land of peace.

Viscount Dundee arrived at Edinburgh at the end of February, in company with the earl of Balcarres. These noblemen were the confidential agents of James in Scotland; and from the day of their arrival the enemies of the Revolution had a rallying-point. The episcopal hierarchy were again full of hope that he they had called "the darling of Heaven," might be preserved and delivered by the mercy of God, by giving him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies.\* Balcarres is an authority for some curious incidents of this crisis.† He and Dundee went to the duke of Gordon to urge him to hold the castle of Edinburgh. They met "all the duke's furniture coming out;" but they made him promise to keep the fortress "until he saw what the Convention would do." On the 14th of March the Convention met. The bishop of Edinburgh prayed for the safety and restoration of king James, without opposition. The heir of the attainted Argyle took his seat, with only one protest. The conquerors and the conquered stood face to face. But the real strength was soon discovered. The duke of Hamilton had a majority of forty as President. Each party had put up a man that could not thoroughly be trusted. The marquis of Athol was as loose a politician as his opponent. But they were the heads of

\* Address to James, November 3, 1688.

† "Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in 1688, as sent to the late King James II., when in France," 1714.

powerful clans, and their rank and influence made them leaders of politicians who had as little honesty as themselves.

It was alleged against the duke of Hamilton that he, and other western lords and gentlemen, "had brought publicly into town several companies of foot, and quartered them in the city; besides great numbers that they kept hid in cellars, and in houses below the ground, which never appeared until some days after the Convention had begun." \* Dundee complained to Hamilton that information had come to his knowledge that he was to be assassinated. The allegation came before the Convention on the 15th of March; and they took no concern in the matter. More important communications were to be laid before them. There was a letter to be read from king William in England; and a messenger had arrived with a letter from king James in France. The communication from king William had the precedence, by a decision of the majority. It was a mild and sensible document, exhorting to the laying aside of animosities and factions, and suggesting a Union of the two nations, "living in the same island, having the same language, and the same common interest of religion and liberty." The letter of James was counter-signed by the earl of Melfort, a man execrated by all parties. It breathed no spirit of peace. "He," the king, "would pardon all such as should return to their duty before the last day of that month inclusive, and he would punish with the rigour of his laws all such as should stand out in rebellion against him or his authority." When the seal of that letter was broken, the cause of James was felt to be lost. It was determined by Balcarres, Dundee, and a few other Tories, to leave the Convention, and gather together at Stirling. Sunday intervened. They were to start on the next day. Difficulties arose; and then Dundee, in his impatience, resolved to set out alone. "Then," says Balcarres, "he went straight away with about fifty horse. As he was riding near the castle of Edinburgh, the duke of Gordon made a sign to speak with him at the West side of the Castle, where, though it be extremely steep, yet he told the duke all that was resolved upon, and begged that he would hold out the castle till the king's friends might get him released, which he positively promised to do." Dalrymple says, that when Dundee galloped through the city, "being asked by one of his friends who stopped him, 'where he was going,' he waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, 'wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me.'"

\* "Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in 1688, as sent to the late King James II., when in France," 1714.



"The Gordon demands of him which way he goes—  
Where e'er shall direct me the shade of Montrose—  
Your Grace in short space shall hear tidings of me,  
Or that low lies the bonnet of bonny Dundee." \*

The duke of Hamilton caused the doors of the Convention to be locked. The drums were beat in the streets. The Western Whigs came forth from their hiding-places. "There was never so miserable a parcel seen," say Balcarres. Nevertheless, the notion of a rival Convention at Stirling was at an end; and Dundee went his own course, to redeem, by his death in the hour of victory, some of the odium which, in spite of the romance of history, must always attach to the realities of his cruel and fanatical life. For he, a hater of fanatics, was amongst the worst who have borne that name,—one of "those exploded fanatics of slavery, who formerly maintained what no creature now maintains, that the Crown is held by divine, hereditary, and indefeasible right;" †—one who, in the maintenance of this creed, divested himself of the ordinary attributes of humanity, to be as callous as an inquisitor, and as remorseless as a buccaneer. Disappointed in their scheme, the only thing, says Balcarres to James, that could be thought of by all your friends, "was to engage the duke of Gordon to fire upon the town, which certainly would have broke up the Convention." The duke was wiser. "He absolutely refused to do anything but defend himself until he had your majesty's order."

The Convention now went fearlessly to work in the settlement of the kingdom. After long debates the House came to a resolution, which was embodied into an Act. "The Estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that king James VII. being a professed Papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as a King, without ever taking the oath required by law, and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forefaulted the crown, and the throne was become vacant." ‡ An Act was also passed for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary. On the day that the king and queen were crowned in England, they

\* Scott. "the Doom of Devorgoil."

† Burke. "French Revolution."

‡ "Others were for making use of an obsolete word, *forefaulting*, used for a bird's forsaking her nest."—Balcarres.

were proclaimed king and queen in Scotland. Commissioners were appointed from the Convention to proceed to London, to invest their majesties with the government. They—the earl of Argyle, sir James Montgomery, and sir John Dalrymple—were introduced at the Banqueting House on the 17th of May. Argyle tendered the Coronation Oath, which concluded with this clause, “that they would be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God.” Upon this William declared that “he did not mean by these words, that he was under any obligation to be a persecutor.” The Commissioners replied, that “neither the meaning of the oath, nor the law of Scotland did import it.” “I take the oath in that sense,” said William. In the Claim of Rights which the Convention had prepared it was set forth, “that Prelacy, and superiority of an office in the Church above Presbyters, is and has been a great and insupportable burthen to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having reformed Popery by Presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolished.”

When Dundee, with his fifty horsemen, who had deserted from the regiment in England which he once commanded, had left the castle of Edinburgh far behind him, he scarcely then paused to think whither the spirit of Montrose would direct him. He retired to his country house in Forfar. He would probably have remained there unmolested by the new government; and he, as well as Balcarres, might have thought it most politic to continue quiet for a while. An agent of James arrived from Ireland, with letters recommending that nothing should be done till further orders; and Melfort, by the same messenger, wrote to Balcarres and Dundee. The letters fell into the hands of the dominant party in the Convention. Balcarres was arrested. Dundee had put the Tay between himself and his unfriends, “and having a good party of his own regiment constantly with him, they found it not so safe to apprehend him.” Balcarres was brought before the Convention, and the letters of Melfort to him were read. In one, says Balcarres, “he expressed himself much after this manner: That he wished some had been cut off that he and I spoke about, and then things had never come to the pass they were at; but when we get the power again, such should be hewers of wood, and drawers of water.” Balcarres adds, addressing the king, that although he had never made any such proposition as that at which Melfort hinted, “nothing could have been more to the prejudice of your affairs, nor for

my ruin, than this, which did show that nothing but cruelty would be used, if ever your majesty returned." When the order was given to arrest Dundee, he quitted his house with a few retainers ; and was soon at the head of a body of Highlanders.

In the most picturesque history in our language there are no passages more picturesque than those in which the eloquent writer describes the Highlanders of this period.\* He has produced his likeness of the Gael "by the help of two portraits, of which one is a coarse caricature, and the other a masterpiece of flattery." The caricature was produced out of the prejudices which existed up to the middle of the last century ; the flattery has been created by poetry and romance in our own time. "While the old Gaelic institutions were in full vigour, no account of them was given by any observer, qualified to judge of them fairly."† We venture to think that there is one account, not indeed very full or very striking, which contains many traits which appear to be the result of observation, and which are not distorted by any violent prejudice. Alexander Cunningham, who left a manuscript history of Great Britain from the Revolution to the accession of George I., written in Latin,‡ was a native of Scotland, who is supposed to have been in Holland in 1688, and is held by his biographer to have been chosen by Archibald, earl of Argyle, to be travelling tutor to his son, lord Lorne. His position would naturally give him an interest in the state of the Highlands, and would probably enable him to describe the people from personal observation. "The Scotch Highlanders," he says, "a race of warriors who fight by instinct, are a different people from the Lowlanders, of different manners, and a different language." This may appear a trite observation to set out with ; but it was the case then, as it was much more recently with many, that "by most Englishmen, Scotchman and Highlander were regarded as synonymous words."§ Cunningham goes on to say, "Though of a very ready wit, they are utterly unacquainted with arts and discipline ; for which reason they are less addicted to husbandry than to arms, in which they are exercised by daily quarrels with one another."|| The hostilities of clans was the great moving principle in every Highland adoption of a public quarrel, as we have seen in the career of Montrose and of Argyle. It was the principle upon which Dundee relied when he hurried to

\* Macaulay's History, vol. iii. c. xiii.

† *Ibid.*, p. 304.

‡ Translated by Thomas Hollinbury, D.D., 1788.

§ Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 312.

|| Cunningham, vol. i. p. 120.

the clans who were in arms for a private quarrel at Inverness. But the cause of king James had a hold upon their affections, beyond their desire to encounter the hostile chiefs who were the supporters of king William. They knew nothing of the political and religious grounds of difference. The causes of the great Revolution of England were to them unknown and uncared for. It was enough that "their minds, roused by the remembrance of former times, were easily drawn over by the viscount of Dundee, who was of the family of Montrose, to the interest of king James. They firmly believe that the ancient kings of Scotland were descended from them, and wore the very same dress which they now wear; and therefore they were easily persuaded that king James was of their own blood, and, by a kind of divine right, entitled to the crown."\* Their hardihood under exposure to cold and wet; their habitual exercise; their predatory excursions, are noticed by this historian. "Being in general poorly provided for, they are apt to covet other men's goods; nor are they taught by any laws to distinguish with great accuracy their own property from that of other people. They are not ashamed of the gallows; nay, they pay a religious respect to a fortunate plunderer."† Scott says that a foray was so far from being held disgraceful, that a young chief was expected to show his talents for command, by heading a plundering expedition.‡ To their chief "the common people adhere with the utmost fidelity, by whose right hand they are wont to swear."§ Dundee knew the qualities of the race that he was going to lead against the regular troops of the new government. Their peculiar character and organisation were favourable for a dashing enterprise. They were perhaps most to be feared in the hour of success. "In battle, the point to which they bend their utmost efforts, and which they are most anxious to carry, is their enemy's baggage. If that once falls into their hands, disregarding all discipline and oaths, and leaving their colours, home they run."||

The clan which Dundee joined at Inverness had for its chief, MacDonald of Keppoch. This pugnacious warrior had recently won a battle against MacIntosh of Moy; and he was now about to harry the Saxon shopkeepers of Inverness for having taken part against his clan. In Inverness there was "sneezing," and

\* Cunningham, p. 122.

† *Ibid.*, p. 121.

‡ Notes to "Lady of the Lake."

§ "No oath, but by his chieftain's hand." *Lady of the Lake*, canto iii.

|| Cunningham, vol. i. p. 122.

sugar, and aqua-vitæ. He had recently been opposed to the soldiers of king James, who, under the direction of the Privy Council, had gone forth with letters of fire and sword to waste and kill in the country of MacDonald of Keppoch. When Dundee arrived, the chief thought less of the injuries which he had sustained from the government of king James than of the glorious opportunity of plunder in a fight against the government of king William. A goat was slain, a fire was kindled, the points of a small wooden cross were seared in the flame, and then the sparks were extinguished in the blood of the goat. "Their religion is partly taken from the Druids, partly from Papists, and partly from Protestants," says Cunningham. In the ceremony of preparing the Fiery Cross, we may readily trace the Pagan as well as the Popish element. MacDonald of Keppoch sent the Fiery Cross through his district. It was the signal for arming and assembling at a given place of rendezvous. It was handed on by one swift messenger after another through the country of Keppoch's allies and friends. The name of the Graham was sufficient to arm all those who hated the Campbell. The deeds of Montrose were the favourite themes of the bards; and now another Graham was come to lead the clans near Inverary, who had thrown off their submission to Argyle, against another Argyle, who might again reduce them to their old condition of dependence. Dundee first surprised the town of Perth, seizing the public treasure; dispersed two troops of horse; and then entered into the Highlands, to wait the arrival of aid from Ireland. The clans gathered around him in Lochaber, all eager to fight for the cause which had the Mac Callum More for its enemy.

During the month of June active operations in the Highlands were suspended. But in the meantime Edinburgh Castle was surrendered by the duke of Gordon. General Mackay had taken the command of the army in Scotland. "He was one of the best officers of the age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute orders; for he was both diligent, obliging, and brave; but he was not so fitted for command. His piety made him too apt to mistrust his own sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in anything where there might be a needless effusion of blood."\* To shed blood needlessly is the greatest opprobrium of a commander. To mistrust himself in the fear of unavoidable slaughter is to produce a more fatal effusion of blood. It is not piety which produces

\* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 47.

such mistrust. Whether Mackay, the bravest of the brave, was open to this covert reproach, does not appear in the narratives of his conduct of the battle of Killiecrankie. Dundee had learnt that the marquis of Athol, who had decided to take part with the ruling powers, had sent his son, lord Murray, into Athol to raise the clans; but that his own castle of Blair had been held against him; and that a large number of his clan had quitted the standard of the marquis. He had also learnt that Mackay was advancing to reduce Blair Castle, a post most important as the key of the Northern Highlands. Dundee had received three hundred Irish troops from Ulster, and he had collected again about three thousand Highlanders, who had been allowed to leave Lochaber for their own glens. Mackay was approaching Blair Castle, out of Perthshire. Dundee arrived there on the 27th of July. Mackay was advancing up the pass of Killiecrankie. On one hand of the narrow defile was the river Garry, rushing below the difficult ascent. On the other side were rocks and wooded mountains. One laden horse and two or three men abreast would fill the road-way. In this defile, the passage of Mackay might have been effectually resisted. Dundee chose to wait for his enemy till he had reached the open valley at the extremity of the pass. The troops were resting, when the alarm was given that the Highlanders were at hand. From the hills a cloud of bonnets and plaids swept into the plain, and the regular soldier was face to face with the clansman;—"Veterans practised in war's game" on one side—"Shepherds and Herdsmen" on the other.\* There had been firing from each for several hours. It was seven o'clock before Dundee gave the word for action. Unplaided and unsocked the Highlanders rushed upon the red soldier. They threw away their firelocks after a volley or two; raised their war-yell, amidst the shriek of the bagpipes; and darted upon Mackay's line. A few minutes of struggle, and then a headlong flight down the pass. What the poet calls "the precept and the pedantry of cold mechanic battle" could not stand up against the rush of enemies, as strange as the mounted Spaniard was to the Peruvian. The slaughter was terrible, as the Saxons fled through the gorge, with the Celts hewing and slaying amidst a feeble resistance. But there were no final results of the victory of Killiecrankie. The Highlanders did not follow up their success, for they were busy with the booty of the field; and Dundee had fallen. He was leading a charge of his small band of cavalry;

\* Wordsworth.

and was waving his arm for his men to come on, when a musket ball struck him in the part thus exposed by the opening of his cuirass. He fell from his horse, and, after a few sentences, "word spake never more."\* There was terror in Edinburgh when it was known that Mackay had been defeated. There was hope when the news came that Dundee had fallen. The Highlanders went back to their mountains, laden with plunder. In London there was necessarily alarm. "But when the account of Dundee's death was known, the whole city appeared full of joy ; and the king's enemies, who had secretly furnished themselves with arms, now laid aside all thoughts of using them."† The over-sanguine hopes of the enterprise of Dundee amongst the followers of king James, are thus expressed in a lament for his death : "Had he lived, there was little doubt but he had soon established the king's authority in Scotland, prevented the prince of Orange going or sending an army into Ireland, and put his majesty in a fair way of regaining England itself."‡ Certainly not ; whilst the real intentions of James towards Scotland and England continued to ooze out, as they were sure to do. Balcarres, in his account to king James of the affairs of Scotland, has this anecdote of the characteristic Stuart policy : "Next day after the fight, an officer riding by the place where my lord Dundee fell, found lying there a bundle of papers and commissions, which he had about him. Those who stripped him thought them of but small concern, so they left them there lying. This officer a little after did show them to several of your friends, among which there was one paper did no small prejudice to your affairs, and would have done much more, had it not been carefully suppressed. It was a letter of the earl of Melfort's to my lord Dundee, when he sent him over your Majesty's Declaration, in which was contained not only an indemnity, but a toleration for all persuasions. This the earl of Melfort believed would be shocking to Dundee, considering his hatred to fanatics ; for he writes, that notwithstanding of what was promised in your declaration, indemnity and indulgence, yet he had couched things so, that you would break them when you pleased ; nor would you think yourself obliged to stand to them."

\* The letter that it is pretended he wrote to King James is a transparent forgery.

† Cunningham, p. 123.

‡ "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 352.

## CHAPTER XXV.

Close of the first Session of the English Parliament.—The Irish Parliament.—Second Session of the English Parliament.—The Bill of Rights.—The Princess Anne.—Whig and Tory Factions.—Parliament dissolved.—State of the Army in Ireland.—Abuses in Government Departments.—Opening of the New Parliament.—Corruption.—Jealousy in settling the Revenue.—Act of Recognition.—Act of Grace.—William goes to Ireland.—Landing and March of William.—The Boyne.—William slightly wounded.—Battle of the Boyne.—Flight of James.—His Speech at Dublin.—Naval defeat at Beachy Head.—Energetic Conduct of the Queen.

THE proceedings of the English parliament, from the period when the Commons went up to the king with an address, declaring that they would support him in a war with France, to the adjournment in August, are no doubt interesting when presented with characteristic details, but are scarcely important enough to be related with minuteness in a general history. Less important is it to trace the factious disputes in which so many angry passions and so many petty jealousies were called forth, during the three or four latter months of the Session. It is satisfactory to know that the attainders of William lord Russell, of Algernon Sidney, of Alice Lisle, and of alderman Cornish, were reversed. It is not so satisfactory to trace the revival of past animosities in the discussions upon the sentence of Titus Oates, who brought that sentence before the House of Lords by a writ of error. A majority of Peers affirmed the judgment; but in the Lower House a bill annulling the sentence was brought in. The majority of the Lords looked at the infamous character of Oates. In the Commons the supporters of the bill for annulling the sentence looked to the illegality of the judgment. The difference between the two Houses was compromised. Oates was released from confinement, having received a pardon; and the Commons moved an address to the Crown that he should be allowed a small pension for his support. In the case of Samuel Johnson, the Commons voted that his degradation from ecclesiastical functions was illegal, and the king was asked to bestow some preferment on him. William, more wisely, gave him a thousand pounds and a pension.

During this Session an Act was passed by which any Protes-



tant clergyman of Ireland, who had been forced to leave that kingdom, "for fear of the Irish rebels," should not be deprived of an Irish benefice by accepting ecclesiastical preferment in England.\* Before the landing of James at Kinsale many Protestants had fled to England, in the dread of a repetition of the frightful atrocities of 1641. Many of these refugees were aided by a public subscription; and some of the clergy were appointed to lectureships and small livings.† The miseries produced "by fear of the Irish rebels" were small, compared with the tyrannous proceedings of the Parliament which king James opened in Dublin on the 7th of May. Of two hundred and fifty members of the Irish House of Commons, only six were Protestants. James told the Parliament in opening the Session, that he had always been for liberty of conscience, and against invading the property of any man. The next day he issued a Proclamation in which he says that, since his arrival in his kingdom of Ireland, he had made it his chief concern to satisfy his Protestant subjects "that the defence of their religion, privileges, and properties, is equally our care with the recovery of our rights." It has been alleged, as an excuse for James in furnishing a very speedy proof of the futility of such professions, that he could not control the violent spirit of his Parliament. They passed an Act of Toleration on one day; they passed an Act of Confiscation on the next. The one Act consisted of unmeaning professions; the other transferred all the lands held by Protestants under old Acts of Settlement to their ancient proprietors before the rebellion of 1641. Another Act transferred the tithe, for the most part from the Protestant to the Catholic clergy, without compensation. But the iniquity of the Act which deprived the holders of property for nearly forty years, whether acquired by grant, purchase, or mortgage, was small when compared with the Act of attainder by which two thousand six hundred persons were declared traitors and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. "The severity of this Act exceeded even that of the famous proscription at Rome during the last Triumvirate."‡ The Act of Attainder affected the real estates of absentees thus declared to be traitors. Another Act vested in the king all their goods and chattels, debts and arrears of rent. The spirit of the Parliament was universally carried out. The arms of all Protestants were seized, whatever their political opinions. The Protestant clergy, mostly preachers of

\* 1. G. & Mar. c. 29.

† See Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, 1857.

‡ Harris's "Life of William III." p. 231.

divine right, were insulted and unprotected. The fellows and scholars of the university of Dublin were thrust out of their halls and chambers, and their property seized; the sole condition of their personal liberty being that no three of them should meet together, "on pain of death." This was the ready phrase of terror applicable under all circumstances. The king, with the example before him of iniquities long faded away, issued a coinage of brass money which was to pass as sixpences, shillings, and half-crowns. "Eight half-crowns of this money were not intrinsically worth two-pence."\* The tradesmen of Dublin, if they refused the money, were threatened to be hanged by the Provost-Marshall. The government of king James, that was looking forward to the day when England and Scotland should come under the same merciful rule, decreed, by proclamation in the name of the king, that no covetous person should give by exchange of the currency, intolerable rates for gold and silver, to the great disparagement of the brass and copper money, under pain of death.

Such, when king William met his Parliament on the 19th of October, were the manifestations of what might be expected from the blessed rule of king James, should he be restored in England. It is recorded of William that, on the day before, he met the Council, and produced a draft of his speech, written by himself in French, when he thus expressed himself: "I know most of my predecessors were used to commit the drawing of such speeches to their ministers, who generally had their private aims and interests in view; to prevent which, I have thought fit to write it myself in French, because I am not so great a master of the English tongue: therefore, I desire you to look it over, and change what you may find amiss, that it may be translated into English." This was not complimentary to the king's ministers, nor accordant with our modern notions of ministerial responsibility. Yet it was an honest endeavour of William's common sense not to be misunderstood. He said that it was a misfortune that, at the beginning of his reign, he should have to ask such large supplies for carrying on the wars upon which he had entered with their advice. He had not engaged in these out of a vain ambition, but from the necessity of opposing those who had so visibly discovered their designs of destroying the liberties and religion of the nation. He asked that there should be no delay in determining what should be the supply for the charges of the war, because there was to be a

\* Harris's "Life of William III." p. 231.

meeting at the Hague, of all the princes and States who were engaged against France, and his own resolutions would be determined by the means at his command. This was honest language; which the Commons seconded by a vote that they would stand by the king in the reduction of Ireland and in a vigorous prosecution of the war with France. Yet there is nothing more painful to one who looks back upon the history of his country with an earnest desire to think the best of her public men, than to trace, amidst the bitter contests of factions, the slight predominance of the patriotic spirit. The second Session of the Convention Parliament is a melancholy exhibition of party intrigues for power, of rivalries that were to be made enduring by mean revenges, of desperate attempts to revive the indiscriminate hatreds of the past in a frequent disregard of the necessities of the present—hateful contests, that made William seriously purpose to throw up the government, and remove himself from a scene where he was unable to make men understand that there was a duty to their country, which ought to outweigh all selfish desires.

The work for which this Session of Parliament is to be chiefly remembered in after time, was the passing of the Bill of Rights. This celebrated measure was the reduction to a Statute of the Declaration of Rights.\* Some important provisions were introduced. It was enacted, to prevent the kingdom being governed by a Papist, that the sovereign should in Parliament, and at the Coronation, adopt by repetition and subscription, the declaration against Transubstantiation. It was also enacted that if the sovereign should marry a Papist, the subject should be absolved from allegiance. The dispensing power of the Crown—the cause of so many fierce conflicts—was absolutely taken away.† The Parliament in this Session left few other records of considerate legislation. They went wildly to work with impeachments. They impeached the earl of Peterborough and the earl of Salisbury, for departing from their allegiance, and being reconciled to the Church of Rome. They impeached the earl of Castlemaine, under a charge of trying to reconcile the kingdom to the Church of Rome. They raked up the accusations against those who had been accessory to the convictions of Russell and Sidney, chiefly, in the hope to fasten some charge upon Halifax, who had retired from office. They carried their political hatreds so far back into the region of history, as to accept a statement that "Major-General Ludlow is

\* *Anie*, vol. iv. p. 376.

† *Gul. & Mar. Sess.* 2, c. 2

come into England, and is in town; and that his old accomplices do comfort, aid, and abet him;" and thereupon they carried an address that the king would issue a proclamation for apprehending General Ludlow, who stood attainted of high treason for the murder of Charles I. Old Colonel Birch, who asked for evidence of Ludlow being in London, made a sly allusion to the contrast between the present and the past: "I am in a new periwig, and pray let the House look upon me."\* The men of the new periwigs seemed anxious that the passions of the old love-locks should never be forgotten. Ludlow returned to his asylum at Vevay; to wonder, perhaps, what sort of Revolution was that of 1688, which had thus repudiated what it owed to the Puritans who had made the Bill of Rights a practicable thing.

Amongst the annoyances to which William and Mary were subjected by party intrigues, there were none, probably, more personally distasteful than the misunderstandings which arose out of the position of the princess Anne. Upon her marriage with prince George of Denmark she had a settlement of £20,000 a year. From the circumstance of Anne being the presumptive heir of the Crown, it was not unnatural that she should desire a larger revenue. From the peculiarities of her character she was necessarily a fit subject for intriguing politicians to work upon. Sarah Churchill, afterwards duchess of Marlborough, had over her the most unbounded influence. The attachment of Mrs. Morley (Anne) to her dear Mrs. Freeman (Sarah)—or rather the dependence of a weak nature upon an imperious one—had an influence of long duration upon the politics of England. The correspondence of the princess and the lady of the bed-chamber, under their fictitious names, would lead to the belief that real friendship was not incompatible with a court atmosphere, if we did not see beneath this seeming affection the schemes of one of the most cunning and domineering of her sex. The Tories, who looked to Anne, in 1689, as one to be propitiated, had been moved to apply to Parliament for a large increase of her income. Sarah tells the story herself: "Her majesty, when some steps were made in Parliament towards settling a revenue on the prince and princess, taking her sister one night to task for it, she asked her, What was the meaning of these proceedings? To which the princess answered, She heard her friends had a mind to make her some settlement. The queen hastily replied, with a very imperious air, 'Pray, what friends have

\* "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 414.

you but the king and me?" The lady goes on to state how she urged the princess to persist in applying to Parliament instead of depending upon the king; how Shrewsbury (she erroneously calls him "duke") came to her from the king, "who promised to give the princess £50,000 if she would desist from soliciting the settlement by Parliament;" and how she, the dictatress of the princess, insinuated a doubt whether the king would keep his word; upon which the princess herself told Shrewsbury, "that she could not think herself in the wrong to desire a security for what was to support her."\* The friends who had a mind to make the princess some settlement went too far. They asked for £70,000 a year, which the House would not grant; and, finally, Anne received the £50,000 which Shrewsbury was authorised to offer.

The politics of the palace were passing annoyances from the troublesome movements of a faction, rather than permanent causes of uneasiness to the king. The Whigs, to whom he in a great degree owed his crown, had manifested a violence towards their political opponents that rendered it impossible that he could wear that crown in tranquillity. They sought to obtain a considerable increase of power, by a bold manœuvre which would materially strengthen them in a new Parliament. Without any attempt to legislate in the spirit of party, a Bill had been read twice for restoring the Corporations which had surrendered their Charters at the mandates of Charles II. and James II. There was a thin attendance in the House, for it was the holiday time of Christmas. But the Whigs by concert mustered in force, and engrafted upon the Bill two clauses disqualifying for municipal office every person who had been instrumental in surrendering the charter of a borough. The term proposed for the duration of this disqualification was seven years. A large proportion of the parliamentary franchise was in the hands of corporations. The clause would have the effect of removing Tory electors, and substituting Whig electors. This attempt at a surprise was finally defeated. The gross injustice of the clauses—their spirit of vindictiveness—produced a disgust in which the king participated as much as any man. Absent members rushed to London from every district—and the clauses were at length rejected. The Tories, now triumphant, tried to carry the Bill of Indemnity for political offences, which had been laid aside in the last Session. So many exceptions to the measure of amnesty were introduced by the opposite faction, that it became a

"Authentick Memoirs of the Life of the Duchess of Marlborough," p. 89.

measure of proscription. William was worn out by these contests. According to Balcarres, he told the duke of Hamilton, "that he wished he were a thousand miles from England, and that he had never been king of it." \* Burnet gives a circumstantial relation of the effect of these manifestations upon a mind so usually calm and imperturbable. "He was once very near a desperate resolution; he thought he could not trust the Tories, and he resolved he would not trust the Whigs; so he fancied the Tories would be true to the queen, and confide in her, though they would not in him. He therefore resolved to go over to Holland, and leave the government in the queen's hands: so he called the marquis of Carmarthen, with the earl of Shrewsbury, and some few more, and told them, he had a convoy ready, and was resolved to leave all in the queen's hands; since he did not see how he could extricate himself out of the difficulties into which the animosities of parties had brought him: they pressed him vehemently to lay aside all such desperate resolutions, and to comply with the present necessity. Much passion appeared among them: the debate was so warm, that many tears were shed: in conclusion, the king resolved to change his first design, into another better resolution, of going over in person, to put an end to the war in Ireland." † This last resolution came to be known; and it was determined by the Whigs to oppose it, as a step inconsistent with the health and safety of the king. William took a decisive course. He went to Parliament on the 27th of January, determined to prevent any address that should interfere with his purpose. In his speech from the throne he said, "It is a very sensible affliction to me, to see my good people burthened with heavy taxes; but, since the speedy recovery of Ireland is, in my opinion, the only means to ease them and to preserve the peace and honour of the nation, I am resolved to go thither in person, and, with the blessing of God Almighty, endeavour to reduce that kingdom, that it may no longer be a charge to this." The Parliament was then prorogued: and, two days after, dissolved.

"There was fierce and great carousing about being elected in the new Parliament." Thus writes Evelyn on the 16th of February. "There was a great struggle all England over in elections," says Burnet; "but the Corporation Bill did so highly provoke all those whom it was to have disgraced, that the Tories were by far the greater number in the new Parliament." A year had passed

\* Ralph, vol. ii. note at p. 186.

† "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 69.

in which the foundations of civil and religious liberty had been widened and strengthened; but the constitutional legislation of the Convention Parliament was not likely to excite much popular enthusiasm. The people were heavily taxed to carry on the war. On the continent no effectual resistance had been offered to the ambition of France; and in Ireland James was dictator, at the head of a large military force. A prince with the highest reputation for courage and sagacity had come to be king over England; and yet her navy had been defeated in an encounter with the French; and the army which had gone to Ireland under Marshal Schomberg had done nothing, and was perishing in its inaction. At the dinner table of the most influential minister, Carmarthen, "a very considerate and sober commander, going for Ireland, related to us the exceeding neglect of the English soldiers, suffering severely for want of clothes and necessaries this winter, exceedingly magnifying their courage and bravery during all their hardships."\* Meagre as are the reports of debates in Parliament, we may trace, in 1689, complaints of departmental neglect very similar to those which were so loudly outspoken in 1855. Mr. Waller gave an account at the bar of the House of Commons of the state of the army in Ireland. The baggage-horses were left behind at Chester; for profit was made by putting them to grass. The sickness by which Schomberg's forces were terribly reduced, he imputed to the great defect of clothing; "all that were well clothed were in health." He contrasted the care bestowed upon a Dutch regiment in camp with the neglect of the English: "Their officers looked upon their soldiers as their children, and would see them make their huts, pave them, and lay fresh straw; in the whole Dutch camp scarce two died." Surgeons' medicines were very ill provided: "It was reported they had 1700*l.* worth of medicines, but I know not where they were." In that rainy season "the foreigners were warmer clothed than our own men, in great coats over their close coats; of which the English had none." Lastly, the troops "were not well furnished with shoes: some came late;—they were not consigned to anybody."† The Commons naturally became furious at these recitals of neglect and peculation. Shales, the Commissary of the Stores, was the chief mark for their indignation. "If ever you have the war carried on with honour and success," said Colonel Birch, "you must hang this man." The House wanted to criminate higher men than the Commissary of the Stores,

\* Evelyn, "Diary," February 19.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 453.

whose experience in what was useful as well as what was dishonest had been acquired in the army of James. The Commons resolved upon an indecent address to the king, to ask him to inform them who had recommended Shales. William consulted his higher sense of honour by refusing to be an informer. A wiser course was adopted than hanging Shales. A Commission was sent to Ireland, to remedy these abuses. The state of the navy was not more satisfactory than that of the army. The indefatigable Secretary of the navy, Pepys, though now out of office, had his keen eye upon the abuses of that department of which he had the most intimate knowledge of any man. At a dinner at which Evelyn was present, Pepys "deplored the sad condition of our navy, as governed by inexperienced men since the Revolution." He was for building frigates. He desired "they would leave off building such high decks, which were for nothing but to gratify gentlemen-commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp. It would be the ruin of our fleets, if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience, nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience which those who were bred seamen would undergo." \* The Victualling of the Fleet was as notoriously infamous as the Commissariat of the Army. The Victuallers were ordered by the House into custody; but the affair seems to have evaporated in talk. "I believe the fleet is as ill victualled as if our enemies had done it," was the sense of the House, thus expressed by Mr. Hampden. "You may talk of raising money, but not of raising seamen," said another member. The seamen would not serve to be starved and poisoned. With a Council in which there was far more hatred than concord; with a Parliament in which the evils of Party greatly outweighed its advantages; with a Church equally divided in opinion—"of whom the moderate and sober part were for a speedy reformation of divers things, which it was thought might be made in our Liturgy, for the inviting Dissenters, others more stiff and rigid, for no condescension at all;" † with the dry rot of corruption in all the administrative departments of government, we can scarcely be surprised that William panted for another field of action, in which his own energies could be fairly put forth. "The going to a campaign," he said, "was naturally no unpleasant thing to him; he was sure he understood that better than how to govern England." ‡ And so the sickly man advised with

\* "Diary," March 7.

† *Ibid.*, February 16.

‡ Burnet, vol. iv. p. 82.



sir Christopher Wren about building for him a house of wood, that should be carried with the army like a showman's booth; and though his constant cough had driven him from Whitehall to Kensington for purer air, he resolved to take no heed of those who manifested a real or pretended concern for his health. He would see with his own eyes if affairs in Ireland were irretrievable. Upon the king himself almost wholly devolved the duty of making a fit preparation for his campaign, by searching into the abuses of the military departments, and of remedying evils of such disastrous magnitude. He wrote to his friend Portland, after the prorogation of Parliament, "All will depend upon success in Ireland. I must apply myself entirely to regulate everything in the best way I can. There is no small work on my my hands, being so badly assisted as I am." \*

At the opening of Parliament on the 20th of March, 1690, some changes had been made in the ministry, and in the lesser offices, "so that," says Burnet, "Whig and Tory were now pretty equally mixed; and both studied to court the king by making advances upon the money-bills." † The king had a tolerably equal contempt for both factions; and his sense of the baseness of some public men is recorded by the historian of his own time. Sir John Trevor, who had been Master of the Rolls under James, "being a Tory in principle, undertook to manage that party, provided he was furnished with such sums of money as might purchase some votes; and by him began the practice of buying off men, in which hitherto the king had kept to stricter rules. I took the liberty once to complain to the king of this method. He said he hated it as much as any man could do; but he saw it was not possible, considering the corruption of the age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole." ‡ The corruption of the age lasted through three generations. It had "lighter wings to fly" when paper-credit came. It grew more rampant under the second George than under the first. It flourished through half the reign of the third George. It would have lasted to our time if the people had not become fully acquainted with the proceedings of their representatives. It could not live in the light of public opinion, shed upon the nation by the free publication of the debates. We can scarcely blame king William for using the ready means of self-defence, whilst his enemies freely employed the subtlest arts for his overthrow. It was difficult for him to trust any one. His favourite minister was the Whig

\* Note in Macanlay, vol. iii. p. 537. † Burnet, vol. iv. p. 71. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Shrewsbury. Read his correspondence, and he appears the fairest of advisers. He writes to the king, "I wish you could have established your party upon the moderate and honest principled men of both factions; but as there be a necessity of declaring, I shall make no difficulty to own my sense, that your majesty and the government are much more safe depending upon the Whigs, whose designs, if any against, are improbable and remoter than with the Tories, who, many of them, questionless, would bring in king James; and the best of them, I doubt, have a regency still in their heads; for though I agree them to be the properest instruments to carry the prerogative high, yet I fear they have so unreasonable a veneration for monarchy, as not altogether to approve the foundation yours is built upon."\* William manifested some favour to the Tories, and Shrewsbury resigned the seals as Secretary of State. Burnet says, "he saw the Whigs, by using the king ill, were driving him into the Tories; and he thought these would serve the king with more zeal if he left his post." William, continues Burnet, "loved the earl of Shrewsbury." The man represented as so sullen and so cold, pressed his favourite Secretary, again and again, to hold the seals. Shrewsbury steadily refused; and his "agitation of mind threw him into a fever that nearly cost him his life." It has been proved, beyond doubt, that this friend of William resigned the seals by the command of king James, to whom he had tendered his services. James, in a paper submitted to the French government in 1692, said, "There is the earl of Shrewsbury, who, being Secretary of State to the prince of Orange, surrendered his charge by my order."† Shrewsbury, from weakness of character, was faithless to the master whom he admired; and his alienation was very temporary. Others were treacherous through the baseness of their natures; and, in betraying the prince whom they had contributed to raise, did not hesitate to betray their country.

Whatever may have been the amount of individual baseness, and of party violence, amongst the legislators of this period—however unpleasant their jealousy of arbitrary power might have been to a king who truly desired to rule over a free people—the spirit of the Long Parliament had not departed from the second Parliament of the Revolution. However desirous Whig or Tory might be to gain favour with the sovereign, they agreed in refusing to grant the duties of Customs to the crown for life, as they had been granted to William's two predecessors. "Why should they entertain a

\* Coxe, "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 15.

† Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 596, note.

jealousy of me," the king said to Burnet, "who came to save their religion and liberties, when they trusted king James so much, who intended to destroy them?" Wisely and boldly did the bishop answer him: "King James would never have run into those counsels that ruined him, if he had obtained the revenue only for a short term."\* On a previous occasion, when this question of the settlement of the revenue was raised, William said to Burnet, "he understood the good of a commonwealth as well as of a kingly government; and it was not easy to determine which was best; but he was sure the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure and without power."† We may well believe that William had no desire to use treasure or power for despotical purposes; and yet we may rejoice that the Commons of England stoutly resolved to prevent the possibility of the Crown becoming dangerous by being too independent. For out of the practical working of the Constitution, through many a struggle, it has come to be understood that the sovereign can have no interest separate from the public advantage; and that the representatives of the people would grossly err in any attempt to lower the personal dignity of the sovereign. The real relations of the executive and the legislative power have practically changed, without any change in the constitutional theory of their rights. Under the well understood principle that the advisers of the Crown cannot exist with a minority in the House of Commons, the dignity of the Crown is in no degree lessened by any opposition which may enforce a change of the servants of the Crown. It was otherwise when the sovereign was in a considerable degree his own minister; and when his servants did not act under a joint responsibility. William drew a distinction between the good of a commonwealth and the good of a kingly government. Practically, the distinction has almost ceased to exist in our times. But we venture to think that our constitutional historian scarcely makes allowance for the remaining influence of the traditions of the monarchy when he says of William, "he could expect to reign on no other terms than as the chief of a commonwealth."‡

The Statute-book contains an Act of a dozen lines, which passed with little effectual opposition, although well calculated to produce a trial of strength between the two great parties. It is the Act whereby the Lords and Commons recognise and acknowledge that

\* "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 75.

† *Ibid.*, p. 60.

‡ Hallam, "Constitutional History," chap. xv.

William and Mary "were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen."\* This Act also declares that all the Acts made in the Parliament assembled on the 13th of February, 1688 [1689], are laws and statutes of this kingdom. Upon this point the Lords debated long and warmly. In the Commons, the question was settled in two days; for Somers put the House in a dilemma. This parliament, he said, depends entirely on the foundation of the last. "If that were not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the oaths enacted by that Parliament, were guilty of high treason: the laws repealed by it were still in force, so they must presently return to king James."† The Whigs had their triumph in so easily carrying this Bill. It was a triumph of commonsense. They were justly defeated upon an attempt to impose a new test upon the people. A Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, requiring every person holding office to abjure king James. To make the proposed measure still more odious, any justice of the peace was empowered to tender the oath of abjuration at his pleasure, and to commit to prison whoever refused to take it. The Bill was rejected by a small majority. The measure, with some modifications, was then tried anew in the House of Peers. "I have taken so many oaths in my time," said lord Wharton, who looked back to the days of the Long Parliament, "that I hope God will forgive me if I have not kept them all. I should be very unwilling to charge myself with more at the end of my days." The old Puritan interpreted the real feelings of every honest man about the multiplication of political oaths. It was well known that William had no desire for such a measure as this oath; and thus, after many angry words and insinuations, the abjuration of king James was abandoned. King William strengthened his throne far more effectually than by a test arbitrarily administered, by authorising Carmarthen to present to the Peers an Act of Grace for political offences. Bitter memories of the past had prevented the passing of Indemnity Bills. William resolved that the cause of the Revolution should not be disgraced with forfeitures and bloodshed, as was that of the Restoration. The exceptions to the Act of Grace were the surviving regicides—who had been excepted under the Act of Charles II. These were far out of the reach of such a visitation for the crime of forty years standing. Thirty of the evil instruments of James were excepted by name; and, last of all, "George, lord Jeffreys,

\* 2 Gul. &amp; Mar. c. 1.

† Burnet, vol. iv. p. 73.

deceased." This "Act for the King and Queen's most gracious general and free pardon," was passed by both Houses without debate. It was one of the most effectual means to prevent a recurrence of "the long and great troubles and discords that have been within this kingdom." Yet the clemency of William was sneered at by those who received its benefits, and condemned by those who were baulked of their revenges. The king closed the Session on the 20th of May; and an Act having been passed to give the queen power to administer the government in his absence, he prepared to take the conduct of the war in Ireland.

William left London on the 4th of June. He had selected nine privy-councillors to advise the queen in the conduct of affairs. It was difficult wholly to rely upon the honesty of this Council, in which there was a mixture of the leading men of the opposite factions. It was a time of great anxiety. Plots were in course of detection; invasion might be expected. The king determined to go where the necessity was most pressing. "He seemed to have a great weight upon his spirits, from the state of his affairs, which was then very cloudy. He said, for his own part, he trusted in God, and would either go through with his business, or perish in it. He only pitied the poor queen, repeating that twice with great tenderness; and wished that those who loved him would wait much on her, and assist her."\* William had done everything in his power to ensure success in his great enterprise. Schomberg had been largely reinforced. His army had grievously suffered from sickness and neglect. The pestilence which had thinned its ranks was deemed by the court of king James, "a visible mark of God's judgment upon that wicked and rebellious generation."† William, "a fatalist in religion" according to Smollett, had a rational confidence that God might manifest His judgments through the industry and zeal of His creatures; and he had set about to repair all that had been amiss in the previous organisation of the Irish army. He had now in Ireland thirty-six thousand troops, well fed, properly clothed, not wanting in the munitions of war, prepared by his own vigilant superintendence to take the field with those advantages without which the skill of a general, and the bravery of his men, may be thrown away. The English knew how carefully it had been endeavoured to repair the evils of the last autumn and winter. Still the people were anxious and doubtful. There is a curious instance of the uncertainty attached by public

\* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 82.

† "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 385.

opinion to the determination of the king to attempt the reduction of Ireland,—an instance also of the gambling spirit of that age. Rowland Davies, Dean of Ross, who had been ejected from his benefices, is going with the army of William as a Chaplain. He and four of his friends desire to raise money; and they borrow four hundred pounds under a bond, signed and sealed at Jonathan's Coffee-house, the great resort of stock-jobbers, "for the payment of six hundred pounds within a month after king William and queen Mary are in actual possession of Dublin and Cork."\* Of the condition and prospects of king James, a lamentable account is given by his official biographer. The duke of Berwick had been beaten at Belturbet; Charlemont had surrendered; but these misfortunes "were nothing in comparison of the disappointments the king met with from the court of France." Louis would not consent to make England the seat of war instead of Ireland. He would not believe that the friends of James in England, at the head of an Irish and French army, would soon "make the English weary of resisting God and their duty."† Louis would only consent to send six thousand men into Ireland. The English were masters of Ulster. The Catholics who quitted it upon Schomberg's landing brought such prodigious flocks of cattle with them, as ate up the greatest part of the grass and corn of other counties, according to the lugubrious memoir writer. The Rapparees destroyed on all sides; there was no corn nor meal to feed the army; no cloth, no leather; "and the brass money put an absolute stop to importation."—We cannot have a more striking picture of the effects of an improvident and iniquitous administration of public affairs.

Ulster, at the beginning of June, was big with expectation of the arrival of king William. Absurd reports preceded him. An officer came from London to Belfast, and reported that the parliament was adjourned; that the king was speedily to set out, "and will bring with him four hundred thousand men."‡ On the 7th, the busy chaplain, preaching one day, dining jovially in the English quarters on another, saw many troops landing at Carrickfergus, and the train of artillery in the harbour. On the 10th, in the evening, on a false report that the king was landed, "all the country flamed with bonfires."§ On the 14th, over a bowl of punch, "we received the news of the king's landing, and being at Belfast, and spent the night jollily." On the 15th, the officers of

\* "Journal" of Rowland Davies, p. 101.

† "Life of James II." vol. i. p. 336.

‡ Rowland Davies, p. 117.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

the various regiments crowded round William, and were presented to him. Troops continued to arrive, "insomuch that there was not less than five hundred sail of ships together in the Lough." William reviewed the troops on the 17th and on the 19th, and then gave orders that they should march after him. The army was composed not only of English and Englishers. There were Brandenburgers, Dutch, Danes, and French Huguenots. The spirit of the king triumphed over his feeble body. He was all animation. His eye sparkled with the exultation of hope. "I will not let the grass grow under my feet," he exclaimed. James appeared equally alert at the call of danger. He left Dublin on the 16th of June. William's army was at Loughbrickland on the 26th of June, consisting of thirty-six thousand men. The troops had manifested a very different conduct from those of James, who had ravaged the country in the preceding year; for William had issued an order that they "do so carry themselves both in garrison, quarters, and wheresoever they shall march, as persons ought to do who are under military discipline;" that they should not presume to rob or spoil, to do violence or extort, "but that they duly pay such reasonable rates for their provisions," as shall be ordered and appointed.\* The captains of king William's forces paid in a better coin than the brass money of king James. It was expected that the Irish army would have disputed the passage of William at the pass near Moyra Castle, now known as Ravensdale; but they left it open; and on the 27th the English army was at Dundalk forming "a camp at least three miles in length, in two lines." † King James still retired as William advanced; but at length, on the 30th, as the English army approached Drogheda, the enemy was seen encamped on the opposite south bank of the Boyne.

The army of James was in a strong defensive position. The stream which divided the counties of Louth and Meath was between him and his rival. "The river was deep, and rose very high every tide; and after these difficulties were surmounted, there was a morass to be passed, and behind it a miry ground." ‡ The camp of James on the Meath side was defended by intrenchments and batteries. The fortress of Drogheda, on the Louth side, was held by the Irish, and displayed the ensigns of James and of Louis. The numbers of his enemy were variously reported to William. He had received tolerably accurate information from a man who

\* Harris, "Life of William," Appendix xl.

† Rowland Davies, p. 121.

‡ Harris, p. 266.



knew how to deal with exaggerations. An officer who had deserted from James's army greatly magnified their real amount. Mr. Cox, a civilian with sir Robert Southwell, bade the officer look upon the English camp and say what their numbers were. "He confidently affirmed them to be more than double their real number; whence his majesty perceived he was a conceited ill-guesser."\* William, surrounded by his generals, rode along the bank of the river on the morning of the 30th to inspect the position of the enemy. "We shall soon be better acquainted with their numbers," he observed.† He alighted from his horse near the village of Old Bridge. It was a rising ground, within musket-shot of the river. His breakfast was spread on the grass, and he rested for an hour. On the opposite bank there were watchful eyes directed towards the group which surrounded William; and it was soon perceived that no common enemy was within the reach of cannon. Two field pieces were quickly brought down from the hill, and planted in a ploughed field screened by a hedge. The king had remounted. One piece is fired, and the horse of prince George of Hesse is hit. Another shot, and William himself is struck. The ball has rent his buff-coat, and grazed his right shoulder. His officers crowd around, for the king stooped upon his horse's neck. He alights, and the slight wound is dressed. A shout went through the camp of James; and the tale passed from mouth to mouth that the prince of Orange was killed. The rumour soon crossed the sea. On the 2nd of July *feux-de-joie* were fired in Paris, to proclaim the great triumph. The next day had its own tale, of which James himself was the bearer. William was soon riding through every part of his army; and when the sun of that last of June was set, he was still in the saddle, making arrangements by torchlight for the coming struggle. He had resolved to pass the river the next morning. The enterprise was thought by Schomberg too dangerous. William felt that there was greater danger in delaying a decisive action. The event proved that the daring of the comparatively inexperienced prince was a better policy than the caution of the old hero of many a well foughten field.

The right wing of William's army was the earliest in its movements after day-break on that first of July. It was led by the son of marshal Schomberg, accompanied by the earl of Portland. There were twenty-four squadrons of horse and dragoons, and six

\* Harris, p. 267.

† *Ibid.*



regiments of foot under the command of Meinhart Schomberg, the marshal's brave son. Every man had a green bough in his hat, according to an order issued by the king on the previous night. This right wing marched towards the bridge of Slane, about five miles from the main camp. Rowland Davies, who was with this division, says, "at two fords we passed the river, where there were six squadrons of the enemy to guard the pass." Other accounts represent the right wing as passing over the bridge of Slane. Whether by the fords or by the bridge, the passage was resisted by some squadrons of horse, but they soon gave way. The French general Lauzun saw that the movement of the English right wing must be met, and he rapidly moved his best troops to prevent the rear of James's army being attacked. "As soon as we passed the river," says Davies, "we saw the enemy marching towards us, and that they drew up on the side of a hill in two lines." Portland recommended the horse and foot to be drawn up also in two lines, intermixing horse and foot, squadron with battalion—"grounded upon the example of Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia."\* Rowland Davies parades no such learned authority, in relating the same fact; and he says, "thus the armies stood for a considerable time, an impassable bog being between them." Reinforcements of foot having arrived, "we altered our line of battle, drawing all our horse into the right wing; and so, outflanking the enemy, we marched round the bog and engaged them, rather pursuing than fighting them, as far as Duleek."†

It was arranged that king William should lead the left wing, and pass the Boyne about a mile above Drogheda. This division consisted wholly of cavalry. Marshal Schomberg, commanding the centre, composed almost entirely of infantry, was to cross the river about half a mile higher up at the ford of Old Bridge. Count Solmes led his Dutch regiment of guards through the rapid water, though up to their middle. The English foot crossed up to their armpits. The Danes and French refugees also waded through the stream at other points. The south bank was bristling with Irish horse and foot. Some attempt at resistance was made by the Irish infantry while the greater part of the troops were still in the water; but at last the columns had crossed. Then the Irish foot would not face these resolute soldiers of many nations. An ancient fear of the Danes perhaps contributed to their panic. But the Irish cavalry, led by Hamilton, fought with desperate courage

\* Harris, p. 268.

† Journal of Davies, p. 123.

against the infantry that had gained the shore, or were still in the bed of the river. The issue was very doubtful. Caillemot, the commander of the Huguenots, was killed. The veteran Schomberg saw the danger; and rushing to the river without waiting to put on his cuirass, crossed, and led the retreating Protestants, exclaiming, "Allons, messieurs! Voilà vos persécuteurs." Schomberg fell in the confusion; his skull was cloven. On the same ground fell the heroic defender of Londonderry, George Walker. At this critical juncture William arrived on the field. He had brought his left wing across the stream, with some difficulty. There was a rapid tide. The bed of the stream was in some places a deep mud. His own horse floundered in the miry bottom, or was carried along by the rushing tide. But the king and his cavalry were at last on firm ground. William drew his sword, and was soon in the heat of the fight. The Irish horse retreated towards Donore, about a mile from the pass. Here, from his tent on the hill near the church, now a ruin, king James had watched the progress of the battle. Here his retreating horse made a stand. They turned upon their pursuers, and William's cavalry began to give way. He rode up to the Enniskilleners, and exclaimed, "What will you do for me?" "It is the king," said their officer. "You shall be my guards to day," cried William, and led on the yeomen who were conquerors on the field of Newton Butler. The battle of the Boyne was not yet won. Again and again "Little Will" \* rallied his troops whenever they gave way, and brought them up to the charge. The fate of the day did not long remain in suspense. Hamilton, the traitorous messenger to Tyrconnel, was taken prisoner. "Will the Irish fight any more?" said William. "Yes, sir, upon my honour, I believe they will." "Your honour!" exclaimed the injured prince; and then directed that his prisoner's wounds should be looked to. There was little more fighting. James saw the day was going against him; and he mounted his horse and fled, the French covering his retreat. At nine o'clock that night he arrived in Dublin.

It is remarkable that a battle so momentous in its consequences, should have been attended with so small a sacrifice of life. The loss in James' army did not exceed fifteen hundred men, chiefly cavalry. On William's side the loss of men was not more than five hundred. If we may judge from a passage in Rowland Davies,

\* "Little Will, the scourge of France,  
No Godhead, but the first of men."—PRIOR.

the steadiness of the Dutch guards repelled the attacks of the Irish horse, by a mode of fighting which is mentioned as if it were novel: "Count Solmes marched over the river with the blue Dutch regiment of guards. No sooner were they up the hill, but the enemy's horse fell on them, ours with the king being about half a mile lower, passing at another ford. At the first push, the first rank only fired, and then fell on their faces, loading their muskets again as they lay on the ground. At the next charge, they fired a volley of three ranks. Then, at the next, the first rank got up and fired again, which being received by a choice squadron of the enemy, consisting mostly of officers, they immediately fell in upon the Dutch as having spent all their front fire. But the two rear ranks drew up in two platoons and flanked the enemy across; and the rest, screwing their swords into their muskets, received the charge with all imaginable bravery, and in a minute dismounted them all. The Derry regiment also sustained them bravely, and as they drew off maintained the same ground with great slaughter."

Such was the battle of the Boyne, in which Protestant Europe was fighting against Roman Catholic ascendancy, in the island which had been distracted for a century and a half with the bitterest wars of religion. The Londoner, the Scot, and the English settler of Ulster, the Dutch Calvinist and the French Huguenot, stood the brunt of that first of July, with equal resolution and equal confidence in their leader.

A great principle was manifested in this battle—a principle not always understood by statesmen or warriors—that the results of a victory are not to be estimated by the numbers of killed and wounded on the side of the vanquished—nor by the possession of the field of battle—not even by the submission of the district in which the conquering army has gathered its laurels. Looking at the mere material results of the 1st of July, there was no sufficient cause for the dispersion of the Irish army, many of whom James had seen fighting bravely in his cause as he looked upon the valley of the Boyne from the hill of Donore. The real victory was in its moral consequences—in the instant and complete exposure of the character of the man for whom the better part of the Irish Catholics had been fighting, out of an honest conviction that they were in arms for the cause of their country and their religion. James first deserted them in his intense selfishness; he afterwards insulted them in his cowardly ingratitude. On the morning of the 2nd of July, he assembled the magistrates of Dublin. He said that he had

been often told, that when it came to the touch, the Irish would not bear the brunt of a battle. He had provided a good army, and had made all preparations to engage a foreign invader, and he had found the fatal truth of which he had been forewarned. Though the army did not desert him as they did in England, yet when the trial came they basely fled the field, and left it a spoil to his enemies. Thenceforward he determined never to head an Irish army, and now resolved to shift for himself, as they themselves must do. He exhorted them to prevent the plunder or destruction of the city; and to submit to the prince of Orange, who was a merciful man. After this, the most devoted slave of the house of Stuart would perfectly understand that this ungenerous and cruel attack of James upon his army was a mere selfish expedient to cover the ignominy of his own desertion of the cause for which his adherents had fought—some with admirable resolution; others as well as the miserable discipline in which they had been trained would lead a reasonable man to expect. They had been trained to plunder, to ravage, to make war with the instinct of savages; and when they had to meet the shock of civilized warfare, they fled as a lawless multitude always will flee, regardless of everything but their own safety. The battle of the Boyne manifested the utter disorganisation of the principle force by which Ulster had been wasted and harassed during a year of evil government.

There was another battle being fought on the south-eastern coast of England, at the very hour when the shot that was fired across the Boyne had very nearly settled the question whether the Revolution of 1688 should be a striking-point in a race of honour and prosperity, or a broken trophy of one brief and useless effort for liberty and the rights of conscience. The departure of William for Ireland was the signal for an attack upon the English coasts, which was to be accompanied with an insurrection of the Jacobites. A fleet sailed from Brest under the Count de Tourville. The English fleet was in the Downs, under the command of the earl of Torrington. He sailed to the back of the Isle of Wight, and was there joined by a squadron of Dutch vessels under a skilful commander, Evertsen. Queen Mary and her Council were aware that the French fleet had left Brest. It soon became known that the English admiral had quitted his position off St. Helen's, and had sailed for the Straits of Dover upon the approach of the French. The Council determined to send Torrington positive orders to fight. The French fleet was superior in vessels and guns to the

combined English and Dutch fleet; but the inequality was not so great that a man of the old stamp of Blake would have feared to risk a battle. Torrington did something even worse than hesitate to fight. He let the brunt of the conflict fall upon the Dutch. He put Evertsen in the van, and brought very few of his own squadron into action. The Dutch fought with indomitable courage and obstinacy, but were at length compelled to draw off. The gazers from the high downs of Beachy Head witnessed the shameful flight of a British admiral to seek the safety of the Thames. When the news came to London that Torrington had left the Channel to a triumphant enemy—when an invasion was imminent, for England was without regular troops—when plotters were all around, and arrests of men of rank, even of Clarendon, the queen's kinsman, were taking place—then, indeed, there was an hour almost of despair such as was felt when De Ruyter sailed up the Medway. But the very humiliation roused the spirit of the people. The queen was universally beloved; and, although studiously avoiding, when the king was at hand, any interference in public affairs, she took at once a kingly part in this great crisis. "The queen balanced all things with an extraordinary temper," writes Burnet. She sent for the Lord Mayor of London; and inquired what the citizens would do, should the enemy effect a landing? The Lord Mayor returned to the queen with an offer of a hundred thousand pounds; of nine thousand men of the city trainbands, ready instantly to march wherever ordered; and a proposal for the Lieutenantcy to provide and maintain six additional regiments of foot; and of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council to raise a regiment of horse, and a thousand dragoons, by voluntary contributions.\* The same spirit was manifested throughout the land. The people might grumble against the Dutch; they might feel some commiseration for an exiled prince; they might be divided about questions of Church government; they might complain that the Revolution had brought them increased taxation. But they would have no Papist government thrust upon them by the French king. They would not undo the work of their own hands. The gloom for the disaster of Beachy Head was quickly forgotten. On the 4th of July a messenger had brought letters to the queen which told that a great victory had been won in Ireland, and that the king was safe; and, says Evelyn in his quiet way, "there was much public rejoicing."

\* Maitland's "London," vol. i. 495.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

James embarks for France.—William enters Dublin.—The French devastate Teignmouth.—William's march to Limerick.—Siege of Limerick.—The siege raised.—William goes to England.—Parliament.—War supply.—England and Continental Politics.—William leaves for Holland.—Congress at the Hague.—Mons capitulates to the French.—Vacant sees in England filled up.—Plot of Preston and Ashton.—Treason laws.—Marlborough in Flanders.—Limerick surrenders to Ginkell.—Treaty of Limerick.

KING James, "in compliance with the advice of all his friends, resolved to go for France, and try to do something more effectual on that side, than he could hope from so shattered and disheartened a body of men as now remained in Ireland." \* "Request of friends" is the apology for the foolish actions of the weak king as well as of the vain scribbler. On the 3rd of July, James quitted Dublin with all speed, about five in the morning; left two troops of horse at Bray, to defend the bridge there against any pursuers; rode over the Wicklow mountains, and baited near Arklow; "mended his pace" when four French officers maintained that the enemy was not far behind; and never stopped till he got to Duncannon about sunrise. His attendants found a merchant ship at Passage. The captain was persuaded to take James on board in the evening. They sailed for Kinsale; and the next day the royal fugitive was secure in a French frigate, and was landed safely at Brest.† James repaired to St. Germain, where "his Most Christian Majesty came to see him; and in general terms promised all imaginable kindness and support." The sanguine exile having abandoned Ireland, had his ready scheme for invading England, "now naked and ungarnished of troops." Louis received the project coldly; and, finally, would have nothing to do with the affair; although James magnanimously offered to go with a fleet, either with or without an army, for he was sure "his own sailors would never fight against one under whom they so often had conquered." ‡ His Most Christian Majesty pretended illness when his brother of

\* "Life of James II." Own Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 402.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Dalrymple.

England came to pester him with his new demands for ships and troops. "The court of France could not forbear speaking great disrespect, even in his own hearing; which the queen seemed much more sensible of than he did."\* The courtiers of Versailles could guess at the truth; although "the few English courtiers who stayed with the queen in France, to justify the flight of their king, did not spare calumniating the Irish." They averred "that the Irish abandoned their prince, and left him exposed to the enemy;" and this version of the cause of James's return was so believed by the uninformed, that the Irish who had been refugees in France since the days of Cromwell, "durst not walk abroad or appear in the streets, the people were so exasperated against them."†

On the day that James fled from Dublin, the citizens had to apprehend two sorts of danger. The forces of James, scattered about the vicinity, pressed by hunger, might return and rifle the town. The lowest of the Dublin populace, in a pretended zeal for religion, threatened to burn and plunder the houses of the Papists. The city was saved from these calamities chiefly by the firmness of captain Robert Fitzgerald.‡ On the 3rd, the camp of William on the Boyne was broken up. On the 4th, the Dutch guards took possession of Dublin Castle. On the 5th, the head-quarters of the king were at Ferns; and on the 6th, being Sunday, he rode to Dublin, and in the cathedral of St. Patrick returned thanks to God for the success of his arms. William, however, continued to sleep in his camp. On the 8th, "his Majesty in person viewed and took a general muster of all the army, and was fourteen hours on horse-back; only for one quarter did he alight to eat and drink."§ The news of the disgrace of Beachy Head had reached Ireland on the 10th, when the king, contemplating a return to England, resolved to secure Waterford, as the most important harbour of the Eastern coast. On the 11th of July the army was on its march. Rowland Davies records how, in defiance of the royal proclamation, the troops "robbed and pillaged all the road along." Execution followed execution. On the 14th, on the march to Carlow, "as we passed, two of the Enniskillen dragoons hung by the wayside, with papers on their breasts exposing their crime; and thereby our march was very regular without any such excursions or pillaging

\* Dartmouth's note in Burnet, vol. iv. p. 100.

† "Macariæ Excidium," Camden Society edit. p. 41.

‡ Harris, p. 273.

§ Rowland Davies, p. 126.

as before." \* On the 21st, Waterford was in possession of William's troops, the garrison having capitulated. The king then determined to return to Dublin, with the view of embarking for England. With a French fleet in the Channel, there was now greater danger to be met on the English shores, than in the resistance which continued to be made in Ireland. The forces which had been scattered on the 1st of July had gathered around Limerick, and were prepared to defend that city. Officers and soldiers, without orders from their superiors, without a leader, all flocked to Limerick, "as if they had been all guided thither by some secret instinct of nature." † But, irregularly fortified, and its defence left to the Irish, it was considered as likely soon to fall. On his road to Dublin, on the 27th, more accurate intelligence from England had reached the king, and he determined to invest Limerick in person.

The shameful discomfiture of the allied fleet at Beachy Head had not been followed up by the French so as to produce any results that should give serious alarm to William. On the 22nd of July, the French admiral, Tourville, was anchored in Torbay, with the fleet which had chased Torrington to the mouth of the Thames; and he had been reinforced with a number of galleys, rowed by slaves. The whole fleet was employed to transport troops. The approach of danger had roused up the spirit of the July of 1588. The beacons are again blazing on the Devonshire hills. From every road in the interior the yeomen of the West are gathering on the coast, not shrinking from trying their strength against the veterans of France. Tourville loses faith in the assurances of the Stuart courtiers, that all England would be up to aid in his enterprise. All England is shouting "God bless king William and queen Mary." But Tourville will do something. He lands some troops at Teignmouth, which Burnet calls a "miserable village," but which the inhabitants represented as consisting of two towns, having three hundred houses. The people of Teignmouth obtained a brief for their losses; and in this document they say that "the French fleet, riding in Torbay, where all the forces of our county of Devon were drawn up to oppose their landing, several of their galleys drew off from their fleet, and made towards a weak unfortified place called Teignmouth, about seven miles to the eastward of Torbay." The narrative then continues to describe the ravages of these heroes:—"Coming very near, and hav-

\* Rowland Davies, p. 128.

† "Macariæ Excidium.



ing played the cannon of their galleys upon the town, and shot near two hundred great shot therein, to drive away the poor inhabitants, they landed about seven hundred of their men, and began to fire and plunder the towns of East and West Teignmouth—which consist of about three hundred houses; and in the space of three hours ransacked and plundered the said towns, and a village called Shaldon, lying on the other side of the river, and burnt and destroyed one hundred and sixteen houses, together with eleven ships and barks that were in the harbour. And to add sacrilege to their robbery and violence, they in a barbarous manner entered the two churches of the said towns, and in the most unchristian manner tore the Bibles and Common Prayer-books in pieces, scattering the leaves thereof about the streets, broke down the pulpits, overthrew the Communion-tables, together with many other marks of a barbarous and enraged cruelty. And such goods and merchandises as they could not, or durst not, stay to carry away, for fear of our forces, which were marching to oppose them, they spoilt and destroyed, killing very many cattle and hogs, which they left dead in the streets.” After these feats, Tourville sailed away to France; and left behind him an amount of indignation that was worth more for defence than even the troops of horse raised by the citizens of London. The brief of the “poor inhabitants” of the towns of East and West Teignmouth and Shaldon,—who “being in great part maintained by fishing, and their boats, nets, and other fishing-craft being plundered and consumed in the common flames,” had lost, as they alleged, eleven thousand pounds—went through every parish from the Land’s-end to the East, South, and North; and every penny that was dropped in the plate at the church door was accompanied with the pious hope that England might have strength from above to resist the Papists who burnt fishing-huts, and tore the Bible in pieces, and who would ravage this island as they had ravaged the Palatinate.

On the 8th of August king William’s main army was encamped at Cahirconlish, about six miles from Limerick. “As we came up,” says Davies, “we saw houses in the country round on fire, which put the king into some concern.” The earl of Portland had advanced with a large body of horse and foot within cannon-shot of the city; and in the evening of the 8th William himself viewed the position in which the strength of the Irish Catholics was now concentrated. The French General, Lauzun, had declared that the place could not resist the attack of the advancing army. With

the pedantry that sometimes clings to military science as well as to other sciences, he trusted more to walls and moats, such as Vauban constructed on the French frontier, than to resolute hearts, by which Limerick only could be defended. He left the Irish to their fate. The Irish resolved to redeem the dishonour of the Boyne. They had an intrepid counsellor in Sarsfield, their general, who put his own resolute spirit into the twenty thousand defenders of the city. Lauzun and Tyrconnel had marched away to Galway, as the English advanced guard approached. As the setting sun flashed on the broad expanse of the Shannon, William would see an old town entirely surrounded by the main stream and a branch of the great river, and connected with another town by a single bridge. The town on the island, with its ancient castle built by king John on the bank of the stream, was known as the English town. The other was known as the Irish town. The eye of the tactician would quickly see the capacity for defence of this position, even though its walls were not of the most scientific construction. The English town was accessible only through the lower Irish town. The Shannon, in a season of wet, overflowed its flat margin. "The city of Limerick," says one at whom some may laugh as an authority, "lies, an' please your honour, in the middle of a devilish wet swampy country. \* \* \* 'Tis all cut through with drains and bogs." \* Thus naturally defended, a besieging army had many difficulties to encounter, and there could be no want of supplies to the besiegers from the open country of Clare and Galway. The river approach from the sea was commanded at this time by a French squadron. William looked upon Limerick, and determined to commence the siege. On the 9th the main body of his army advanced. "When we came near the town, and found all the bridges within a mile of the city lined by the enemy, the king ordered a detachment of grenadiers to go down and clear them, which they immediately did, with all the bravery imaginable." † The peculiar missiles of the grenadiers thus employed, are called "new invented engines;" ‡ and the Irishman of this period is represented as ready to give his one cow, if he could be safe "without these French and Dutch grenados." § Before the night of the 9th, the Irish town, according to Davies, was invested "from river to river." The ex-

\* Corporal Trim, in "Tristram Shandy." Sterne, says Lord Macaulay, "was brought up at the knees of old soldiers of William."

† Davies.

‡ "Macariae Excidium."

§ Notes to the same, by Mr. Crofton Croker.

pression has reference to the remarkable curve of the Shannon in its course to the sea, before it reaches the island on which the English town was built. The river thus encloses, in the form of a horseshoe, a long and narrow tongue of land, but not insulated from the country on the southern bank. William's position was taken up partly on this space between the windings of the stream, and partly on the south bank, near the Irish town. For several days the siege was not actively prosecuted, for the battering train had not arrived. On the night of the 10th, Sarsfield, with about five hundred horse, passed out of Limerick, crossing the Shannon at Killaloe, with the object of intercepting the train of artillery and a supply of military stores and provisions, coming to the besiegers from Dublin. The convoy had arrived within eight miles of the English position. The ruined castle of Ballyneedy was at hand to offer a place of safety for the waggons and guns; but the escort was scattered about in the open plain, securely sleeping whilst a few sentinels watched. Sarsfield suddenly came down from the mountains; killed most of the too confident escort, the rest flying for their lives; loaded the guns to the muzzles, and half buried them; heaped up the barrels of powder around the guns, with a pile of waggons and stores; fired a train; and was safe in Limerick before the dawn. Part of the army was at Drumkeen, waiting for the heavy cannon, which were expected to be within three miles of them on the night of the 11th. "About three in the morning we were all awakened by the firing of two great cannon near us, which made our house shake, and all within it startle; and about an hour after were alarmed by a man that fled to us almost naked, who assured us that the enemy had fallen upon us, taken all our cannon, ammunition, and money, and cut off the guard."\* Sarsfield attributed great importance to the success of this daring enterprise; for he told a lieutenant who was taken prisoner, that if he had failed he should have given up all as lost, and have made his way to France. The loss of the cannon and stores was partially repaired by the arrival of two guns from Waterford. But that surprise was in some degree more fatal to the besiegers than in the actual havoc and loss. The success of the exploit gave new courage to those who resolved to defend their city against an army not greatly superior in numbers to themselves. The besiegers were proportionately depressed, for they knew that the materials for a bombardment were insufficient. On the night of the 17th the forces of

\* Davies's Journal, p. 136.

William entered the trenches of the besieged; and the same desperate work went forward till the 27th, when a general assault was determined upon. The attack was unsuccessful. As the troops of William mounted a breach with the most determined bravery, the Irish repulsed them with equal resolution. A fort, called the Black Fort, was stormed and carried; when a magazine was exploded, by which the greater part of a Brandenburg regiment was destroyed. After four hours of desperate fighting, the besiegers retired, with fearful loss on both sides. At a council of war on the 29th it was determined to raise the siege. On the 30th king William was on his way to Waterford; and the next day the besiegers had quitted their trenches, and the camp was broken up. There was a reason for this determination of the council of war, even more powerful than the gallant resistance of the Irish. Another assault might be more successful; for in this failure of the 27th some of the besiegers had penetrated to the very streets of the English town. But the elements were opposed to the farther progress of the siege. Evelyn writes in his Diary, "The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hindered, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be raised." The duke of Berwick asserted that when the siege was raised not a drop of rain had fallen. Rowland Davies, on the 25th of August, says, that day "proved so extremely wet that no one could stir;" but he does not mention bad weather again till the 9th, when in the camp near Thurles the evening "proved extremely wet and stormy." In this uncertain condition of the evidence to disprove the insinuation of Berwick, that the wet weather was a pretence of king William to cover the shame of defeat, the testimony of the humourist who preserved "the traditions of the English mess tables," is worth something. "There was such a quantity of rain fell during the siege, the whole country was like a puddle; 'twas that, and nothing else, which brought on the flux, and which had like to have killed both his honour and myself. Now there was no such thing, after the first ten days, continued the corporal, for a soldier to be dry in his tent, without cutting a ditch all around it, to draw off the water."\*

King William landed at Bristol on the 6th of September; and slowly travelled to London. The renown of his victory at the Boyne was slightly diminished by his repulse at Limerick; but the English of all ranks felt proud of their sovereign, and had confidence

\* "Tristram Shandy," vol. iii. c. xl.

in his energy and sagacity. His reception by the people was as enthusiastic as could be indicated by huzzas and bonfires,—by peals of bells and loyal addresses. The parliament was to meet on the 2nd of October. In the interval an expedition had set sail for Ireland, under the command of Marlborough. On the 22nd of September the fleet was disembarking troops near Cork. The forces of Marlborough were soon joined by a portion of the army from Limerick, under the duke of Würtemberg. The German prince and the English earl settled a dispute about precedence, by agreeing that they should command on alternate days. Marlborough here displayed that genius which was to culminate in victories far greater than had ever been achieved by English generalship. Cork capitulated, after a struggle of forty-eight hours, on the 29th. On the 30th the Protestant magistrates of Cork proclaimed the king and queen. Marlborough did not wait to receive the freedom of the city, in the silver box which the Corporation voted him. He was on his march to Kinsale; and his cavalry arrived there in time to save the town from destruction, it having been fired by the Irish. The garrison, after a short resistance, also capitulated. Marlborough accomplished these successes with no great loss of men in action; but many perished from the diseases incident to the season and the climate. The duke of Grafton, who had accompanied the expeditions as a volunteer, was wounded in the attack upon Cork, and died on the 9th of October. The spot where he fell is now called Grafton's alley.\*

The second Session of the second Parliament of William and Mary was opened by the king on the 2nd of October. His partial success in Ireland was modestly alluded to, with one slight reference to his own exertions: "I neither spared my person nor my pains, to do you all the good I could." He told the Houses that the whole support of the Confederacy abroad would absolutely depend upon the speed and vigour of their proceedings in that Session. The Parliament testified its belief that the support of the Confederacy was a national object, by voting, in less than a fortnight, more than two millions and a half for maintaining an army of nearly seventy thousand men; and a further sum of eighteen hundred thousand pounds for the navy and ordnance. So large a supply had never before been voted by Parliament for warlike operations—"the vastest sum that ever a king of England had asked of his people." † This supply was to be raised by a monthly assessment on land, by

\* Note of the Editor of Davies's Journal.

† Burnet, vol. iv. p. 113.

doubling the excise duties, and by increasing the customs' duties on certain articles imported. The community in every rank of life would thus feel the cost of this war. Yet the House of Commons was almost unanimous in voting the supply. Burnet wrote to Mr. Johnston, the English minister at Berlin, that the members "dare not go back into their countries, if they do not give their money liberally. \* \* \* We seem not to be the same people that we were a year ago; and the nation seems resolved to support the king in the war, to the utmost to which it can possibly stretch itself." \* Burnet attributes this change to the outrages of the French at Teignmouth, and to the gallant behaviour of William in Ireland as contrasted with the meanness of James. This national conviction of the necessity of carrying on the war with extraordinary vigour may be ascribed to more general causes. Imperfect as were the sources of political information, the English people well knew that an European war against the preponderance of France was inevitable. The hostile attitude of the French king towards England was essentially connected with the long-formed determination of the prince of Orange, to organize a general resistance to the designs of Louis against the independence of nations. William had freed England from a bigoted despotism, and at the same time had put himself at the head of the European coalition. Louis, in his determined endeavour to restore the deposed king—untaught as James was by misfortune, and as obstinate as ever to maintain the prerogatives which he claimed by Divine right—was attacking his continental enemies in the most vital part. William, as King of England, wielded an authority far greater than William as Stadtholder of Holland. When the English people took William as their king, they accepted the involvements of his continental politics as the unavoidable price of their liberty. Had they continued under the rule of James, they might have been spared the vast burdens of a continental war by remaining in a state of semi-vassalage to France. The condition of peace was slavery. They had made their election for freedom at what ever cost, and they were willing to abide by it. The Englishman of 1690 saw, what only dreamers have ever failed to see, that a state of isolation from continental quarrels was simply an impossibility, if his country were to hold her rank among the nations. He knew how she had sunk in all the attributes of honest greatness under the base government of the Restoration. He knew that she had again a leader,

\* Quoted in Ralph's History, vol. ii. p. 247.

who would strive to bring her back to the position in which Cromwell had placed her as the head of the Protestant States. But he also knew that, the idea of the isolation of England from continental politics being a delusion, it was better for her to fight her battles on the banks of the Meuse or the Scheldt than on the banks of the Thames or the Humber. In the operations of the Confederacy to which England was committed by the sovereign of the Revolution, there might be the mistakes inseparable from conflicting interests. Perfect co-operation in such alliances was scarcely to be expected. The same summer that saw the disgrace of Beachy Head and the havoc of Teignmouth, also saw the defeat of the allies at Fleurus by the greatest of French generals, Luxembourg. The thought might enter many minds that the power of the great French king was too mighty; had such support in the most skilful of diplomatists; was too entirely under the direction of one head, to be adequately resisted by any combination of jealous courts, held together only by the energy of a prince of infirm health, and blunt manners, who was indeed their natural and acknowledged leader, but as such leader of great kings and petty dukes—the pettiest the most proud and punctilious—exposed to intrigues that would mar every well-concerted project, and rivalries that would arrest every bold enterprise. The victory of the French over the Dutch at Fleurus was attributed to the want of concert of the elector of Brandenburg. Such want of organization might occur again, and the results of the alliance might only go to lead on the ambition of France to new encroachments. So might reason the refining politician of that period. But then would come the instinctive feeling of English common sense, that even a battle lost might not be wholly unprofitable. When William was fighting at the Boyne, England was under the apprehension of an invasion. The news of Fleurus arrived to make men anxious. But to the movements of the allies, connected with the doubtful and bloody day of Fleurus, is attributed the fact that England was saved from the hostile descent of a great army. The French, says Burnet, “had suffered so much in the battle of Fleurus, and the Dutch used such diligence in putting their army in a condition to take the field again, and the elector of Brandenburg bringing his troops to act in conjunction with them, gave the French so much work, that they were forced, for all their victory, to lie upon the defensive, and were not able to spare so many men as were necessary for an invasion.”\*

\* “Own Time,” vol. iv. p. 94.

Many thoughtful minds in England would thus see that William was not speaking with an un-English spirit when he said to his Parliament, "if the present war be not prosecuted with vigour, no nation in the world is exposed to greater danger." It was better for the purpose of a continental war that the nation should be heavily taxed—that loans should be raised which should be felt in after time, rather as a precedent than for their actual amount; that the commerce of the country should decay; that even her population should dwindle; than that the country should have peace and dishonour under the tutelage of Louis of France. It was not the French nation that was at war with England, to place a satrap of king Louis on the throne at Whitehall. The man who said he was "himself the State," was the enemy to be opposed. The only man to oppose him was he who shrank from no labour and no privation to earn the position which even Louis himself, a few years later, was obliged to concede to his merits. "I could not see him," writes the French king to Marshal Boufflers, "at the head of so powerful a league as that which has been formed against me, without having that esteem for him which the deference that the principal powers of Europe have for his opinions seems to demand." \* The mental qualities of William—what St. Simon describes as the capacity, the address, the superiority of genius, which acquired for him "the confidence, and, to say the truth, the complete dictatorship of all Europe, excepting France"—these qualities were not only the best security of England against the renewal of her degradation under the Stuarts, but reflected some of their lustre upon the country which had chosen their possessor for its ruler. And thus, with treasons against him hatching at home; with non-juring churchmen hating him for his toleration, and praying for a heaven-ordained king though he were a papist; with a popular feeling, not sufficiently propitiated by William himself, that he was more a Dutchman than an Englishman, he set out for the Congress at the Hague, and the nation at any rate felt that its honour was in safe hands.

On the 5th of January, 1691, the king closed the Session of Parliament, with his thanks for the great dispatch they had used "in furnishing the supplies designed for carrying on the war." He was now at liberty, he said, to go into Holland. The wind was adverse for some days; but on the 18th he embarked at Gravesend, with many distinguished persons of his court. The passage

\* Letter dated July 12, 1697, in Grimblot, "Letters," &c. vol. i. p. 24.



that is now made in twenty hours occupied five days. The man-of-war in which the king sailed was becalmed off the English coast; and when the shores of Holland were neared, it was thought dangerous to approach in the thick fog that shrouded the land from view. William was resolved to make the coast in an open boat; but a night of cold and darkness was passed, before a landing was effected on the island of Goree. Covered with ice, the king and his nobles were too happy to enjoy the shelter and warmth of a peasant's hovel. The enthusiasm of his reception when he reached the Hague was an ample compensation for the disagreeable incidents of his voyage, and for the perils at which "he himself was the only person nothing at all dismayed." \* William had that hatred of parade which belongs to the truly great; and he at first resisted the entreaties of his countrymen that he should make a public entrance at the Hague. He yielded at length to their wishes; and on the 26th of January he passed through long files of his admiring compatriots, under triumphal arches, on which the chief actions of his life were painted. The pomp was soon over, and the real business began. The Tory historian, who has no affection for the person of William, writes, "Of the princes and ministers who attended his Majesty at the Congress, almost all authors affect to give a long and pompous list, in imitation perhaps of the tricks of the stage; where it is used to form a court, or a train, of scemen or other rabble, to raise a higher idea in the audience of the hero presented before them." † In place of such a list, let us endeavour to give some notion of the interests that were represented at this extraordinary assembly of potentates and ministers.

The emperor of Germany had his representative at the Congress. His real interests were essentially concerned in resisting the oppressions of France; but his ruling desire was to succeed in his war against the Turks, chiefly with a view to the enlargement of his own dominions. He was a Roman Catholic, and had no sympathies for the Protestant coalition of England and Holland. Charles II. of Spain was there represented by the marquis of Gastanaga, the governor of the Netherlands, the imbecile servant of a weak king and a decaying monarchy. The armies of France would soon have overrun the Spanish Netherlands, if they had not been defended by some bolder arm than that of Spain.

\* "A Late Voyage to Holland, written by an English Gentleman attending the Court."—1691. Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*.

† Ralph, vol. ii. p. 264.

These great Catholic sovereigns had not been hostile to the prince who had ejected the Papist king of England; for at the time when the Revolution of 1688 was maturing, pope Innocent the Eleventh was not indisposed to encourage any opposition to his oppressor, the French king. His ministers, it is affirmed by the historian of the Popes, had personal knowledge of the designs of the prince of Orange upon England; and if he knew not of the entire scheme, "it is yet undeniable that he attached himself to a party which was chiefly sustained by Protestant energies, and founded on Protestant sentiments."\* But at the period of the Congress at the Hague, Innocent the Eleventh was dead. His successor, Alexander the Eighth, had indeed the same disposition to make common cause with those who opposed Louis. In July, 1691, that pope also died. His successor, Innocent the Twelfth, was of a more pacific disposition; and the French king saw the necessity of making concessions to the papal see, and thus removing one cause of the strange union of Catholic and Protestant. Changes such as these rendered the task of William to hold the Coalition together a work of constant and increasing difficulty. At the Congress, however, there were princes who joined the alliance with a zeal for the cause which William represented as the sovereign of Protestant England, and the first magistrate of Protestant Holland. The chief of these was Frederick the Third, elector of Brandenburg—subsequently Frederick, first king of Prussia. His mother was aunt to William; and he succeeded to the electoral dignity seven months before his cousin landed in Torbay. William had sent him the Garter in 1690; and it is said that the young elector was indulging his taste for pageants in a solemn investiture of the insignia of the "most honourable and noble order," at the hands of the English envoy at Berlin, when he ought to have been marching to the Sambre to aid the prince of Waldeck. We have been made somewhat more familiar with the person and character of our William's cousin, in his relation of grandfather to Frederick the Great.† Crooked, through an accident in his infancy; of weak nerves; of a turn for ostentation; an expensive prince; but nevertheless a spirited man and strictly honourable;—this is he who, on the 3rd of February, 1691, is entertained by his cousin, the king and stadtholder, "at his house in the wood;" and sits on William's right hand; whilst the duke of Norfolk is on his left, and

\* Ranke's "History of the Popes," translated by Mrs. Austin, vol. iii. p. 181.

† Carlyle. "History of Friedrich II of Prussia."

great nobles, English and foreign, fill up the table. The gentleman who attended on one of these noble English lords tells us how "the first health was begun by the king, who whispered it softly to the elector, and the elector to the rest;" and he also tells us how, ten days after, the king dined with the elector, "who went out in the very street to receive him" when he came; and when he returned, "accompanied him to the very boot of his coach." \* The Hohenzollern, "with his back half-broken," knew how to show respect to his heroic little cousin, with the constant asthma. Of other German princes at the Congress there were the elector of Bavaria, and the landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt; there were princes of Luxemburg, of Holstein, of Würtemberg, of Anspach. Few came out of disinterested love for the cause of national independence. Of one of these potentates there is this curious notice by a contemporary: "The elector of Saxony, a bold man, and a hard drinker, as well as a zealous assertor of the Protestant religion, was brought into the confederacy by the promise of money: 'For,' said he, 'our friendships, though ever so good, must be confirmed by presents.' " †

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, had already joined his fortunes to those of the Confederacy. At the period of the Congress he was defending his own dominions against the armies of France. The young prince had become weary of the domination exercised over him by the French court; had for some time been secretly negotiating with Austria; and was watching the progress of the Revolution in England, with a view to make a decisive effort for independence. The vigilance of the diplomatists of Louis frustrated his designs; and, with the ultimate argument of an army marching upon Piedmont, Catinat, the French general, demanded for his master, that French troops should garrison Turin and Vercelli. Victor put on a bold front; refused compliance; and war was the inevitable consequence. An ambassador from Savoy came to London before William set out for the Hague, and in a formal address to the king said, "You have inspired my master with the hope of freedom after so many years of bondage." The first military operations of the duke of Savoy were unfortunate; and at the period of the Congress many an anxious thought of William must have been turned to Piedmont. The talent and bravery of Victor were undoubted—a capacity too much mingled with Italian craft, but a courage that did not shrink from an encounter with

\* "A late Voyage to Holland."

† Canningham. "History," p. 133.

fearful odds. The dangerous position of the duke of Savoy enabled William to stipulate successfully that the Waldenses, who had been subjected to long and grievous persecution, should be allowed to exercise their religion in peace. A treaty containing a secret article for their toleration was signed on the 8th of February, 1691.

The arrangements of the Congress had sufficiently ripened in a month to allow William to announce in the London Gazette, that the various powers had agreed to furnish certain contingents, which would enable an army of two hundred and twenty thousand men to take the field. But whilst the king of England was infusing his spirit into his allies, some eager and confident, others tardy and lukewarm, most with some especial private interest to accomplish—whilst, as the caricaturist of that day paid a homage to his powers, William was teaching his bears to dance\*—Louis suddenly appeared in person at the head of a great army to besiege Mons, the strongly fortified capital of Hainault, and one of the chief barriers of the Netherlands against France. The French troops, gradually converging to the frontier from every quarter of the territory of Louis, were opening trenches before this strong fortress, whilst the allied powers were deliberating and dining at the Hague. William, with his accustomed energy, at once broke up the Congress; got together an army of fifty thousand men; but arrived only in time to learn that the burning city had capitulated amidst the terrors of its population, after a bombardment which had destroyed one half of its dwelling places. Louis went back to Versailles to hear the well-rehearsed flattery, that wherever the great king appeared the genius of Victory was there ready with the laurel crown. William ran over to England, with his secrets of the future kept close in his own bosom. He arrived on the 13th of April. On the 1st of May, he was again on his way to Holland. In these seventeen days the king had important affairs to settle, which required the exercise of a clear intellect.

The period had arrived when it was necessary to fill up the sees, vacant by the refusal to take the oaths, of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, and Peterborough. Two other non-juring bishops, Worcester and Chichester, had died in the interval since the Revolution. A discovery had been made of a correspondence of Turner, the bishop of Ely, with the court of St. Germain. Burnet says, "the discovery of the bishop of Ely's correspondence and

\* "Macaulay," vol. iv. p. 8.

engagements in the name of the rest, gave the king a great advantage in filling the vacant sees." Whether Turner was justified in stating to James that he was acting in concert with his brethren, when he advised that a French army should come into England, may reasonably be doubted. Sancroft and a few bishops denied the charge in a printed paper, in answer to an anonymous pamphlet. Endeavours had been made to conciliate the non-juring prelates. All that they would engage to do was to live quietly. Their deprivation was no longer opposed, even by the king's Tory advisers. So Tillotson became archbishop of Canterbury, and Sharp archbishop of York. Patrick, Stillingfleet, Mooré, Cumberland, Fowler, and Kidder, filled the other vacancies. "In two years' time the king had named fifteen bishops; and they were generally looked upon as the learnedest, the wisest, and best men that were in the church." This was Burnet's opinion; but from this opinion there were many dissentients. Tillotson was especially marked out for the hatred of the Jacobites. The violent high-churchmen saw cause of offence in all these preferments, for the successors of the non-juring bishops "were men both of moderate principles and calm tempers." \*

When the king closed the Session of Parliament on the 5th of January, he noticed "the restlessness of our enemies, both at home and abroad, in designing against the prosperity of this nation and the government established." It was impossible that such "restlessness," and such dislike of "the government established," should not exist in some quarters. William alluded to the apprehension of lord Preston, with two other agents of the Jacobites, on the night of the 31st of December. They were seized on board a smack in the river, with papers addressed to James, containing propositions for his coming over with a small force during the absence of William, when the nation would be undefended, and the people would be complaining of the burthen of taxation. Preston and his humbler associate, Ashton, were tried for high treason in January, and were convicted upon very clear evidence. The altered character of the mode in which prisoners charged with political offences were treated by the judges and by the counsel for the crown, was strikingly exhibited in this trial. In the "Life of James" there is a curious observation of the compiler, which shows in what light the laws of the realm were considered by the champions of arbitrary power. The law which makes a corre-

\* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 132.

spondence with a foreign enemy treasonable is for the safety of the commonwealth, as every other portion of the law of treason contemplates that safety. The biographer of James writes thus: "My lord Preston and Mr. Ashton (there not appearing evidence enough against Mr. Elliott) were brought to their trials, condemned, and the latter executed, being the first that suffered by a court of justice for the royal cause; which was a new subject of grief to the king, for he knew not what would be the consequence when he found the laws, as well as the sword, turned against him."\* The notion could never be driven out of the heads of those who had seen a king ejected for his contempt of the laws; that he alone was the source of all law; and that without him, the one legitimate head of the law, it was powerless to protect or to punish. The new head of the law, expressly chosen that the ancient laws, which gave the people security and freedom, should not perish, but should be strengthened by an infusion of principles having still higher regard for the general good,—this sovereign of the Revolution was always considered by James and his minions as an interloper having no legal rights. The solemn compact which had been entered into by the nation with William and Mary was to give them no real authority. William was but a Prince of Orange, who had traitorously and wickedly thrust out God's anointed; and the assassin's knife was therefore too good a fate for him. Happy was it for England that this prince was a man of justice and clemency. We shall have to mention plot after plot against his life and his government. But we shall have to record no sweeping proscriptions, no demands for new powers, no exercise of his own uncontrolled will. During the long continuance of plots and conspiracies, the laws of high treason were so modified as to assure the prisoner a much fairer trial than under the ancient system, by affording him every facility for his defence. We may have incidentally to notice the publication of the most virulent libels against the person and principles of William. But we shall also have to record that, at the very time when these attacks were most frequent and most inflammatory, the laws against printing and publishing were relaxed instead of being made more stringent—the censorship of the press was abandoned. We may probably attribute to this moderation of the king, the circumstance that, although his reign was one of continual danger to his person; that although he was surrounded by treacherous

\* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 443.

servants and cold friends; that although a systematic attack upon the principles that raised him to power was constantly going forward,—his power strengthened as it grew, out of the very absence of any attempt to prop it by unconstitutional devices. There might have been something in the character of the English people which led them to respect the equanimity which had no morbid dread of the conspirator or the libeller; which was never diverted from its own course of duty by fear or by revenge. But certainly there must have been something very remarkable in the character of William—very different from the ordinary character of those who are termed usurpers—to direct him toward the noble policy of making himself secure by equal justice instead of irregular despotism, and of living down calumny instead of weakly attempting to forbid its utterance. We have been led to these remarks by the fact, that when William returned from the Continent in April, he had to occupy some portion of his short visit to England by learning the extent of the conspiracy of which Preston was the chief agent, and of determining as to the fate of some of those accused as conspirators. We cannot enter minutely into the details of the discoveries which had been made by his ministers in the king's absence. Preston had confessed, when his own fate appeared to depend upon his confession, that he was guilty himself, and that Clarendon, Turner the bishop of Ely, and William Penn, were implicated with him. When William returned to England, Preston was brought before him at the Council; and he then said, "that Mr. Penn had told him the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Macclesfield, lord Brandon," \* and others, were well affected to the plot. He also implicated lord Dartmouth. The accusation against these eminent persons was probably without foundation. Whether or not, William stopped the hearsay testimony of Preston. The biographer of James shows the value of this wise discretion: "It is probable the prince of Orange thought it not prudent to attack so great a body of the nobility at once; that what he knew was sufficient either to be aware of them, or by forgiveness and a seeming clemency gain them to his interest. Which method succeeded so well, that whatever sentiments those lords which Mr. Penn had named might have had at that time, they proved in effect most bitter enemies to his Majesty's [king James's] cause ever afterwards." † And this is deliberately written by the habitual maligner of king William.

\* "Life of James II." p. 433.

† *Ibid.*

Since the successes of Marlborough in the autumn of 1690, there had been no marked change in the positions of the two contending parties in Ireland. To follow up his successes was not a trust assigned to the victor at Cork and Kinsale. Marlborough was chosen by William to accompany him in his Continental campaign. He was entrusted to collect all the English troops, and to wait near Brussels till the king should arrive to take the command. William had much diplomatic work on his hands—to encourage the wavering, to assist the weak, and to bribe the hungry. Victor Amadeus was in despair at the devastation of his country by the French armies: Schomberg was sent by William to raise the duke out of his despondency. The petty princes of the Germanic empire, striving, for the most part, for some personal dignity or profit, had each to be propitiated and kept in good humour. In the interval between the king's arrival at the Hague and his taking the command of the army, Marlborough was sorely tempted to make good some of the professions which he had secretly conveyed to the sovereign whom he had betrayed in 1688. It is recorded that Marlborough had, in London, told colonel Sackville, an agent of the court of St. Germain, "that he was ready to redeem his apostacy with the hazard of his utter ruin;" and "proffered to bring over the English troops that were in Flanders if the king [James] required it." It is further stated that he wrote to the same effect to James himself, in January and May, 1691. "Nevertheless," says the compiler of James's life, "the king found no effects of these mighty promises; for his majesty insisting upon his offer of bringing over the English troops in Flanders, as the greatest service he could do him, he excused himself under pretence that there was some mistake in the message." Marlborough asked, however, for two lines under the hand of James, "to testify that he would extend his pardon to him."\* James, it is stated, complied with this request. Whether the crafty Churchill really believed, as he assured James, that "in case the French were successful in Flanders, or any ill accident should happen to the prince of Orange, his restoration would be very easy," it is pretty clear that he, like many others, saw nothing higher in politics than their own safety and their own profit. William had no suspicion of the man employed by him in a most important command. The opportunity was probably wanting for a decisive act of treachery in this

\* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 448.



campaign, in which nothing great on either side was accomplished or even attempted.

But, if 1691 were a year of inaction in Flanders, it was a year of great events in Ireland. In the spring, Tyrconnel had arrived from France to assume his position as the viceroy of James; and he was followed by a French general, Saint Ruth, as commander-in-chief of the Irish army. He took the command at Limerick, and made great exertions to bring the disorganized troops into a state of efficiency. On the English side, an experienced Dutch officer, Ginkell, was appointed to the command-in-chief. His first operation was to lay siege to Athlone. On the thirtieth of June, a day memorable with the English army, the grenadiers again put green boughs in their hats, and were led to the assault under the command of Mackay. The town was taken by a bold attack; and Saint Ruth, who was encamped near, marched away on the road to Galway. He took up a strong position at Aghrim, resolved to risk a general engagement. On the 12th of July, at five in the evening, the two armies joined battle. The Irish fought with the most desperate resolution. The English and Dutch attacked and fell back, again and again. The issue was at one time very doubtful. But at the very crisis of the engagement, the French general was killed by a cannon-ball, and his death was concealed. The other general, Sarsfield, was inactive with the reserve, waiting for orders. The Irish were overpowered, and were soon disorganized. The victory of the English was complete, and they did not use it with moderation. There were few prisoners; and four thousand Irish lay dead on the actual battle-field. It is supposed that seven thousand altogether fell in the horrible carnage which accompanied the total rout of Aghrim. Ginkell followed up his victory by obtaining the capitulation of Galway; its garrison, with the French general, D'Usson, being permitted to retire to Limerick. Here was the last stand made against the triumphant army of king William. That army was now well supplied with artillery and the munitions of war. The same ground was occupied as in the previous year; but it was not in the same wet condition. Ginkell, by a bold manœuvre, crossed the Shannon on a bridge of boats, and scattered the Irish horse that were encamped near the city. He then succeeded in carrying a detached fort, which commanded the bridge called Thomond's; and a fearful slaughter of the garrison accompanied this success. The bombardment was terribly effective. The garrison might hold out till the whole town was in ashes;

but even then, unless the besiegers were compelled to retire on the approach of the wet season, hunger would effect what cannon-balls and bombs had left incomplete. The fall of the city became inevitable. In 1690 a French fleet commanded the approaches from the sea. Now, an English fleet rode in the Shannon. Hostilities were suspended for some days during the progress of negotiations. On the 1st of October, two treaties were signed—one military, the other civil. The civil treaty was signed by the Lords Justices, who had repaired to the camp. The first article of this civil treaty was in the following words: "It is agreed, that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second. And their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in this particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion." An entire amnesty was promised to all who should take the oath of allegiance. Limerick bears the name of "the City of the Violated Treaty." Years of unjust and vindictive penal laws, which are now happily swept away, have manifested that this reproach is not unfounded. The Parliament of Ireland became wholly Protestant, and laws were passed which not only denied the Roman Catholics "privilege, in the exercise of their religion," but deprived them of the most sacred civil rights—the rights of family. The war in Ireland was at an end—but not its woes. It was offered to the thousands of Irish troops at Limerick, to make their election for entering the army of king William, or to become the soldiers of king Louis in France. The greater number decided for France. It had been promised by the Irish general that those who embarked for another country should be allowed to take their wives and families with them. The promise could only be partly realised. "When the ablest men," says the writer of "*Macariæ Excidium*," "were once got on shipboard, the women and babes were left on the shore, exposed to hunger and cold, without any manner of provision, and without any shelter in that rigorous season but the canopy of heaven; and in such a miserable condition that it moved pity in some of their enemies." Ireland thus passed under the rule of the English colonizers. Happy would it have been, if years had not been suffered to elapse before it was felt that penal laws were the worst of all modes for

securing religious conformity; happy, if another series of years had not been wasted in attempts to maintain the Union of two nations without an equal participation of civil rights. The present generation has honestly laboured to repair the injustice of the past; and the time may thus arrive when even the name of the third William shall be pronounced without party hatreds.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Scotland.—Affairs of Religion.—Plots.—The Highland Clans dispersed.—State of the Highlands in 1691.—Breadalbane.—Proclamation of the Government.—The Master of Stair.—Tardy submission of MacIan.—Order as to rebels not submitted.—Order for MacIan of Glencoe, and his tribe.—Letters of the Master of Stair.—Highland troops arrive in Glencoe.—The Massacre of the MacDonalds.—Inquiry into the Massacre in 1695.—Resolutions of the Scottish Parliament.—Master of Stair dismissed.—The other persons implicated.—Breadalbane.—Misconceptions connected with the Massacre.—Character of William unjustly assailed.

THE politics of Scotland in the first two years after the Revolution were more complicated than those of England. The ascendancy of the Presbyterians had been established; but the Episcopalians were still a formidable body. In 1689, although episcopacy had been abolished, the church-government had not been defined. There was no supreme directing power in affairs of religion. In 1690, the Parliament of Scotland established the synodical authority; made the signature to the Confession of Faith the test of orthodoxy; and Patronage was abolished, under certain small compensations to the patrons. The dissensions connected with these arrangements gave courage to those who looked to discord as the means for restoring the Stuart king. A knot of turbulent and discontented men, known as The Club, entered into schemes for reversing all that had been accomplished by the Revolution. Their leaders were frightened, and informed against each other. Lord Annandale implicated the unhappy Jacobite scribbler, Nevil Payne. He thought himself safer in Scotland than in London—a fatal mistake. We extract a passage in a letter from the earl of Crauford to the earl of Melville, the king's high-commissioner, to show how the ancient ferocity still lingered amongst the politicians of Scotland. The letter is dated December 11th, 1690: "Yesterday in the afternoon, Nevil Penn (after near an hour's discourse with him, in name of the council, and in their presence, though at several times, by turning him out and then calling him in again) was questioned upon some things that were not of the deepest concern, and had but gentle torture given him, being resolved to repeat it

this day. Which accordingly about six this evening we inflicted on both thumbs and one of his legs, with all the severity that was consistent with humanity, even unto that pitch that we could not preserve life and have gone further; but without the least success.”\* This was the last occasion on which Scottish statesmen were disgraced by endeavouring to extort evidence against political malcontents, by “all the severity that was consistent with humanity.”† The noble actors in this plot offered up the obscure Nevil Payne as a sacrifice; secured their own safety; and suffered the Lowlands to settle down into peace.

After the victory of Killiecrankie, there was a new gathering of Highland clans. The command was taken by general Cannon, who had come over from Ireland with the three hundred troops sent by James to the aid of Dundee. The chieftains soon began to manifest their repugnance to be under the control of a stranger, although he had served in the Netherlands, and brought his military experience to aid their national mode of warfare. The comparative value of regular troops and mountaineers, who if they failed in the first rush were quickly disorganised, was again to be tried. The Cameronian regiment at Dunkeld was attacked by four or five thousand Highlanders. The place was obstinately defended by the successors of the old Puritans, and after four hours’ fighting, the clans drew off; the chiefs signed a pledge to support king James; and their followers dispersed. The victorious army of Dundee melted away like a snow-drift. During 1690 there were various outbreaks of detached clans. But Mackay collected an overpowering force at Inverlochy; and there hastily built Fort William, and fixed a garrison there under the command of colonel Hill.

King William, as early as March 1690, manifested a wise disposition to tranquillize the Highlands by gentle measures. His warrant to George viscount Tarbet to treat with the Highland chiefs, authorizes him to offer the leaders of the clans indemnity, with money and honours, upon their “return to their duty.” Early in 1691, a message had been sent to James “by the loyal Highlanders who had continued in arms for him in Scotland, that unless those of the South joined them, or that his majesty sent speedy succours, it would be impossible to hold out any longer.”

\* “Leven and Melville Papers,” p. 582.

† “The law of England was the only code in Europe which dispensed with judicial torture.”—Burton, “History of Scotland,” vol. i. p. 85.

His majesty returned for answer that his abilities to assist were exhausted by the pressing necessities of Ireland; but that "he had made a shift to send them some present relief of flour, salt, brandy, tobacco, medicinal drugs, flints, &c.," and that if they could stand out no longer, he recommended "an outward compliance." \* In 1690 a negotiation had been opened with lord Breadalbane, to win him over to the government, and to employ his influence to conciliate the rebel chiefs. This negotiation failed. But in the autumn of 1691, Breadalbane, having made his submission to the government, was again authorized to treat with the heads of clans, and to expend twelve or fifteen thousand pounds in this work of pacification. It may well be doubted whether this Highland earl went about his trust in perfect good faith. He is described by his contemporary, John Macky, "cunning as a fox; wise as a serpent; but as slippery as an eel." † At any rate, those who had the most intimate knowledge of the rivalries and petty interests of the chiefs doubted the practicability of the plan, as they doubted the honesty of the man employed to work it. Colonel Hill, in May, 1691, had received an order from the Council, as he writes to the earl of Melville, "to fall upon those Highlanders within my reach that do not presently come in and take the oath of allegiance, and deliver up their arms." In a previous letter he says, "I could wish, if they rise again, that all the West country, and all the clans whom they have injured, may be let loose upon them *till they be utterly rooted out.*" ‡ Utterly to root out a rebellious clan was the ready method that presented itself to the military mind. At this time Hill says, "I expect several of them in, and the M'Intoshes men in the Brae, and Glencoe men, if they fail, I'll put my orders in execution against them." On the 15th of May, he writes to Melville, "I have last night received an order to delay the severity prepared by the former order, till I hear further." § He took wiser measures than the plan of rooting out. He sent the clans the form of an oath, to which many chiefs subscribed. "The Appin and Glencoe men have desired they may go in to my lord of Argyle, because he is their superior, and I have set them a short day to do it in." || By a letter of sir Thomas Livingstone, who was chief in command of the king's forces, it appears that he "had

\* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 468.

† Quoted in Burton's "Scotland," vol. i. p. 156.

‡ "Leven and Melville Papers," pp. 610, 611.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 618.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 613.

been commanded by the Master of Stair, to order Hill not to act as yet any way vigorously on his side." \* The Master of Stair, sir John Dalrymple, was secretary of state for Scotland, and was then in attendance upon king William in Holland and the Netherlands. The scheme of lord Breadalbane for bribing the chiefs to submission and loyalty was the cause of the direction to Hill not to act vigorously. Colonel Hill by no means approved of Breadalbane or his plan. He would, he writes, have had "much more of the people under oath had not my lord Breadalbane's design hindered; which I wish may do good, but suspect more hurt than good from it: for my part, hereafter if I live to have geese, I'll set the fox to keep them." † Breadalbane came into the Highlands, and made his overtures to certain chiefs. "He tells them the money he has for them is locked up in a chest at London; but they believe, if he say true in this, he will find a way to keep a good part of it to himself." ‡ On the 23rd of July, Dalrymple wrote to Livingstone from the camp at Gerpines, in the name of the king, to direct him to keep his troops on the Highland borders, but not to commit any acts of hostility against the Highlanders. § On the 29th of July, the Privy Council of Scotland expressed their opinion to the queen, that if the army had marched against those who held out when Hill was tendering the oath, "they would have submitted themselves, or been easily forced to it." ||

The plans of Breadalbane did not produce the effect that was contemplated. Hill writes on the 23rd of August, that the country was peaceable; but that there were impediments to a general submission, through the oath of confederation amongst clans, "by which they are obliged to do nothing without the consent of each other." ¶ There was a strong suspicion that Breadalbane did get the lion's share of the money which he pretended to be in the chest at London, but which was really in his own coffers. According to a tradition preserved by Dalrymple, he refused to give any account of how it was applied, saying, "the money is spent—the Highlands are quiet—and this is the only way of accounting among friends." In the distribution of his gratuities he brought his own interests and passions into play. He was a great Highland lord, with large domains and hundreds of vassals, but his territories were often exposed to the depredations of the clans with whom he was at

\* "Leven and Melville Papers," p. 622.

† *Ibid.*, p. 625.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 641.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 631.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 623.

|| *Ibid.* p. 634.

feud. The small clan, MacDonald of Glencoe, were bad neighbours to Breadalbane; and he took this occasion to require that the gratuity which he had to offer for their allegiance should be a set-off for certain claims of the Campbells for injuries committed by the MacDonalds. MacIan, their chief, as proud if not so great as Breadalbane, was wholly impracticable upon such terms. Others followed his example; and many clans remained in a state of inert rebellion. In August, the government determined to bring the submission of the Highland chiefs to a decisive issue, by a Proclamation offering indemnity to all who should take the oaths, on or before the last day of December, 1691, and threatening the extremities of military execution,—in the old form of threatening the vengeance of fire and sword,—against all and each who should not submit to the government, and swear to live in peace. “Letters of fire and sword had been so ceaselessly issued against the Highlanders, that in the time of the Stuarts it was a usual and little noticeable form.”\*

It would appear by a letter of the duke of Hamilton, dated as late as the 26th of December, that he regretted that sir Thomas Livingstone, who had that night returned from London, had not seen the king, which “would have contributed more to his service than commanding him back; for he could have advised better measures than *is* taken, to have reduced the Highlanders, of which there is not one word signified to the Council.”† Some of the chiefs had held out to the very last. But on the 31st of December, all the clans had given their submission, with one exception—the MacDonalds of Glencoe. The submission of all the other chiefs who had been in arms against the government was an event which was not contemplated with satisfaction by the Master of Stair. Burnet says, “a black design was laid, not only to cut off the men of Glencoe, but a great many more clans, reckoned to be in all above six thousand persons.”‡ This may be a very loose assertion; but letters of Dalrymple, written to lieutenant-colonel Hamilton early in December, prove that he had an especial grudge against the MacDonalds, “for marring the bargain which the earl of Breadalbane was doing with the Highlanders;” and that he entertained a hope that the MacDonalds would “fall into the net”—that is, not comply with the Proclamation. He further intimates that the government is obliged to ruin some of the clans, “in order to weaken and frighten the rest.” That Dalrymple contemplated

\* Burton's “History of Scotland,” vol. i. p. 156.

† “Leven and Melville Papers,” p. 652.

‡ “Own Time,” vol. iv. p. 274.



something like "the black design" mentioned by Burnet, is evident from his letter of instructions to the commander of the troops for his guidance, if the obnoxious clans should not have submitted by the prescribed day. He is directed to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, and Glencoe's. "Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners." Mr. Burton considers that Dalrymple, from whose letters of this nature we now turn with such loathing, "only pursued the old policy of Scottish governments towards the Highlanders. . . . . The rule had always been to show no more consideration to Highlanders than to wild beasts."\*

The clan of the MacDonalds dwelt in the valley of Glencoe, under their venerable chief MacIan. Their huts were scattered in several hamlets around his house—a small population of not two hundred adult males.† He had fought with his few hardy followers in the ranks of Dundee at Killiecrankie; he had the reputation of being one of the most daring of the Highland marauders; he had driven off cattle in the territories of Argyle and Breadalbane. He was therefore an object of especial hatred to those proud nobles, who regarded him as a paltry robber to be crushed when the opportunity came. MacIan had his own pride, and deferred his obedience to the Proclamation till the last moment. On the 31st of December he presented himself, with some of his clan, at Fort William, and offered to take the oaths before colonel Hill. The commander of the garrison had no legal power to receive them; he was not a magistrate. Hill gave him a letter to the sheriff of Argyleshire, stating the application that had been made to him, and expressing a hope that the submission of the "lost sheep recovered" would be received. It was six days before he reached Inverary, over mountain paths covered with snow. The sheriff yielded to the old man's prayers and tears; administered the oath, and sent to the Sheriff-Clerk of Argyle, then at Edinburgh, a certificate to be laid before the Council of the circumstances which had led him to do what was a departure from the letter of the Proclamation, but which was within its spirit. The Sheriff-Clerk first tendered the certificate, with a copy of Hill's letter, to the Clerks of the Council, who refused to receive it. He then applied to individual Privy Counsellors, who would not interfere in the

\* "History of Scotland," vol. i. p. 170.

† Macaulay says "two hundred persons;" certainly an error.

matter. The certificate was finally suppressed, and the general body of the Council were kept in ignorance of it. Amongst those who advised that the certificate should not be sent in, was the Lord President, father of sir John Dalrymple. Dalrymple, the Secretary, was the medium for the transaction of Scottish affairs with the king. It would appear that the general submission of the clans was not quite certain; for the king had signed, on the 11th of January, instructions to sir Thomas Livingstone, to pursue with fire and sword those Highland rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity; but to allow them to surrender on mercy. Objections were taken to the use of the old term "fire and sword" in these instructions. On the 16th of January the instructions of the 11th were repeated, with verbal alterations, and with this addition: "As for MacIan of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." Burnet alleges that "the king signed this, without any inquiry about it; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry." Those who doubt this, allege that it was not only signed but superscribed by the king. The Hon. William Leslie Melville says "that the king's having both superscribed and subscribed 'one unfortunate sentence,' should not be received by all our historians and poets as a conclusive proof of his being cognisant of their contents. I find numerous warrants and orders from him, some superscribed and subscribed, some only superscribed, some only subscribed, as a man in haste would dispatch business of form."\* It is of some importance to bear in mind that what William superscribed and subscribed was a long letter of instructions containing several clauses. It was a duplicate, with alterations, of what he had signed five days before. In this duplicate the "one unfortunate sentence" was added. In a little book, very useful as a summary of events, the compiler prints the words beginning, "As for MacIan," and ending, "sect of thieves," with "William R." as the superscription of these four lines only, subscribed "W. R." He then rejects the notion that William signed without reading the document, because it consisted "of so few words."† We attach no importance to Burnet's defence. In our view the character of William is best defended by assuming that he did read the order; that he signed without knowing that MacIan had irregularly taken

\* Preface to "Leven and Melville Papers," p. xxxv.

† Annals of England," vol. iii. p. 371.

the oaths; and that the words, "to *extirpate* that sect of thieves," who were represented in a state of rebellious warfare, was not to direct their butchery with circumstances of treachery and cruelty. We are inclined to believe that William not only signed the order with a complete knowledge; but that the attempt to prevent any indiscriminate slaughter, by the words "if they can well be distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders," looks like an emanation from his mind. The Master of Stair would have little cared how many were slaughtered in a loose construction of the exceptional case of the MacDonalds. Whether the argument that the word *extirpate* "would naturally bear a sense perfectly innocent, and would, but for the horrible event which followed, have been universally understood in that sense,"\* may admit of a difference of opinion. The word meant, no doubt, a complete suppression of a community not conforming to the laws of civilised society; but, as it appears to us, it did not mean their indiscriminate slaughter. Hill, who appears to have been no cruel oppressor, desires that the rebellious clans "may be utterly rooted out." To *extirpate*, and to root out, are synonymous terms. We believe that William knew what the word implied. He had probably never read "The Tempest;" but used the word as Shakspeare used it when he makes the king of Naples hearken to the suit of Prospero's brother, that he

"Should presently *extirpate* me and mine  
Out of the dukedom."

If the long letter of instructions, concluding with the short sentence relating to the MacDonalds, had run in the ancient form for the destruction of Highlanders, he might have hesitated: "To invade them to their utter destruction, by slaughter, burning, drowning, and other ways, and leave no creature living of that clan, except priests, women, and bairns."† At any rate we may affirm, that it is a falsehood in the compiler of the Life of James II. to say, "By an order, which Nero himself would have had a horror of, the prince of Orange commanded one colonel Hill and lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, to put Glencoe to death, and all the males of his line, [in age] not exceeding seventy."‡ It is observed by Walter Wilson, in his Life of Defoe, that "the inveteracy that marked the language of the Jacobites when speaking of king William, and with

\* Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 205.

† "Spalding Club Miscellany." Quoted by Mr. Burton.

‡ "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 470.

which their works are so highly seasoned, has descended in full force to our own day." We have an example of this temper in the valuable but somewhat prejudiced "Annals" issued from Oxford, in which it is inferred "that Stair did not really go beyond William's instructions in planning the massacre of Glencoe, although the Parliament of Scotland had the complaisance to lay the greater blame on the minister." The Parliament of Scotland expressly said, as the first result of their investigation in 1695, "We found, in the first place, that the Master of Stair's letters had exceeded your majesty's instructions." William was, indeed, justly indignant at this resolution; "frequently repeating that he thanked the Parliament of Scotland; they had used him better than England had done his grandfather, for they had tried him for his life, and brought him in not guilty." \* His pride was wounded that any investigation at all should have taken place as to his concurrence in the act of his minister. The Parliament had voted the Glencoe slaughter to be a murder; and he thought it no compliment to be formally acquitted as an accessory before the fact.

In transmitting from London the instructions signed by the king on the 11th of January, the Secretary of State for Scotland wrote to sir Thomas Livingstone, "I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glencoe; and it is well that people are in mercy. Just now, my lord Argyle tells me, that Glencoe hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sept, the worst of the Highlanders." When Dalrymple sent the instructions of the 16th, he wrote to Livingstone, "For a just example of vengeance, I entreat the thieving tribe of Glencoe may be rooted out to purpose." To colonel Hill he wrote on the same date, "That such as render on mercy might be saved;" but entreats that "for a just vengeance and public example the tribe of Glencoe may be rooted out to purpose. The earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they shall have no retreat in their bounds." During another fortnight nothing was done towards accomplishing Dalrymple's entreaties. On the 30th he wrote again to Livingstone: "I am glad that Glencoe did not come within the time prefixed. I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together to help. I think to harry their cattle, and burn their houses, is but to render them desperate, lawless men; but I believe you will be satisfied it were a great advantage to the na-

\* Defoe, "History of the Union," p. 72.

tion, that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off." To Hill he writes, on the same day, "Pray, when the thing concerning Glencoe is resolved, let it be secret and sudden." Colonel Hill sent his orders to lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, to march with eight hundred men straight to Glencoe; "and there put in execution the orders you have received from the commander-in-chief." Hamilton addressed his orders to major Duncanson, his second in command; concluding his letter by directing that the avenues be so secured, "that the old fox, nor none of his cubs get away: The orders are that none be spared, nor the government troubled with prisoners." Major Duncanson then despatched captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, to proceed to Glencoe, in advance of the other troops, with a detachment of a hundred and twenty men of Argyle's regiment. He arrived there on the 1st of February.

The valley of Glencoe has been variously described, according to the associations of those who have visited it. In the eyes of the picturesque historian of this period,—who regards it as a rugged desert, "valued on account of the shelter which it afforded to the plunderer and his plunder,"—it is "the most dreary and melancholy of all the Scottish passes, the very Valley of the Shadow of Death."\* To the equal minded tourist, "the scenery of this valley is far the most picturesque of any in the Highlands."† To the enthusiastic believer in Ossian, it is the valley of Fingal,—having a name, indeed, signifying in the Celtic tongue, the Valley of Tears—"the most peaceful and secluded of narrow vales." "Here the matchless melody of the sweet voice of Cona first awaked the joy of grief." The blue stream of Ossian's Cona here bends its course to Lochleven. The glen, "so warm, so fertile, so overhung by mountains which seem to meet above you," is described as "a place of great plenty and security."‡ The admirable historian of Scotland from the Revolution, tells us of the narrow slip of grazing ground between the Alpine walls of Glencoe; and a few, still narrower, on the upper levels. If the MacDonalDs had not lived, he says, by plunder, their arid glen could not have supported the population.§ Whether barren or fertile, whether filled by robbers, or by "born poets," who treasured up "the songs of Selma,"—here dwelt the MacIans in patriarchal

\* Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 191.

† Pennant.

‡ See Mrs. Grant's "Letters from the Mountains," Letter xi. 1773.

§ Burton, vol. i. p. 162.

simplicity. Campbell of Glenlyon, who came with his hundred and twenty Highlanders of the Argyle regiment on the 1st of February, 1692, spent twelve days with his men amidst the somewhat unpoetical hospitalities of the clan. The MacIans had no affection for the Campbells; but Glenlyon's niece was married to the second son of their chief; and when he and his lieutenant, Lindsay, said they came as friends, and asked for quarters, being sent to relieve the garrison of Fort William, who were overcrowded, they were received with cordiality. Undoubtedly the chief and his clansmen trusted to the indemnity of the government which they thought had been secured by the oath which MacIan had taken before the Sheriff of Argyle. Here they lived for twelve days as Highlander with Highlander. They had beef and spirits without payment. They were sheltered from the snow storms in the huts of the poor people. Glenlyon became affectionate over his usquebaugh with the husband of his niece; played at cards with the old chief; and entertained two of MacIan's sons at supper on the night of the 12th. At that time he had the following letter in his pocket, from major Duncanson, dated on the 12th from Balacholis, in the immediate neighbourhood: "You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the MacDonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care that the old fox and his sons do on no account escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party; if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the king's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without fear or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the king and government, nor a man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand." Captain Campbell did not tarry for his superior officer. He was strong enough to do his murderous bidding without his aid. Sir Walter Scott thinks that the purposed crime was more foul, through its perpetration being "committed to soldiers, who were not only the countrymen of the proscribed, but the near neighbours, and some of them the close connexions of the MacDonalds of Glencoe." He adds that, "the massacre has been un-

justly attributed to English troops."\* We venture to believe that English troops had not the qualities which would have recommended their employ. It is impossible not to see that the revenges of the Campbells had as much to do with this act, as "the king's special command." Argyle and Breadalbane were not promising that the clan MacDonald should have "no retreat in their bounds," without making known their desire to their people that "the old fox and his cubs" should be wholly "cut off." The cunning of the affair was characteristic of the mountain tribes: "Highland history is crowded with incidents, which, in modern phraseology, would be stamped as treachery, but in the social system of the actors passed as dexterity."† Some agitation amongst the Argyle soldiers—whisperings and murmurs—had roused the fears of John MacIan. He went at midnight to the house of Inverriggen, in the hamlet where Glenlyon was quartered. The captain was up and his men about him. He was ordered, he said, to march against Glengarry's people. Could he be likely to harm his friends, and especially those amongst whom his niece had married! Would he not have given a hint to Alaster? The man was satisfied. The night was stormy. The valley lay quiet in mists and thick darkness. At five in the morning Glenlyon and his men slaughtered Inverriggen and nine other men. A child of twelve was stabbed by an officer bearing the name of Drummond. Lindsay and his party went to the house of the old chief, and killed him as he was dressing himself, roused by his faithful servants. His two sons escaped amongst the rocks. His wife was stripped of her trinkets by the savages, and died the following day from her ill-usage. In another hamlet, Auchnaion a serjeant of the name of Barbour, with his detachment, shot Auchentriater, and seven others, as they sat round the fire in the dark morning. It is reckoned that the number of the slaughtered was thirty-eight. Happily, the order that the avenues should be secured was not effectually carried out. Duncanson did not arrive in time. The reports of the murderous guns had alarmed the sleeping families, and three-fourths of the adults, with their wives and children, escaped by the passes before the troops of Hamilton had barred their way. No deed of blood remained for those who came to Glencoe, when the sun was high in the heavens, but to slay an old man of eighty. Their work was to burn the huts of the tribe, and drive off their cattle. But the unhappy fugitives who had escaped the slaughter had to endure all

\* "Tales of a Grandfather," chapter lviii.

† Burton, vol. i. p. 165.

the extremities of hunger and cold in that inclement season. The number who perished in the snow; sank exhausted in the bogs; crept into caverns, and died for lack of food, was never ascertained. In a short time, some few stole back to their half-ruined cabins, and in after years the valley had again a population. Amongst those who returned to the scene of desolation was the bard of the tribe. "The bard sat alone upon a rock, and looking down, composed a long, dismal song." \*

In an age of publicity the extraordinary occurrences of the valley of Glencoe would have been known in a week in every corner of these realms. In an age when newspapers were uncommon, and gatherers of news by no means vigilant to minister to public curiosity, no Londoner knew of this tragedy, or, if he heard some rumour, heeded it not. After some weeks had elapsed, there was a report that a robber tribe had been engaged with Scotch troops, and that the chief and some of his clan had been killed. At Edinburgh, people in the coffee-houses began to talk. Glenlyon was conscious of the remarks upon him, and said that "he would do it again, if it were again to be done. He would stab any man in Scotland or England without asking why, if he were commanded so to do." Argyle's Highland regiment was quartered at Brentford, in June, 1692; and it was afterwards published that the soldiers talked about the massacre, and that one said, "Glencoe seems to hang about Glenlyon night and day; and you may see it in his face." Whilst public murmurings were faintly heard in Scotland—not "while public indignation was at the highest," as Scott says—Dalrymple wrote to Hamilton from the Hague, on the 30th of April, 1692, "For the people of Glencoe, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself, by showing all your orders, which are now put in the '*Paris Gazette*.' When you do right you need fear nobody. All that can be said is, that, in the execution, it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been." Charles Leslie, the non-juring clergyman, obtained some particulars of the deliberate treachery and cold-blooded ferocity which made the Glencoe massacre so peculiarly atrocious; and he published the circumstances about the end of 1692. A pamphlet called "*Gallienus Redivivus*" followed up this attack. Burnet says that the transaction at Glencoe "raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their *Gazettes*, and by

\* Mrs. Grant,



the Jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the king's government as cruel and barbarous; though in all other instances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess."\* The affair would probably have rested with the French Gazettes and Jacobite libels, had not the Parliament of Scotland, after a recess of two years, met in 1695, when Glencoe was a subject which had roused the nation to demand inquiry; for the non-jurors and friends of king James had worked diligently in stirring up the popular feeling. Political hostility to the Master of Stair had something to do with the tardy indignation of the Scottish Estates. William had in 1693 authorized an investigation of the matter by the duke of Hamilton and others. The duke died, and the inquiry was left to die with him. The king was now advised to take a more decided course, anticipating the measures of the Scotch Parliament. He issued a Commission of Precognition to the marquis of Tweeddale, and other privy counsellors in Scotland. The inquiries were necessarily minute and complicated; but the document was at last produced. From that document, and the letters and oral evidence accompanying it, is an authentic narrative of the massacre to be collected.

The report of the Commission, with the depositions and letters, were read in the Scottish Parliament on the 24th of June, 1695, and the results is thus recorded:

"After hearing of the said Report, it was voted, *nemine contradicente*, that his Majesty's instructions of the 11th and 16th days of January, 1692, touching the Highland rebels who did not accept in due time of the benefit of his indemnity, did contain a warrant for mercy, to all, without exception, who should offer to take the oath of allegiance, and come in upon mercy, though the first day of January, 1692, prefix by the Proclamation of Indemnity, was past, and that therefore, these instructions contained no warrant for the execution of the Glencoe men, made in February thereafter.

"Then the question stated and voted, if the execution and slaughter of the Glencoe men in February, 1692, as is represented, to the Parliament, be a murder or not, and carried in the affirmative."

It was then moved "that since the Parliament has found it a murder, that it may be inquired into, who were the occasion of it,

\* "Own Times," vol. iv. p. 155.

and the persons guilty and committers of it, and what way and manner they should be prosecute." \*

On the 10th of July, the Parliament agreed to an Address to the king, which contains the following material passages :

"We humbly beg that, considering that the Master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glencoe men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion in a great measure to so extraordinary an Execution by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of surprise ; And considering the high station and trust he is in, and that he is absent, We do therefore beg that your Majesty will give such orders about him for vindication of your Government as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit.

"And likewise considering that the Actors have barbarously killed men under trust, We humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased to send the Actors home, and to give orders to your Advocate to prosecute them according to Law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your Government of so foul and scandalous an aspersion as it has lain under upon this occasion." †

The Master of Stair was only dismissed from office by the king. The Parliament of Scotland did not accuse "the original cause of this unhappy business" as being participant in what they voted to be a murder. Whether the king ought to have placed the chief culprit on his trial for a great crime can scarcely be maintained without acknowledging that William had some excuse for his comparative lenity in the very mild recommendation of the Parliament "to give such orders about him, for vindication of your government, as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit." Most persons will nevertheless agree with the historian that "in return for many victims immolated by treachery, only one victim was demanded by justice ; and it must ever be considered as a blemish on the fame of William that the demand was refused." ‡ The Scottish Parliament imputed no guilt to Livingstone or Hill ; they somewhat doubted about Hamilton and Duncanson ; but they were clear that captain Campbell and captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindsay, ensign Lundy, and serjeant Barbour were the actors in the slaughter, and ought to be prosecuted. The king did not cause these to be prosecuted. He knew perfectly well that they

\* "Acts of Parliament of Scotland," vol. ix. p. 377.

† *Ibid.*, p. 425.

‡ Macaulay, "History," vol. iv. p. 530.

had as sound a legal defence before a civil tribunal, as any of the privates who discharged their muskets under the orders of serjeant Barbour. Defoe affirms that "his Majesty often said, it was a moot-point in war, whether they had broken orders or no; and though I have the honour to know that his Majesty exceedingly resented the manner, yet it did not appear at all that they had laid themselves open to military justice in it." \*

There was one person connected with the Glencoe massacre, of whom we lose sight in the decisions of the Scottish Parliament as to "who were the occasion of it." That person is the earl of Breadalbane. But there is a further record in the Minutes of that Parliament which shows that the other great culprit besides Dalrymple had not been wholly overlooked: "July 1. A warrant granted to bring the earl of Breadalbane down to the Parliament House." † From the Parliament House he was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, on a charge of high treason. In the course of the Glencoe inquiries the Highland chief Glengarry, and others, deposed that in offering them money he alleged that he continued in the interest of king James, and pressed them to make a show of pacification, that they might be ready to serve him at some future time—the "outward compliance" which James had himself recommended. Breadalbane contrived that the inquiry should stand over from time to time, till the Session of Parliament came to an end. He had pleaded his pardon from the Crown; but the offences charged were subsequent to that pardon. Burnet says, "he pretended he had secret orders from the king, to say anything that would give him credit with them; which the king owned so far, that he ordered a new pardon to be passed for him." ‡ It is impossible to fathom the depths of the intrigues of the Scottish statesmen and great lords at this period. Burnet in his narrative of the Glencoe massacre, says of Breadalbane: that he might gratify his own revenge, and render the king odious to all the Highlanders, he proposed that orders should be sent for a military execution on those of Glencoe." § We believe in no such refinement of Breadalbane's cunning. He and Argyle were glad to sweep out the MacDonalds, who annoyed them. Dalrymple would have exterminated the whole Celtic population of Jacobites, Papists, and thieves—for the greater part were such in his mind—as his prede-

\* "History of the Union," p. 72.

† "Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland," vol. ix. p. 389.

‡ "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 274.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

cessors in power had often hunted them down as wild beasts. Not three months before Dalrymple put the Order of January 16th before William to sign, he wrote to Breadalbane that no prince but William would have not been tempted to hearken to the earnest desires of all those he trusts in his government, "to have made the Highlanders examples of his justice, by extirpating them."\* William acceded to the one exception to his general clemency, urged upon him by Dalrymple, Argyle, and Breadalbane; for it was a measure justified to his mind by the "laws of war." It is one of the most lamentable evils of these laws, that in some cases a violation of the rights of humanity ceases to be regarded as a crime; and that in all cases implicit obedience to orders is the paramount duty of a soldier, however revolting to his moral sense.

Sir Walter Scott, recalling his early recollections, says, that "on the 5th of November, 1788, when a full century had elapsed after the Revolution, some friends to constitutional liberty proposed that the return of the day should be solemnized by an agreement to erect a monument to the memory of king William, and the services which he had rendered to the British Kingdoms." How was the proposal defeated? By an anonymous letter in one of the Edinburgh newspapers, "ironically applauding the undertaking, and proposing as two subjects of the entablature for the projected column, the massacre of Glencoe, and the distresses of the Scottish colonists at Darien." We have related the one story, with a scrupulous regard to facts. We shall have to tell the other distressing narrative, with the same scrupulosity. Sir Walter Scott impresses upon his grandson this lesson: "You may observe from this how cautious a monarch should be of committing wrong or injustice, however strongly recommended by what may seem political necessity."† The great novelist left his juvenile readers, and his confiding adult readers, to the full belief that king William was the principal person to be accused as the author of both calamities. There probably is not a more striking instance of the blindness of a morbid nationality, than in this mode of attributing "wrong or injustice" to a sovereign who, in the one case, was wholly under the guidance of his Scotch ministers, acting in the spirit of all Scotch Statesmen towards the Highland clans; and in the other case was wholly under the control of the English parliament, uttering the voice of the English nation in the commercial jealousies of the age. We have reached a period when all the false nationalities and party

\* Burton, Appendix, vol. i.

† "Tales of a Grandfather," chap. lix.

sympathies embodied in romance, and in histories more fictitious than fiction, have very nearly done their work; when we may look at kings and statesmen through that achromatic glass which shows them under no false colouring in their public characters. We may therefore doubt, with a Scottish historian who belongs to this more advanced age, whether, in a period when the Highland chief was acting after his kind in the indulgence of a fierce revenge—when the Scottish statesman was acting as Scottish statesmen had done for ages before him—it was likely that a “far-seeing and deeply judging prince” should desert his nature and habits so much as “to countenance, suggest, and urge on, the slaughter of those poor Highlanders.”\* The anonymous libeller who would have inscribed “Glencoe” on the entablature of a column to William, if he had read the evidence, would have known perfectly well that this slaughter was devised by Scottish statesmen of the Lowlands, and carried through by Scottish captains of the Highlands. He would have known that the treachery of this military execution was the device, in the old crafty and ferocious spirit of clan hostility, of the native soldiers to whom the slaughter was entrusted. He probably knew that Glencoe was not the last of the Highland massacres, sanctioned by no intervention of king William, but by the old “letters of fire and sword” granted by the Privy Council of Scotland. These letters were not granted for any political object; but in the ancient spirit of revenge by which a favoured clan was authorized to destroy another less favoured. Six years after the Glencoe massacre, the laird of McIntosh obtained letters of fire and sword against MacDonald of Keppoch. McIntosh and his followers, with the assistance of the governor of Fort William, are authorized to hunt and take; if necessary to put to death; and if they retire to strongholds to “raise fire and use all force and warlike engines.” This process, then a legal one, was not sent out against the king’s rebels—for the pacification of the Jacobite clans had been accomplished—but to obtain restitution of lands alleged to be unjustly held by a clan that did not care for being “put to the horn.”† It were well if those who repeat glibly “how cautious a monarch should be,” &c., would lead their readers to some real knowledge of the condition and manners of the Highlanders of those days, and of the mode in which the authorities of Scotland had for generations been accustomed to treat them. They would perhaps then be inclined to assign to its proper cause—a hatred of the political

\* Burton, vol. i. p. 173.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 177, note.

and religious principles of the king of the Revolution—the imputation that to his “hard-heartedness” is to be ascribed “the massacre of Glencoe; an enormity which has left a stain on William’s memory that neither time, nor the services that he was providentially the instrument of rendering to these kingdoms, can ever efface.” \*

In narrating the circumstances which retarded the Union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland—a measure of which William observed, “I have done all I can in that affair, but I do not see a temper in either nation that looks like it”—Defoe says, “The affair of Glencoe was another step to national breaches.” To us, looking calmly upon this affair at the interval of a hundred and sixty-six years, it would appear the most extravagant of national delusions to set up this as “a ground of national animosity.” From the beginning to the end it was a Scottish affair. Not an English statesman was concerned in advising the proceeding. The character of the monarch who signed the order, as king of Scotland, is far more truly exemplified in one sentence of the Proclamation of Indemnity, which ought to have been the rule of conduct for those who urged on the massacre—“to interpret this indemnity in the most favourable and ample manner.”

\* “Annals of England,” vol. iii. p. 120.

# CHAPTER XXVIII.

Marlborough dismissed from office.—Parliamentary debates.—Independence of the Judges.—The king leaves for Holland.—Threatened invasion.—Declaration of James.—Battle of La Hogue.—Siege of Namur.—Grandval's plot to assassinate William.—Battle of Steinkirk.—Parliament.—Crime and public distress.—Commencement of the National Debt.—The Licensing Act expires.—Place Bill.—Bill for Triennial Parliaments.—The King's Veto.—Murder of Mountfort.—Trial of Lord Mohun.

"THE king was pleased, without assigning any reason, to remove my lord Marlborough from his employments." Such is the brief notice of an important event by the wife of the great peer. Much fuller is her account of the circumstances which caused a serious disagreement between queen Mary and her sister, the princess Anne. The queen, three weeks after the dismissal of the earl, wrote to her sister that "it is very unfit lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her husband so just a pretence of being where he ought not." Mary said, I need not *repeat* the cause he has given the king to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times to come to such extremities, though people do deserve it." Anne refused to be separated from her beloved Mrs. Freeman; and Mrs. Freeman being commanded to leave the palace, Mrs. Morley left with her. Anne chose her abode at Sion House; and the nation was scandalised at a quarrel between the occupier of the throne and the sister who might one day be called to occupy it. It is easy to imagine that no circumstance in the lives of of William and Mary produced more misery than this rupture. The dismissal of Marlborough occurred on the 10th of January, at the very time when, in the view of some candid persons, William was occupied in planning the slaughter of an obscure Highland clan. It was a period to the king of great political anxiety. Lady Marlborough says she could never learn "what cause the king had for his displeasure." The popular feeling regarded the earl's dismissal as a just punishment "for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness, and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers."\* In another passage, Evelyn attributes Marlborough's disgrace to his

\* Evelyn, "Diary," January 24.

"having used words against the king" What Marlborough had really done has been revealed in a letter of James. The Lieutenant-General of William, who also held the domestic office of his Gentleman of the Bedchamber, had concerted with the Jacobites to effect the recall of James by the subtlest of plots. He was organising a party to propose and carry in Parliament a motion that all the foreigners in the employ of the Crown, civil or military, should be sent out of the kingdom. The object was to produce a rupture between the king and the parliament. Then, says the letter of James, "my lord Churchill would declare with the army for the parliament; and, the fleet doing the same, they would have recalled me." James adds that some of his own imprudent friends, dreading that the scheme of Churchill had for its ultimate object to make the princess Anne queen, discovered it to Bentinck, and thus "turned aside the blow."\*

The Parliament was adjourned on the 20th of February, having met on the 2nd of the previous October. It was a Session of great debate; but more remarkable for the discussion of important measures, than for their final enactment. The rival claims of the Old East India Company and of the New, were the subject of earnest argument, not unmingled with party feelings. But nothing was finally decided; and a bill for the regulation of the India trade was suffered to drop. † A most important measure for regulating trials in cases of high treason was passed by the Commons; but becoming the subject of a great controversy between the two houses, as to the right of peers to be tried by the whole body of the Upper House as well during a recess as during a sitting of Parliament, that valuable bill also fell through. A few years later the jealousy of the Commons was removed. Another measure of great public advantage was defeated by the king's Veto. It was the first time in which William had exercised this power. The Judges had been made independent of the Crown as to their term of office. They were appointed by William and Mary "*Quamdiu se bene gesserint*:" they could not be arbitrarily removed. But their salaries had not been fixed, as they ought to have been. The Houses passed a Bill for legally establishing this judicial independence; also providing that each judge should be paid a thousand a year. But they charged the salaries upon the hereditary revenues of the

\* This letter, in French, is given by Macaulay, who mentions that a translation was published by Macpherson "eighty years ago." "History," vol. iv. p. 166.

† See *ante*, p. 428.



Crown, without the previous consent of the king having been accorded. The king, says Hallam, "gave an unfortunate instance of his very injudicious tenacity of bad prerogatives in refusing his assent." A later historian says that the circumstances under which the king used his veto have never been correctly stated. "William could defend the proprietary rights of the Crown only by putting his negative on the bill. . . . It was not till the provisions of the bill had been forgotten, and till nothing but its title was remembered, that William was accused of having been influenced by a wish to keep the judges in a state of dependence."\* This great constitutional principle was determined by the Act of Settlement of 1701 (13 Gul. 3, c. 2), which provides that after the limitation of the Crown under that statute shall take effect, "Judges' Commissions be made *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the Address of both Houses of Parliament it may be lawful to remove them."†

The king set out for Holland on the 5th of March. At the beginning of the Session he had told the Parliament that an Army of sixty-five thousand men would be required, and the Houses voted that number. The distribution of the land force gave about eleven thousand men for England, thirteen thousand for Ireland, two thousand for Scotland, and thirty-eight thousand to serve beyond the sea. The proportion of regular troops for the defence of England was thus comparatively small; but then the militia of the kingdom could be immediately called out, and the regiments of London and Westminster were always in readiness for service. The Navy had been brought into a greater state of efficiency than at any previous period since the Revolution. If loyal songs are to be believed in, the war was popular;

"Our army makes Lewis to tremble and quake  
He fearing that Mons we again will retake."‡

Weavers, shoemakers, butchers, dyers, hatters—the men of Lon-

\* Macaulay, "History," vol. iv. p. 183. There is an exception to Lord Macaulay's wonted accuracy in his remarks on this subject. He says, "that great law (the Bill of Rights) had deprived the Crown of the power of arbitrarily removing the judges." The Bill of Rights contains not a word on the subject; neither does the Declaration of Rights.

† Mr. Hallam has pointed out that we owe the independence of the Judges to this statute, and not to George III., as we have long been taught to believe. Blackstone contributed to this popular delusion, by ascribing vast importance to the statute 1 Geo. III., c. 23, which continued the commissions of the judges notwithstanding the demise of the Crown—a point before doubtful. The recent editor of Blackstone, Dr. Kerr, has pointed out that "the learned commentator much exaggerates the value" of the statute of George III.

‡ "Songs of the London Apprentices and Trades." Edited by Charles Mackay, p. 122.

don and the men of the West—were all ready to march under “renowned king William,” says the popular doggrel. But something more effective than a broadside ballad was issued to stir up the country to defend its government. It was a Declaration by James himself, which was not suppressed by the queen and her Council, but reprinted, and widely circulated with appropriate comment. There was in this document not a word of regret for the past; not a word that could hold out a prospect of amendment for the future. It breathed vengeance against nobles and prelates who were proscribed by name; it threatened whole classes with punishment as guilty rebels; the judges and juries who had convicted Ashton and Cross, two of the plotting Jacobites; and the “fishermen and all others who offered personal indignities to us at Feversham.” Such was a Declaration issued to prepare the people for receiving their ejected king with contrite tears, when he came back at the head of a French invading army. James had at last induced the king of France to hazard the chance of a landing in England. The minister who had constantly opposed that dangerous project was dead. That minister was Louvois. He had been the chief military administrator of Louis for nearly a quarter of a century, but at last became obnoxious to his master. Louvois, says Burnet, “grew uneasy at the authority Madame de Maintenon took in things which she could not understand; and was in conclusion so unacceptable to the king that once, when he flung his bundle of papers down upon the floor before him, the king lifted up his cane, but the lady held him from doing more.”\* Saint Simon tells something like the same story, with the variation of the king catching up the fire-tongs instead of lifting his cane. Louvois died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. Saint Simon represents Louis as feeling free when he had got rid of his old servant; and then relates that, when an officer came from James at Saint Germain, with a compliment of condolence, Louis, “with an air and a tone more than perfectly easy” (*plus que dégagés*) replied—“give my compliments and thanks to the king and queen of England, and say to them from me, that my affairs and their affairs will go on none the worse for what has happened.” When the great war minister of France was saved by the hand of death from being sent to the Bastille, Louis was free to assist his confident brother at St. Germain with ten thousand French troops, and with the Irish regiments which had entered the service

\* “Own Time,” vol. iv. p. 165.

of France. A camp was formed at La Hogue; and James, in the Declaration which we have noticed, announced that the Most Christian King had now "lent us so many troops as may be abundantly sufficient to untie the hands of our subjects, and make it safe for them to return to their duty and repair to our standard."\*

On the 24th of April, James joined his camp in Normandy. He relied upon his French and Irish army, but he relied as much upon the defection of the English fleet. Not only Admiral Russell, but other officers had been tampered with. Russell, however, had been disgusted into something like a sense of honour and duty by the insane declaration issued by James. He sent word to the rebel-threatener that he ought "to grant a general pardon, and that then he would contribute what he could to his restoration, without insisting upon any terms for himself."† This crafty renegade had still something of the Englishman about him; for whilst he proposed to get out of the way with the fleet he commanded, so as to give the invaders an opportunity of landing, he declared that if he met the French fleet he would fight it, even though the king himself were on board."

On the 15th of May, the English fleet was at St. Helen's. It had been joined by the Dutch fleet, the whole force amounting to ninety sail of the line. Russell was in command on board the *Britannia*. A scene took place in that flag-ship which is happily without a subsequent parallel in English history. A despatch had arrived from Nottingham, the Secretary of State, which Russell was commanded to read to the Commanders of the Fleet. In his cabin there were men whose names are inscribed amongst the great naval heroes of our land—sir George Rooke,—sir Cloudesley Shovel. Such true hearts could have little suspected that he who read to them the magnanimous resolve of the queen was most obnoxious to its covert reproach. Nottingham said, in her majesty's name, that a report was spread abroad that some of the officers of her fleet were not hearty in their service, and that she had ordered many of them to be discharged. She further said that she believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government,—that she retained an entire confidence in their fidelity and zeal for the service of the crown and the defence of the country, and was resolved not to displace any one. Then, with one accord, an address to the queen was signed—Russell probably not signing as being too exalted for suspicion to attach to him. It was an

\* "Life of James II," vol. ii. p. 479.

† *Ibid.*, p. 489.

address, not cold and formal, but full of the devotion of the heart, concluding in these earnest words,—“And that God Almighty may preserve your majesty’s most sacred person, direct your counsels, and prosper your arms by sea and land against your majesty’s enemies, let all the people say Amen, with your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects.”\* There was no time for the enthusiasm of that hour to cool. On the afternoon of that day the French fleet, under Tourville, was seen from the coast of Dorsetshire. On the 17th, the English and Dutch fleets were at sea. Tourville had with him only his own squadron, having sailed from Brest, and in his passage to Cape la Hogue had come within view of Portland. Off La Hogue the French transports were receiving troops. Tourville was to convoy this fleet of the invaders. On the morning of the 19th, the two fleets came in sight of each other. Tourville immediately bore down upon an armament more than double his number. The wind was favourable to him, and only half of the ships of the allies could come into action. The defection upon which he relied was nowhere to be seen. To vindicate their honour, the commanders of the English fleet urged their men with a zeal that made them invincible, and Russell even told the sailors of the ships that he visited, to throw over any commander that played false, himself not excepted. Carter, Rear-Admiral of the Blue—who is said to have disclosed that overtures had been made to him from the Jacobites—broke the French line at the onset, was mortally wounded, and dying exclaimed, “Fight the ship as long as she can swim.” The battle lasted five hours, when the wind changed, and the whole force of the allies was brought together. The victory was complete, the French flying in every direction to their own shores. Tourville’s ship, the *Royal Sun*, the finest vessel of that day, got to Cherbourg, with two other three-deckers. There were no docks at that time to afford security. The great men-of-war were hauled into the shoals, Admiral Delaval attacked them with his fire-ships and his boats’ crews, and the pride of the French navy and the two other vessels were burned to the water’s edge. Tourville, during the chase, had shifted his flag to the *Ambitious*, and with twelve other large ships had got into the bay of La Hogue. Here he lay, under forts and batteries, with the army of James close at hand, and the flags of England and France flying on one of the forts, for James himself was within. On the

\* The address is in the *London Gazette* of the 19th of May, and is quoted in *Ralph*, vol. ii. p. 352.

23rd of May, Admiral Rooke led a flotilla of two hundred boats and numerous fire-ships into the bay. The huge vessels fired with little effect. There was a cannonade from the batteries and volleys of musketry from the shore ; but on came the rowers, with the old battle-shout. The boats' crews of Tourville fled in confusion. The crews of the French ships abandoning them, the English sailors boarded, and set them on fire. At eight the next morning again came Rooke into the bay with his terrible flotilla. The remaining vessels were in like manner burned, after their guns had been turned against the French batteries. "The defeat," says the biographer of James, "was too considerable to be redressed, and too afflicting to be looked upon, nor was it even safe to do it long." \* Saint-Simon, mentioning that "the king of England" looked on at this battle from the shore, says, "he was accused of letting some words escape him of partiality in favour of his nation, although none had made good the promises upon which he had counted when he had urged a naval battle." Tourville, says the same authority, had sent two couriers to Louis to represent the extreme danger of relying upon the assurances of James as to the probable good will of the English commanders, and his confidence in the defection of more than half the fleet during an action. Evelyn writes in his Diary of the 5th of June, "Reports of an invasion were very hot, and alarmed the City, Court, and People." On the 15th he writes, "After all our apprehensions of being invaded, and doubts of our success by sea, it pleased God to give us a great naval victory, to the utter ruin of the French fleet." The success was recognised by a temporary act of national gratitude, in a distribution of thirty seven thousand pounds amongst the sailors, and in the bestowal of gold medals upon the officers. A more permanent demonstration of the feelings called forth by the victory of La Hogue was a declaration by the queen, that the royal palace of Greenwich should become what we now look upon with patriotic pride—the noble asylum for the disabled "mariners of England."

When the news of La Hogue reached the great supporter of James, the French army was besieging Namur. The army of the allies, under the command of William, was encamped in the neighbourhood. The French general, Luxemburg, with an overwhelming force, prevented any near advance for the relief of the besieged. Louis himself conducted the siege. "The fortified and threatening hill" looks over a "watery glade" of exquisite

\* "Life of James II," vol. ii. p. 496.

beauty;\* but in the early summer of 1692 the Sambre had overflowed its banks; and the besiegers had to contend with other difficulties than those created by the science of Cohorn, the engineer of the States-General, who was in the citadel. Vauban, the great engineer of France, was in the lines with Louis. The magnificent monarch so far relaxed the rigour of his wonted etiquette as to permit Vauban to dine with him; at which distinction, says Saint-Simon, Vauban was overwhelmed. It was a time when the presence of the monarch was of some importance. Boileau describes the king, with the basest adulation of a venal muse, as directing the siege:

"C'est Jupiter en personne."

Saint-Simon shows him doing some service in a sensible human fashion, when it rained in torrents, and the trenches were full of mud and water. The soldiers were cursing Saint Médard; for that saint, like his brother of our calendar, was held to be in a rainy humour for forty days if he willed it to rain on his festival day, the 8th of June. Louis, who always travelled with a vast troop of idle lackeys and fine gentlemen of his household, commanded them to work in carrying corn to the army of Luxemburg. The roads were impassable for waggons, and the household troops and fine gentlemen were commanded to bear sacks of grain to the starving soldiers on the cruppers of their horses. Bitterly they complained; but the king would be obeyed. Without his presence, says Saint-Simon, the siege would never have been successful. The besiegers were in extremity for want of provisions. Unfortunately Cohorn was wounded. The governor of Namur and the garrison lost heart, and the town was first surrendered and afterwards the citadel.

During the siege of Namur the army of William had often a distinct view of the operations of the French army. On the 1st of June the English were encamped at Ville, on the Mehaigne. The low grounds on each side of the river were so flooded by incessant rains, that it was impracticable to cross, so as to attack the enemy on the opposite side. On the 5th the rains had destroyed most of the bridges over the Mehaigne. "I scarce see what we have to do here," writes one in the camp. On the 8th the allied army and the army of Luxemburg were each moving on opposite banks of the river. On the 13th the French army had drawn nearer to Namur, and William continued to follow their movements.† Namur.

\* See Wordsworth's Sonnet.

† Letters of Vernon to Colt, printed in Tindal's "Continuation of Rapin," vol. iii. p. 206.

surrendered on the 30th. "The king's conduct," says Burnet, "was on this occasion much censured; it was said he ought to have put much to hazard, rather than suffer such a place to have been taken in his sight." Boileau concludes his ode with a taunt, to the enemies of France—"Go to Liège and Brussels, to carry the humble news of Namur taken under your eyes." Louis returned to Paris with his long train of carriages filled with ladies of the court—his poets, his comedians, and the musicians—"according to the old Persian luxury." William remained to watch Luxemburg, and to fight if opportunity offered. In the middle of July the allied camp was at Genappe. Three prisoners had been brought thither from Bois-le-duc, accused of a design to assassinate William. Their movements had been watched for some time. Burnet had made it known that M. Morel, of Berne, who had been incarcerated in the Bastille for seven years on refusing to renounce his Protestantism, and had been released in April, had written to him that he had been out of curiosity to St. Germain's to see king James; and that returning in a public conveyance he met with a man named Grandval, whom he had observed in secret conversation with the exiled king. Grandval was very communicative, and said there was a design in hand that would confound all Europe—the prince of Orange would not live a month. Various other circumstances had led to the arrest of Grandval and two men that he had associated in his enterprise, Dumont, a Walloon, and the Baron de Leefdale, a Dutchman. These two accomplices of Grandval had no desire to carry through the project to which they had agreed. They gave warnings that there was a plot to remove William by assassination. Leefdale came with Grandval from Paris to the Netherlands. Dumont, having previously told something of what he knew to the duke of Zell, at Hanover, set out to meet Grandval. When apprehended, and brought to the camp at Genappe, a court-martial of general officers commenced sitting on the 23rd of July, for the trial of Bartholomew de Liniere, Sieur de Grandval. The examination of the prisoner had been taken, and the witnesses were about to be confronted with him, when "greater matters intervening put a stop to the process of Grandval.\*

The "greater matters" were the sudden determination of William to attack Luxemburg, and the disastrous issue of the enterprise. The French army was encamped between Enghien and Steinkirk, a few miles to the north-west of Hal. The head-quar-

\* Letter of Vernon to Colt.

ters of William's army were at Lambecque. Luxemburg had an agent in the allied camp who gave him information of the movements of the forces opposed to him—a secretary of the elector of Bavaria, named Millevoix. A letter from this man was accidentally picked up, and carried to the elector. His correspondence was discovered; and William, with remarkable presence of mind, took advantage of the discovery, not by hanging the traitor, but by making his treachery serviceable. He dictated a letter of false intelligence to the terrified Millevoix, in which Luxemburg was informed that the English would come the next day towards the French army to forage, and that a portion of the army would be at hand to protect the foragers. At dawn on the morning of the 3rd of August, the whole force of the allies was marching towards Steinkirk. Luxemburg was incredulous of the news which his scouts brought him, for he relied upon the informant in whom he thoroughly trusted. He at last roused himself. The nature of the ground was in his favour. The march had been tedious, for there were defiles to pass, and the country was enclosed. The duke of Würtemberg led the vanguard, and drove the advanced brigade of the French from hedge to hedge. But Luxemburg, with the rapidity of genius, had soon the main body of his army in order of battle. The affair was no longer a surprise. We have before us an unpublished letter written by marshal Conway in 1774, on the occasion of a visit to this battle field: "From Oudenarde and Enghien by Grammont the road lies through a beautiful country. Near the former we took horses to go and see the ground of the famous battle of Steinkirk, where king William took such good measures to surprise marshal Luxemburg; but by the activity and quickness of that able antagonist, failed in his project, and was repulsed after a long and bloody engagement. The ground here remains, by all accounts, just as it was at that time, now eighty-two years ago."\* As the ground was, eighty-two years after the battle, we may readily conclude that another term of eighty-two years has made no very material change. Commerce has not here created new towns, though a railway may cut through the hedges, and span the hollow ways, where the allied cavalry could not act, and the vanguard began to engage, while the main body of infantry was at some distance. Count Solmes, who was chief in command of the English, sent his horse to their relief; but, says

\* From a MS. volume of Conway's Letters to his brother, the Marquis of Hertford, the property of the author of this history.



a great military critic, "What signified his marching the horse, where the ground was so strait, and the French had such a nation of hedges, and copses, and ditches, and felled trees laid, this way and that, to cover them."\* The eloquent Corporal truly describes how five English regiments were cut to pieces; "and so had the English life-guards too, had it not been for some regiments upon the right, who marched up boldly to their relief, and received the enemy's fire in their faces, before any one of their own platoons discharged a musket." These brave fellows were led by Auverquerque. They saved the English life-guards; but they could not save the infantry who had been left without support. Mackay, their brave leader, fell in the desperate conflict. The blame of this great reverse was imputed to count Solmes, who had probably to bear the mistakes of others as well as his own. It is clear that the nature of the ground was not perfectly understood; and that the panic to be produced by a sudden attack was too confidently relied upon. William made every effort to bring up his men to relieve the vanguard; but Luxemburg was now reinforced by Boufflers, who heard the firing, and marched from his neighbouring quarters. The king, it is said, looked upon the slaughter, and exclaimed, "Oh, my poor English, how are they abandoned." On each side there were about seven thousand killed and wounded. The allies marched from the field of battle in good order, to the camp from which they had unfortunately gone forth, as they believed to victory. The nation was dispirited. The army was indignant that Solmes, a foreigner, should have been placed in the command of English troops, and then look on while they were slaughtered. In the House of Commons, three months after, the public voice found an indignant vent. That House now fully exercised the right from which it has never since parted, of seeking occasion freely to comment upon warlike operations—sometimes unjustly, often ignorantly, but never without advantage to the discovery of truth. On the 22nd of November, these words were heard in the House: "None are ignorant of the melancholy story of Steinkirk; every one knows that tragedy. The common soldiers had no opinion of their officers. I move," added sir Peter Colleton, "That none but natives should command Englishmen." Sir Edward Seymour asked, "What number have you fit for General Officers? They are few; and will you think to discharge and send away foreigners till you have generals of your own?" There can be no

\* "Tristram Shandy."

doubt that during the long vassalage of the Stuarts to France, England had lost all the qualities of a military nation, except the best quality, the spirit of her people—the blood and bone of those who fought in her ranks. She wanted scientific as well as brave leaders, bred in her own bosom. Seymour truly said, “Men are not born generals.” There were in the House of Commons at that time, as there have been ever since, officers of rank, who came from active service in the field to the senate, and said honestly what they knew. Lord Colchester, who commanded the third troop of horseguards, was one of these. He told his story simply and clearly; and his relation confirms the ordinary historical accounts in all essentials: “I find the business of Steinkirk stick with some gentlemen. The chief occasion of the ill-success there was the wrong information given to the king of the ground we were to pass, which was so full of hedges and woods, that we could not draw up one body to sustain another; horse and foot were mingled. I saw the attack made by Fagel; Dutch, English, and all nations: they beat the French from hedge to hedge, but their very weight of men bore us down. The French came upon us, and Auverquerque came up, and behaved himself as well as any man in the world. He sent us two Danish regiments, and we retreated to the main body, and from thence to the main camp.”\* The anger of the House centred upon Solmes. “When this attack was formed,” said colonel Cornwell, “Solmes was there, with ten battalions to sustain them. Solmes said, ‘That to send more was to slaughter more.’” The king withdrew his countenance from the obnoxious general, who had offended by his haughtiness as well as by his conduct in the battle of Steinkirk. He fell in a second unfortunate battle in the coming year.

The Court-Martial on Grandval was re-opened in a week after the battle. Two of the Generals of whom it was originally composed had fallen in the field—Mackay and Lanier. The duty of the court was not very embarrassing; for the prisoner had made a circumstantial confession, “without any constraint or pain, or being in irons.” So says the official relation of the Court-Martial. He declared that the late French minister, Louvois, had in 1691 entered into an agreement with Anthony Dumont, about the murder of king William; that upon the death of Louvois the design dropped, but that Barbesieux, the son of Louvois, who succeeded him as Secretary of State to the French king, revived the project,

\* “Parliamentary History,” vol. v. col. 713.

and had several conferences with him, Grandval; that he was engaged in the affair with colonel Parker, in the service of king James; and that with him, Barbesieux, and Dumont, the plan was arranged, which was that he should shoot William, when he exposed himself during the campaign. Leefdale was then brought into the scheme. The most material averment of the prisoner was, that he had seen James at St. Germain's, his queen being present, and that James said, "Parker has given me an account of the business; if you and the other officers do me this service, you shall never want." Grandval was executed in the camp at Hal, according to his sentence. He declared in a letter to a friend that it cost him his life for having obeyed the orders of Barbesieux. The confession of Grandval was printed and circulated in several languages. No answer was made to its circumstantial statements, vouched for by ten distinguished officers of various nations, who composed the Court-Martial.

The king returned to England on the 18th of October. The outward signs of a cordial welcome awaited him. There were illuminations as he passed through London to Kensington. There was a loyal address from the Corporation of London; and the king dined at Guildhall on the Lord Mayor's day. There was a solemn thanksgiving for his safe return, and for the great victory at sea. But there were many symptoms of political and social distempers, which made sober men uneasy. In September the queen had issued two proclamations—one for the discovery of seditious libellers, the other for the apprehension of highwaymen. The one proclamation was far more effective than the other. The libellers worked their secret presses, and the furious zealots circulated their productions without any material injury to the government. The people grumbled a little more under the pressure of taxation, and under other evils of their daily life, when they read inflammatory pamphlets from Jacobites and Non-jurors; but a return to the times before the Revolution was the farthest from their wishes. There was a good deal of alarm in that autumn of 1692, from the daring crimes that sometimes seem epidemic in a nation. Hence the proclamation against highwaymen. We have mentioned a robbery of the tax-collectors in Hertfordshire.\* Similar gangs of banditti robbed mails and stage-coaches even in the day-time. William on his return took strong measures to put down these enormities. Many highwaymen were discovered and execu-

\* *Ante*, p. 430.

ted; and a regiment of dragoons was used as a preventive police, and patrolled all the great roads leading to the capital. Burglars were almost as bold and as numerous as footpads and highwaymen. We doubt whether there was any especial distress connected with this particular juncture; though it is said that there was a failure of the harvest—that the heavy rains had been fatal to the crops—that no fruit ripened—that the price of the quarter of wheat doubled.\* Evelyn indeed writes in his *Diary* of the 1st of October, "This season was so exceedingly cold, by reason of a long and tempestuous northeast wind, that this usually pleasant month was very uncomfortable. No fruit ripened kindly." But he says nothing of a bad harvest in England. He says, "France is in the utmost misery and poverty for the want of corn and subsistence." The harvest of 1692 is represented as plentiful, so that England was exporting corn.† Nevertheless there can be no doubt that amongst a people who had not previously borne such heavy burdens of taxation as four years of war had imposed upon them—and whose industry was not sufficiently developed to enable them to bear their burdens without being weighed down—there must have been much suffering and more discontent.

The king opened the Parliament on the 4th of November. He thanked them for their large supplies; he would be compelled to ask for a further supply to maintain a force by sea and land. He was sensible how heavy this charge was upon his people. It afflicted him to learn that it was not possible to be avoided, without exposing the kingdom to inevitable ruin and destruction. He hoped for their advice and assistance, which had never failed him. The House of Commons set about giving its advice; but it did little more than display a good deal of ill-humour as to the conduct of the war. There were several important matters bearing upon the future condition of the country, arising out of the proceedings of this Session, which we shall briefly notice.

Turning over the Index of the ponderous Statute-book, to look for Acts that have had a permanent influence on the condition of the country, we might perhaps pass over one Act that bears this lengthy title: "An Act for granting to their majesties certain rates and duties of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of ten hundred

\* Macauley, vol. iv. p. 204.

† Tindal, vol. iii. p. 217.

thousand pounds towards carrying on the war against France."\* Under this statute commenced the National Debt of England. The million of money which was to supply a portion of the expenses of the war "in a manner that would be least grievous," as the preamble says, was expected to be voluntarily advanced on the credit of the special provision of the new duties of excise, which were to be set apart as they were paid into the Exchequer. The ten hundred thousand pounds were speedily subscribed; for the industry of the people had created capital which was seeking employment, although they had been far more heavily taxed during four years than at any previous period. Louis, although he was familiar with the system of loans, was somewhat amazed at the comparative ease with which taxes were raised and a million of money borrowed in England upon the credit of the taxes. He is said to have exclaimed, "My little cousin the prince of Orange is fixed in the saddle; no matter; the last louis d'or must carry it."† This was really a just view of the premises of success, though the great king's conclusions were fallacious. The people of England were in a far better condition than the people of France, to fight on without expending all to the last louis d'or. The working and accumulating Middle Class was far more powerful in the one nation than in the other. There can be no doubt that the means first created by the Act of 1693 for the investment of superfluous capital, have largely contributed to the progressive development of the national resources. There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the facilities of borrowing by the creation of Stock, have often led to extravagant expenditure in wars that have averted no real danger nor secured any public advantage.

There can be nothing more true than the assertion of Mr. Ricardo that "there cannot be a greater security for the continuance of peace, than the imposing on ministers the necessity of applying to the people for the taxes to support a war." He has further observed, speaking the language of common sense which is the language of all true political economy, that "the burdens of a war are undoubtedly great during its continuance, but at its termination they cease altogether. When the pressure of war is felt at once, without mitigation, we shall be less disposed wantonly to engage in an expensive contest, and if engaged in it, we shall be sooner disposed to get out of it, unless it be a contest for some

\* 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 3.

† Ralph, vol. ii. p. 398.

great national interest."\* Although the statesmen and the people of the reign of William III. felt that the war against the preponderance of France, and the consequent subjection of England, was for a great national interest, they also felt that the burden could not be borne in the existing state of the country without resort to the system of loans. In the case before us they did not contemplate a permanent loan. In the next year, when the Bank of England was established upon the condition of lending a sum of money to the government, of which the principal could not be demanded by the lenders, though the borrowers had the privilege of paying it off, a permanent debt was begun to be contracted. The system of borrowing went on for three years, till at the peace of Ryswick the debt amounted to twenty-one millions and a half. Nevertheless, so strong was the objection to the continuance of that system, that although engaged in a most expensive war for five years after the accession of Anne, the debt was reduced to sixteen millions. In half a century more it had increased to seventy-five millions. It was then the received opinion of financiers that if it ever reached a hundred millions the nation must become bankrupt.

When we look at the one million borrowed on Life annuities in 1693, and the eight hundred and three millions constituting the public debt of the United Kingdom in 1858, we may be amazed at the vast amount of the burthen which has been gradually accumulating, but we also can now distinctly perceive how that burthen has been borne. It has not weighed down the country, because all the material resources of the country have been increasing with it. The increasing wealth—of which this vast debt owing by the nation to the nation is a symbol,—produced by the incessant applications of capital and labour, of science and invention, has increased the ability of the great body of the people to participate in the advantages to be derived from a ready and secure investment of their savings, with the condition that the sum so invested might be easily transferable. To this cause may be attributed the ease with which the government of that day could obtain loans by the creation of Public Funds at a fixed rate of interest, chiefly upon annuities. That facility shows the growing importance of the trading class, who most readily lent their surplus capital. Money, also, was no longer hoarded by those who had no means of employing it commercially; although for a considerable period, there were vast numbers who had not sufficient confidence in the govern-

\* "Works of David Ricardo," pp. 539 and 546.

ment to lend. The time was far distant when there would be three hundred thousand persons receiving dividends upon stock, and when one million three hundred and forty thousand persons would also lend their small accumulations through the agency of Savings' Banks. The country was steadily growing more prosperous, as the National Debt went on increasing to six times the amount at the period when inevitable bankruptcy was predicted. It was six hundred millions at the peace of Amiens. The eighteenth century, deficient as it was in many social improvements which we now command, was a period of rapid progress in agriculture and manufactures; and with this progress came a greater command of food and clothing, better dwellings, less frequent and less fatal epidemics for the great bulk of the people. The loan of 1693 has furnished data for a remarkable inquiry into the prolongation of life in the eighteenth century, consequent upon the bettered condition, and therefore improved health, of the population. That loan was a tontine. Every contributor of 100*l.* might name a life, to receive a fixed dividend during the duration of that life. As the annuitants dropped, their shares of the dividends were also to be divided amongst the survivors, till the whole number of annuitants was reduced to seven. In 1790, during the ministry of Mr. Pitt, another tontine was negotiated. The comparative results, as exhibiting the probable duration of life at the two periods, have been worked out by Mr. Finlaison, upon the assumption that the 438 females and 594 males named in 1693, and the 3974 females and 4197 males named in 1790, were the youngest and the healthiest lives that the shareholders could select. Taking the dates at which the annuities of 1693 fell in, and estimating those of 1790 that had fallen or were still remaining in 1851, the calculation showed that in 1790 the expectation of life had increased one fourth.\*

In 1692, "An act for continuing certain laws that are expired and near expiring" was passed, in which the Act of Charles II., continued by that of James II., "for preventing abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed books and pamphlets, and for regulating printing and printing-presses," then about to expire, was continued to the 13th of February, 1692, and to the end of the next session of Parliament. If that renewed Act should expire, the Press, exempted from the superintendence of a licenser, would

\* We gather these facts from a paper by Dr. Southwood Smith, read at Birmingham in 1857.

to a great extent be freed; its real freedom would depend upon the law of libel, and its honest application. The licenser of the Stuarts, sir Roger Lestrangle, was ejected from his office at the Revolution. "His sting is gone," says John Dunton. That worthy chronicler of publishers and authors sketches the characters of the successors of the Tory licenser, saying, very libellously, "he would wink at unlicensed books if the printer's wife" kept up to the example of too many wives of that age. He describes Mr. Fraser "commonly called Catalogue Fraser, from his skill in books;" Dr. Midgley, "no bigot;" Mr. Heron, with "an air of pleasantness in his countenance;" and "our last licenser, before the Act of Printing expired, Edmund Bohun, Esqre.," "a furious man against dissenters," and "a pretty author himself." \* Edmund Bohun brought his own house down over his head. He carried his party feeling into his official occupation; but had very strange notions which his party would not avow. He was bitterly attacked by a writer of very questionable notoriety, Charles Blount; and was more effectually damaged by a scheme of the same person "to ensnare and ruin him." † Blount wrote a pamphlet, which Bohun readily licensed—for it rested the rights of the sovereigns of the Revolution upon a principle which would confer upon them absolute power. On the 22nd of January, complaint was made to the Commons, that a pamphlet, entitled "King William and queen Mary Conquerors, contained matter of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberties of the subject, and to the peace of the kingdom." The House examined the matter; ordered the pamphlet to be burned by the common hangman; and prayed the Crown to remove from his office Mr. Edmund Bohun, the licenser, who had suffered the pamphlet to be printed. With the removal of this licenser the system of licensing came to an end. The Act for regulating Printing expired. The House was in a libel-burning mood, with regard to the same description of offence: "Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury's book burnt by the hangman, for an expression of the king's title by conquest, on a complaint of Joseph Howe, a member of parliament—little better than a madman." ‡ Some were for impeaching the bishop. The Pastoral Letter in which the doctrine was held was written in 1689. There could be no impeachment; for there had been an Act of Grace in 1690. The House of Commons has never failed to rejoice in any exhibi-

\* Dunton's "Life and Errors," p. 351, edit. 1705.

† Macaulay.

‡ Evelyn. "Diary," Feb. 4.



tion of the power of some member to make a bad joke. At the cry of "Burn it, burn it," the book was sent to the flames at Charing Cross.

There were two attempts made in this Session to produce what may be called a Reform in Parliament. The Commons passed a Bill excluding all placemen from sitting in the House who should be elected after February, 1693. Men holding office of every kind, civil and military, were in Parliament. It was unwisely proposed to exclude all persons who should in future hold office under the Crown. It was prudently determined by the sitting members not to exclude themselves. They passed no "Self-denying Ordinance." The Lords rejected this measure by a very small majority. A Bill providing that the existing Parliament should end on the first of January, 1694, and that no Parliament should in future sit more than three years, was introduced to the House of Lords, by Shrewsbury, who represented the Whigs. It passed both Houses. On the last day of the Session, the king rejected the measure, in the words of Norman French which would now be the most fatal words ever spoken by a sovereign. The Constitution has worked itself clear of such contending powers. The use of the Veto was not then thought "an exercise of prerogative which no ordinary circumstances can reconcile either with prudence or a constitutional administration of government."\* The Bill for triennial parliaments was passed in the next year, without opposition from the Crown. The most memorable circumstance connected with the Bill which William rejected was, that having asked the advice of sir William Temple, that advice, to pass the Bill, was communicated to the king by the humble friend of the retired statesman, his secretary, Jonathan Swift.

Slightly connected with the political transactions of the beginning of 1693 was a tragical event that occasioned great public scandal. "After five days' trial and extraordinary contest, the lord Mohun was acquitted by the lords of the murder of Mountfort, the player, notwithstanding the judges, from the pregnant witnesses of the fact, had declared him guilty. But whether in consideration of his youth, being not eighteen years old, though exceeding dissolute, or upon whatever other reason,—the king himself present some part, and satisfied, as they report, that he was culpable—sixty-nine acquitted him, only fourteen condemned him."† The people cried out that when blood was shed by the

\* Hallam. "Constitutional History," chap. xv. † Evelyn. "Diary," Feb. 4.

great there was no justice for the poor. Members of the House of Commons rejoiced that, in the last Session, they had so strenuously opposed an extension of the privileges of the peers, who thus sheltered one of their own guilty members. William Mountfort, the player, according to Colley Cibber, was in tragedy the most affecting lover—in comedy, he gave the truest life to the fine gentleman. In 1694 he was in his thirty-third year—"tall, well-made, fair, and of an agreeable aspect." Nine years before, he was patronised by Jeffries, when at the height of his power; and at a lord mayor's feast the jovial chancellor made Mountfort "plead before him in a feigned cause, in which he aped all the great lawyers of the age in their tone of voice, and in their action and gesture of body"—very much to the scandal of sir John Reresby, who records the fact. This accomplished actor was the favourite of the town. But Mrs. Anne Bracegirdle was "the darling of the theatre." She was "the universal passion," but she admitted no favourite. Amongst the rakes and fops who frequented the one theatre that now enjoyed the monopoly of the drama, it was a fashion "to have a taste of *tendre* for Mrs. Bracegirdle."\* Amongst those who toasted this lively brunette over their bumpers of claret, were a captain Hill, and his friend and admirer, the debauched young peer. The captain had addressed the actress in terms which she rejected with contempt. He became jealous, and his jealousy fixed upon Mountfort; for Hill had writhed at seeing the handsome actor in love scenes, when the lady smiled upon her admirer with all the semblance of real passion. Hill, with the assistance of his noble friend, determined to carry off Mrs. Bracegirdle. They also determined to have no more trouble with the presumptuous player. They forced the actress into a coach as she was coming out of a house with her mother; but she was rescued, and the courtly pair departed, vowing vengeance on Mountfort. They loitered about the player's house till midnight. As he approached his home lord Mohun met him in Norfolk-street, entering into friendly conversation. Hill came behind, struck Mountfort on the head, and then ran him through the body. The Grand Jury found a true bill against Mohun and Hill for the murder. Hill escaped. The judges, at the request of Carmarthen, who presided at the trial, had given the opinion upon the case to which Evelyn alludes.

\* Cibber's "Apology."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Ministerial Changes.—Preparations for the Campaign.—Louis and William with their Armies.—Louis returns to Versailles.—Battle of Landen.—Naval Miscarriages.—A Ministry formed.—Government by Party.—Preponderance of the Whigs.—Financial difficulties.—Establishment of the Bank of England.—Expedition against Brest.—Illness of the Queen.—Her Death.

KING WILLIAM had closed the Session of the English Parliament on the 14th of March. He had made some important changes in official appointments. Sir John Somers had been promoted to the dignity of Keeper, the great seal having been so long in commission, that "all people were now grown weary" of the dilatory and expensive proceedings in Chancery.\* Russell was removed from the command of the fleet; for, in consequence of fierce differences between him and Nottingham, the Secretary of State, they could not have held office together. At this juncture Burnet notices the formation of a party "that studied to cross and defeat every thing." One of the principal leaders of this party was sir Christopher Musgrave, who "upon many critical occasions gave up some important points, for which the king found it necessary to pay him very liberally."† The memory of this senator has been preserved from the utter oblivion to which such patriotism is best consigned, by four lines of the great satirist of the next reign:—

"Once, we confess, beneath the patriot's cloak,  
From the crack'd bag the dropping guinea spoke,  
And jingling down the back-stairs told the crew  
Old Cato is as great a rogue as you."‡

The amount of business done in this way was very considerable. The bribe at Kensington was too often found necessary to neutralise the bribe from Versailles. William grew more and more cynical and sullen under these degrading affairs of state-craft, and gladly rushed away to hunt in Holland or to fight in Belgium.

His Most Christian Majesty—"Jupiter en personne"—is again

\* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 187.

† *Ibid.*, p. 190.

‡ Pope, "Epistle on the Use of Riches."

about to take the field. What privations he is now to undergo for the glory of France! He is fifty-seven years of age. He had been fifty-two years king; but his real sovereign power did not commence till the great minister, Mazarin, had closed his long career of intrigue. Then the magnificent sovereign burst forth in all the grandeur that can result from the implicit belief of one man that he is born to uncontrolled command, and that all that remains for millions of subject beings is to obey. The first maxim of government that Louis laid down was that kings are absolute lords; that all property was theirs; that the lives of their subjects were theirs also. He had the old feudal nobility of France at his feet. Their political power had burnt out in the wars of La Fronde. All that was left to them were their exclusive privileges, and their capacity of grinding the occupiers of land by every variety of exaction. They had nothing in common with the great body of the people; they had no common rights to maintain; they were no longer the protectors of the vassals from a greater tyranny than their own. All the miseries of feudalism remained, with none of its security. The great lords of the soil had all become the slaves of the court. They were yet, to a certain extent, brave and warlike. They fought in their embroidery at Steinkirk, as their fathers had fought in their armour at Agincourt. But their reckless gallantry had no higher principle for its support than that of the liveried menial whose bravery is founded upon the arrogance and ostentation of his master. Their adulation of their *grand monarque* was in some respects a trade. He was the fountain of all honour and all preferment; the grosser their flatteries the more certain their rewards. He was the sun that imparted life to all within its sphere. Where that sun did not shine, there was one universal thick darkness. But where did it not shine? It was the great central power that vivified all France. The sun rose upon France when the chief valet went forth from the royal bedchamber and said, "the king is awake." Then the princes of the blood, and the dukes and counts who were waiting in the antechamber, enter in solemn state, with the pages of the wardrobe, who bear the surtouts and the wigs, with other inferior habiliments that majesty may condescend to wear. As the sublime operations of shaving and hand-washing go forward, those who have the privilege of "*la première entrée*" gather round to behold how the Phœbus of France is gradually unfolding its beams. As that sun becomes more and more brilliant, "*les grandes entrées*" take place, and marshals and bishops

look on with humble adoration while a duke hands Louis his shirt, and a marquis assists him to pull on his stockings. The waistcoat, the coat, the blue ribbon, and the sword, complete the courtly investiture of this more than mortal, who stands in the relation of Providence to France.\* Such was the morning opening of the terrible routine day of Versailles—of its dreary etiquettes—its heartless splendours—its odious profligacies—the absolute king himself the merest slave of the artificial life which he enforced as the basis of his power. From such a monotony the king of France is about to seek relief in once more looking upon the pomp and circumstance of war. He departs from Versailles with his vast cavalcade of ladies, of cooks and valets, of actors and musicians. He puts himself at the head of the army of Boufflers, whilst Luxemburg with another army is near at hand.

On the 24th of March William left London to embark at Harwich. The wind was contrary, and he returned for a few days to Kensington. The court life of that suburban residence is as striking a contrast to the court life of Versailles, as the little villa is insignificant itself when compared with the proud palace of the French king. The Kensington which William bought of lord Nottingham was then surrounded with only twenty-six acres of plantations and gardens—"a patched building," says Evelyn. Another observer of the time says, "the walks and grass are very fine." Queen Mary directed the laying out of the gardens, and William rejoiced to watch the growth of the evergreens in which he delighted. It was a seat well suited for a king of simple tastes. Versailles was well suited for an ostentatious king, who counted it amongst his great works to have expended ten millions in subjugating nature by art—building a vast palace, and creating magnificent gardens, in a desert of sand and swamp.† A few days' quiet, and William is again hurrying with small retinue to the Hague. He has, as usual, to unite the discordant members of the confederacy; to soothe the rivalries of princes who each wanted some supreme command; to tempt some with money, some with promised honours. At the beginning of June Louis was with the army of Boufflers, who had taken up a position at Gembloux. The ladies of the court were left in safety within the walls of Namur. The other army commanded by Luxemburg was only half a league distant

\* De Tocqueville says of the centralising system, "The French Government having thus assumed the place of Providence."

† St. Simon.

from that of Boufflers. William had entrenched himself near Louvain. He had thus posted himself to prevent an advance of the French upon Liège or upon Brussels. However inferior in numbers, he was resolved to hazard a battle if the enemy should advance. He took no sanguine view of his situation when such a mighty force was so near, having a perfect command of supplies. St. Simon, who was serving in this campaign as a captain of cavalry, says of William, "we have since known that he wrote several times to his intimate friend, the prince de Vaudemont, that he was lost—that he could only escape by a miracle." Luxemburg urged Louis to advance. To the astonishment of the French armies the king announced his determination, on the 8th of June, to return to Versailles, and to send part of the great force into Germany. St. Simon attributes this resolution to the remembrance of the tears which Madame de Maintenon had shed at their parting, and to the letters in which she urged the return of her royal lover or husband. The same shrewd witness of what was clearly regarded as pusillanimity in the great king, describes the bursts of laughter amongst friends, the sneers, the whispered indignation, which even the most extravagant loyalty could not suppress. Louis retraced his steps to Namur, and on the 25th of June he arrived with his ladies at Versailles.

Boufflers had left the army of the Netherlands with the detached force sent to the Rhine. Luxemburg was now in the sole command of the French army, which was still superior to that of William. But this ablest of the generals of Louis by his skilful manœuvres contrived to weaken William's force. William had learnt that Luxemburg was advancing to lay siege to Liège, and he determined to detach a large body to assist in its defence, leaving his own entrenched camp near Louvain, and marching with his remaining fifty thousand men to a favourable position on the river Gette. The feint of Luxemburg was successful. He suddenly turned from the road to Liège; and on the 28th of July, William was aware that he had been deceived, and that the enemy was coming fast upon him with a greatly superior army. He would not retreat. All that could be done was to strengthen his position. In one night of incessant labour entrenchments had been thrown up; redoubts had been constructed; the hedges and mud walls of the two villages which the allies occupied had been converted into barricades. "It is incredible," says St. Simon, "that in so few hours, such an extent of regular defences could

have been created." On the morning of the 29th of July, their value was to be tested.

When Luxemburg suddenly changed his apparent determination to move upon Liège, he ordered the fascines to be burnt, with which each battalion had been provided for the siege. By a rapid march of eight leagues he had reached a plain within hearing of the multitudinous sounds of William's camp. All the night these noises were heard, and "we began to fear," says St. Simon, "that the enemy was about to retreat." The sun had scarcely risen when the batteries of the allied army gave effectual proof that no flight was meditated. The French artillery could not be brought up till an hour afterwards. "We then began to see," says St. Simon, "that the affair would be difficult." The allies occupied the heights, and the two villages of Neerwinden and of Bas-Landen, one on the right and the other on the left. A long entrenchment, on the high ground, connected one village with the other. As the French cavalry advanced, the batteries from their commanding entrenchment did great execution. The great struggle was for the possession of these villages, especially of Neerwinden. The French infantry attacked with the impetuosity of their nation, and they were repulsed by the English characteristic obstinacy. At Neerwinden their general Montchevreul was killed, and the young duke of Berwick was taken prisoner. The French cavalry endeavoured to force the entrenchments, and were suffered to approach within pistol-shot of the allied infantry, when, says St. Simon, "the enemy gave such a well-directed volley, that the horse wheeled round, and retired faster than they came." During four hours had this struggle been carried on. Twice had the French infantry been repulsed, and thrice the French cavalry. St. Simon relates how Luxemburg called the princes of the blood, and his fellow marshals, to a conference at a spot out of reach of the cannon of the allies, and there for half an hour earnestly debated what course should be adopted, under the circumstances of such obstinate resistance. A third time it was resolved to attack Neerwinden, but with such an overwhelming force as should carry the victory, if victory were to be won. The household troops of Louis, headed by the prince of Conti, attacked with irresistible fury. When they had carried the walled gardens and cleared the entrenched street, the carbineers and the cavalry poured in. The allies began to retreat as the French gained possession of Neerwinden, from the top of whose clock-tower the curé of the village

looked down upon the terrible struggle. Suddenly William appeared at the head of his English guards; and the famous household troops of France, "until now invincible," says St. Simon, gave way before him. But all was in vain. The entrenchments of the main line could not be adequately defended, whilst the brunt of the conflict had to be borne in the two villages on the extreme right and left. The line was broken; a retreat was necessary; but it was not a disorderly retreat. William, according to the sober narrative of St. Simon, fought to the last, and he with the elector of Bavaria passed over the bridge which the allies had constructed over the Gette, when he saw that there was no reasonable hope in a further contest. A more enthusiastic relation thus paints the king: "Gallant mortal! This moment, now that all is lost, I see him galloping across me, corporal, to the left, to bring up the remains of the English horse along with him to support the right, and tear the laurel from Luxemburg's brows, if yet 'tis possible—I see him with the knot of his scarf just shot off, infusing fresh spirit into poor Galway's regiment—riding along the line—then wheeling about, and charging Conti at the head of it—Brave! brave by heaven! cried my uncle Toby,—he deserves a crown." It is the fire of genius which thus lights up the traditions of Sterne's boyhood. The daring of William, "when all was lost," was not "to tear the laurel from Luxemburg's brow," but to cover the retreat of his scattered forces, as they had to cross the temporary bridges, or plunge into the fords and climb the steep banks of the Gette. The exhausted victors remained upon the ground they had won. There had been twelve hours of fighting. Twenty thousand of both armies fell in that terrible battle-field, which the French call Neerwinden and the English call Landen. The victory of Luxemburg had no direct results. The retreat of William involved no greater disaster. He was not a fortunate general, but no one could deny his courage and his indomitable energy. He was one of those who possess the rare faculty of considering no misfortune, however severe, to be irretrievable. On the night of the battle he wrote a note to his friend Portland, in which he says, "These are great trials, which God has been pleased to send me in quick succession. I must try to submit to His pleasure without murmuring, and to deserve His anger less." In three weeks he had gathered all his forces around him at Brussels. The detachment that had been unfortunately sent to Liège had joined the headquarters in safety. The crisis, William said, had been terri-



ble ; but he thanked God it had ended no worse. The only successful result of the campaign in which Louis took the field with a hundred and forty thousand men, to sweep the allies from the Netherlands was the taking of Charleroy, to which siege William offered no opposition. The biographer of James pours out his complaints that the court of France had not availed itself of the advantages gained over the Allies, especially "at the famous battle of Landen," to be zealous in the matter of his restoration to the crown of England ; "for there never was greater hopes of terrifying the English into their duty than at this time." His Most Christian Majesty did not avail himself of the favourable occasion. James had published a Declaration in April, which promised all sorts of good things to his rebellious subjects, in which promises no one confided. The dream so long indulged of "terrifying the English into their duty" was the last hope ; and that was doomed to disappointment. The French, says the biographer of James, "began to be so weary of the war, and were indeed so terrified themselves by the great scarcity which happened that year, that his Most Christian Majesty thought fit to make offers of peace, by mediation of the crown of Denmark." He adds, "It is not improbable but when the English saw the French so disheartened after such mighty advantages, that it allayed their apprehensions of the king's being forced upon them, and consequently their endeavours of restoring him themselves." \*

During the absence of the king, England had undergone other disasters besides that of Landen. She saw the operation of the Allies unsuccessful in every quarter. The French army which had been detached from Gembloux crossed the Rhine, and enabled another French force to take Heidelberg, and repeat the ravages which had previously disgraced their arms in the Palatinate. Catalonia was invaded, and the fortress of Rosas was taken by the French. The duke of Savoy sustained a memorable defeat at Marsiglia. Worst of all, through the mismanagement of naval affairs, the rich Smyrna fleet of English and Dutch merchantmen, which was to be convoyed by English and Dutch men-of-war, was intercepted by Tourville, and captured, destroyed, or scattered. In the utter want of correct intelligence, the English admirals Killigrew and Delaval, had thought the squadron safe when they had sailed to a certain point beyond Ushant ; for they believed that Tourville was in Brest harbour. He had come out,

\* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 516.

and had joined the Toulon fleet. Rooke, against his remonstrances, was left with a very inadequate force, and the other admirals sailed homeward, ready to avert any attempt upon the English coasts. Off Cape St. Vincent, Rooke learnt that a French fleet was in the bay of Lagos. He soon found himself in presence of an enemy of four times his strength. The Dutch fought bravely, while Rooke made all speed with part of his unfortunate convoy to Madeira. The loss to the mercantile interest of England and Holland was enormous. The suffering merchants of London sent a deputation to the queen, to pray for inquiry into the cause of this misfortune; and Mary's conciliatory reply disarmed some portion of the anger of the people. It was a time of great excitement. Violent pamphlets against the government were scattered abroad from secret presses. A printer named William Anderson was indicted for high treason, was convicted, and was executed. It requires a rather violent stretch of historical partisanship to affirm that such a conviction was legal, although the tracts inculcated a general insurrection, and the nation was exhorted to free itself from its tyrant. There was no proof of the printing of these tracts at the press of Anderson beyond what resulted from a comparison of the types used with the types seized on his premises. Even if the proof of printing had been complete, we may conclude that there is "much danger in the construction which draws printed libels, unconnected with any conspiracy, within the pale of treason, and especially the treason of compassing the king's death, unless where they directly tended to his assassination."\* The punishment of Anderson only increased the virulence of the Jacobite pamphleteers, as must ever be the case when extreme punishments are resorted to as the readiest means of prevention for political offences. The hanging of Anderson in London, and the torturing of Nevil Payne in Edinburgh, † did more injury to the cause of William than the defeats of Steinkirk or Landen. He came to put down the injustice and cruelty of arbitrary power; and yet, said his enemies with some truth, tyranny still walks abroad under the mask of freedom.

At the beginning of November, William was again at Kensington. The Parliament was to meet on the 7th. A great change in

\* Hallam, "Constitutional History," chap. xv.

† We omitted to mention (*ante*, p. 538), that the warrant for the torture of Nevil Payne bears William's signature; a mere formal act, perhaps, but one which attaches obloquy to his memory.

the administrative system of England was about to take place. The king for five years had endeavoured to govern by choosing his ministers from each of the two great parties of the State ; sometimes giving the preponderance to the Whigs, at other times to the Tories. These ministers carried on the public affairs of their several departments without very well defined principles of action, amidst personal hatred and jealousies which were too often highly injurious to the national interests. An experiment was now to be made to substitute for this individual direction of public affairs the administration of a party. The heads of departments were to be united by some common consent upon political principles. " Party divisions," says Burke, " whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government." He held it to be a duty for public men " to act in party," with all the moderation consistent with vigour and fervency of spirit,\*—a duty not very easy at any time, and almost impossible in the earlier stages of representative government, when all were going through a sort of education in constitutional principles. William was about to change some of his ministers ; at the same time to select new advisers from those who would " act in party," who would submit their own wills to a general agreement ; who would constitute what we now understand as a Ministry, whose possession of power under the authority of the sovereign, and with the command of a parliamentary majority, implied the superior influence of the general principles which constituted their bond of political union. William had become convinced that he could best carry on his government through the party which had mainly accomplished the Revolution. He would not compose his administration exclusively of Whigs, but there should be such a preponderance of those who held Whig principles, that the Tory party, so closely bordering upon the Jacobite party, should be neutralised in what we may now call a Cabinet. The functions of the Privy Council had become merged in the Cabinet Council. In a debate in 1692, on Advice given to the king, one member exclaimed, " Cabinet Council is not a word to be found in our law-books. We knew it not before. We took it for a nickname." † Another member described what the Cabinet was : " The method is this ; things are concerted in the Cabinet, and brought and put upon them for their assent, without showing any of the reasons. That has not been the method of England.

\* " Observations on a late State of the Nation."

† Waller, " Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 731.

If this method be, you will never know who gives advice."\* The objectors to a Cabinet desired that every counsellor should, in the acts of Council, set his hand to assent or dissent. This was to secure individual responsibility for evil measures—a responsibility which has vanished in the united responsibility of a Ministry. However strong was the Parliamentary jealousy of a Cabinet, the exclusion of the Privy Council from the real business of the State became more and more established in the reign of William. But the jealousy remained. In a clause of the Statute of the 12 & 13 Will. III., "for the further limitation of the Crown," it was enacted that "all matters and things relating to the well-government of the kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council, by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there." This was a prospective clause, to take effect after the succession contemplated by the Act. It was repealed by the 4 & 5 of Anne, c. 20, where the clause is recited.† To make the supreme administration of affairs—the questions of armaments that required profound secrecy, and of diplomacy whose success depended upon ministerial reserve—"properly cognizable in the privy Council," has been impossible even if it had been salutary, since the power and influence of England gradually assumed the extension and proportions which began to characterise her policy subsequent to the Revolution. As representative government gradually compelled the sovereign to choose an administration founded upon the preponderance of a party, so this administration by party gradually broke up that unseemly division of the servants of the Crown into factions, which was occasionally manifested until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The earl of Sunderland had become a confidential adviser of king William. "By his long experience," says Burnet, "and his knowledge of men and things, he had gained an ascendancy over him, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had."‡ Sunderland's "knowledge of men and things," had been acquired in a long course of shaping his opinions by his conviction of what he thought the most expedient and profitable system for his own advancement and security. He had publicly supported the most tyrannous actions of James, however he might have secretly opposed some of them. To please his master, he had declared himself

\* Wharton, "Parliamentary History," vol. v. col. 731.

† Curiously enough, the clause does not appear in the Act of William, as given in the "Statutes of the Realm."

‡ "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 215.

a Papist. To make himself safe in the Revolution which he saw at hand, he had betrayed that master. He vanished from the scene of active politics when William became king, retired to Holland, and again declared himself a Protestant. He was excluded from William's Act of Grace as one of the chief instruments of the late tyranny. But he came back to England, and made himself a necessity for the new government. He had cut off all hope of being reconciled to the Jacobite party; he could be very useful to the party of the Revolution. "His long experience" made him master of all the complications of political action. He was the representative in 1693 of that class of unprincipled politicians of which Talleyrand was the representative when the Bourbons were restored to France. His advice was not to be despised, however the man might be odious. Speaker Onslow, in his Notes upon Burnet, says, "I remember to have heard from a great personage, that when the earl of Sunderland came afterwards to be in king William's confidence, and pressed him very much to trust and rely more upon the Whigs than he had done, the king said, he believed the Whigs loved him best, but they did not love monarchy; and though the Tories did not like him so well as the others, yet, as they were zealous for monarchy, he thought they would serve his government best. To which the earl replied, that it was very true that the Tories were better friends to monarchy than the Whigs were, but then his majesty was to consider that he was not their monarch."\* Sunderland, out of his knowledge of men and things, knew that the republican party had ceased to exist; and William saw that Sunderland's distinction between the affection for monarchy, and the love of the monarch *de facto*, was a sound one. William did trust and rely more upon the Whigs than he had done. Somers had been made his Keeper of the Great Seal; the choice was wise. The attorney's son had rendered the highest service in that great crisis which was to establish the government of England upon the basis of law. He was the leader of his party, as much by his moderation as by his eloquence and learning. Russell, who had more than once been tempted to betray the government he served, but when the hour of trial came did his duty to his country, was restored to the command of the fleet. Thomas Wharton, the son of a puritan peer, had led a life of dissipation in the time of Charles the Second, and continued his course of profligacy under the sober

\* Burnet, Oxford edition, vol. iv. p. 5.

régime of William. The man was hated, and yet he was popular. The hate with which he was regarded by the Tories was perhaps the result of his political consistency. When he died, a Tory wrote his elegy:—

“ Farewell, old bully of these impious times,  
True pattern of the Whigs, and of their crimes.” \*

With Somers, Russell, and Wharton was joined, in William's new ministry, Charles Montague. He had cast off the honours of a second-rate poet to become a first-class politician. His parliamentary eloquence was almost unrivalled. His financial abilities were more necessary to a government conducting a most expensive war, even than his eloquence. One more Whig was to be won, and he was Shrewsbury. He resigned the office of Secretary of State in 1690, when William favoured the Tories. He had been tampered with from St. Germain's, and was faithless to his trust. But he had seen his error, and was now to be called back by William to a hearty allegiance. The seals were again offered to Shrewsbury. The king had a personal regard for him; but he refused to accept the office which Nottingham had relinquished. Before the meeting of Parliament a lady wrote to him, by the king's command: “He assured me,” says her letter, “that when he valued any body as he did you, he could easily forget some mistakes.” † Again Shrewsbury refused office. A female friend of this lady wrote to the coy earl, hinting that a dukedom would be the reward of his compliance. The ladies persevered for several months, and at last Shrewsbury yielded, and had his dukedom and the Garter. The chief female negotiator on the part of the king was Mrs. Villiers,—one whom the scandal of the time regards as his mistress—one of whom Burnet makes no direct mention, but to whom he is supposed to have alluded when he says of the prince of Orange and Mary, in 1686, that “the perfect union between them had of late been a little embroiled.” Elizabeth Villiers, maid of honour to the princess of Orange—afterwards married to the earl of Orkney—was a woman of remarkable ability, with whom Swift delighted to talk for hours; who, in 1713, gave the great writer her picture; but who was not formed for the usual female conquests, however great her mental powers. “I think,” writes Swift to Stella, “the devil was in it the other day when I talked to her of an ugly squinting cousin of hers, and the poor lady herself, you knows, squints like a dragon.” ‡

\* “The Lord Whiglove's Elegy,” 1715.

† Coxe, “Shrewsbury Correspondence,” p. 20.

‡ “Journal to Stella,” letter liv.

The king and his new ministers did not shrink from demanding from the Parliament a larger supply than ever for carrying on the war. Eighty-three thousand troops were voted for the service of 1694; and the naval estimates were also largely increased. The Whig majority in the House of Commons was strong enough to bear down all unreasonable opposition. There were violent debates on the naval miscarriages, but no blame was thrown on the conduct of the late disastrous campaign. How to raise the large sums necessary to maintain the land and sea forces was a matter of anxious discussion. A land-tax, a poll-tax, stamp-duties, a tax on hackney coaches, and a lottery, were the expedients. High and low were the adventurers in this new system of state gambling, as Evelyn records: "In the lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, sir R. Haddock, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, had the greatest lot, 3000*l.*; my coachman, 40*l.*" But money was still wanting. The necessity gave birth to one of the greatest public establishments of this or any other country, the Bank of England.

The Statute under which this national institution was formed bears a very ambiguous title: "An Act for granting to their majesties several rates and duties upon tonnage of ships and vessels, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of fifteen hundred thousand pounds towards the carrying on the war against France."\* The subscribers for the advance of a loan, upon the conditions set forth, were to be constituted a corporate body "by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England." The money really required to be advanced was twelve hundred thousand pounds.† The subscription list was filled in ten days. The trading community had been sufficiently prepared for a right appreciation of the project which was carried in the House of Commons by the energy of Montague. The scheme of a Bank had been the subject of discussion for three years. William Paterson—a man whose name is associated with this most successful scheme of a great national bank for England, and with another most unfortunate project of a great national system of colonisation for Scotland—had in 1691 submitted proposals to the government somewhat similar to the plan which was carried out in 1694. His scheme was ably supported amongst commercial men by Michael Godfrey, an

\* 5 & 6 Gul. & Mar. c. 20.

† *Ante*, p. 430.

eminent London merchant; and when the government at last adopted it, Godfrey's influence in the city was as useful as Montague's eloquence in Parliament. The original plan of a national bank was met by every sort of objection. Some said it was a new thing, and they did not understand it. Others said the project came from Holland, and there were too many Dutch things already.\* In 1694, "the men who were supposed to have most money opposed and appeared against it [the bank] with all their might, pretending it could not do without them, and they were resolved never to be concerned."† Tories said that a bank and a monarchy could not exist together. Whigs said that a bank and liberty were incompatible, for that the Crown would command the wealth of the bank. A clause was introduced in the Act, which prevented the Bank of England making loans to the government without authority of Parliament, which neutralised the Whig objection. With this restriction the Bank of England has yet, in all times, been a powerful ally of the government. The system of small loans came to an end, as thus described in a paper called "The Wednesday Club," written by Paterson himself, as his biographer affirms: "The state officers and privy counsellors of that time were brought to stoop so low as to become frequent solicitors to the Common Council of London, to borrow only £100,000 or £200,000 at a time, on the part payment of the land-tax, all payable within two years, and then to stipulate and receive guineas at 22s. per piece, besides still further securing allowances on such occasions, which one may suppose to have been considerable. As the state-officers deigned to become suitors to the Common Council, so were the particular Common Councilmen to the inhabitants of their respective wards, going from house to house, as our parish officers do in case of briefs for fire, for building and repairing churches, or the like."‡

The king prorogued the Parliament on the 25th of April, and again set out for the Continent at the beginning of May. The campaign was in no degree remarkable for its gains or its losses. But the French had been arrested in their march to European dominion. They were held at bay. The naval plan of warfare was vigorously conceived in the cabinet of William, but it was defeated by what was once thought accident, but which is now proved to have been treachery. A great French fleet under Tourville had sailed from Brest to the Mediterranean. A portion of the allied fleet of English and Dutch under Russell was to look

\* Bannister's "Life of William Paterson," p. 100. † *Ibid.*, p. 96. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 97.



after Tourville, and another portion under Berkeley was to form a secret expedition. Troops commanded by Talmash were taken on board Berkeley's squadron. The two admirals parted company west of Cape Finisterre. Russell sailed to the Mediterranean; Berkeley to Brest, which it was supposed was left without adequate defence. Berkeley and Talmash would not credit the report of their own officer, that the French were prepared for their reception. Eight English vessels entered Camaret bay; and were received with the fire of many batteries. Talmash attempted to land his soldiers from boats; when strong bodies of cavalry and infantry appeared on the beach, and drove them back in confusion. The cannon of the fortifications that had been constructed in a few weeks, swept away more than a thousand brave English. Talmash himself was mortally wounded, but lived to reach Portsmouth, whither the armament had returned in all haste. The discomfiture was caused by the purpose of the expedition having become known to the French government. Vauban had been sent to Brest, and his science and promptitude had soon defended the entrance from the bay to the harbour with bombs and cannon, placed in the most commanding positions. William at the end of June wrote to Shrewsbury from the camp of Roseback, "You may easily conceive my vexation when I learnt the repulse our troops had experienced in the descent near Brest; and although the loss is very inconsiderable, yet in war it is always mortifying to undertake anything that does not succeed." \* A few days later the king wrote: "I am indeed extremely affected with the loss of poor Talmash; for although I do not approve of his conduct, yet I am of opinion that his too ardent zeal to distinguish himself induced him to attempt what was impracticable." † It is asserted that the resolution to attack Brest was betrayed to James by Godolphin, and also by a letter from Marlborough.‡ Of Marlborough's treachery to his country there is the unquestionable evidence of a letter written by him to James on the 4th of May, in which he says, that it has that day come to his knowledge that the expedition preparing at Portsmouth, is to be commanded by Talmash, and designed to burn the harbour of Brest, and to destroy the men of war that are there. He then says, "This would be a great advantage to England; but no consideration ever can, or shall, hinder me from let-

\* "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 45.

‡ Dalrymple.

† *Ibid.*, p. 46.

ting you know what I think may be for your service." \* That Marlborough had in view the destruction of a rival general, Talmash, is to load his memory with a charge of guilt even more atrocious than his systematic perfidy in affairs of state. Yet he did not lose a moment in soliciting a return to high employment when Talmash was no more. In a letter of Shrewsbury to the king, he says: "It is impossible to forget what is here become a very general discourse, the probability and conveniency of your majesty receiving my lord Marlborough into your favour. He has been with me since this news, to offer his service, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable." † William gave a very short answer to the recommendation of his Secretary of State: "As to what you wrote in your last letter concerning lord Marlborough, I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to entrust him with the command of my troops." ‡ The failure at Brest was attempted to be retrieved by miserable expeditions against defenceless towns on the French coast. Dieppe, Havre, and Calais were bombarded. This wretched mode of attack upon an enemy's harmless people, though begun by the French, was felt to be useless and exasperating—"a cruel and brutish way of making war,—an action totally adverse to humanity or Christianity." §

William returned from the Continent on the 9th of November. He had to learn, what is as damaging to a government as an unsuccessful attempt in war, that a State trial under a special commission at Manchester, of some Lancashire gentlemen accused of high treason, had resulted in an acquittal. The government was set on to this prosecution by one of those dangerous spies that always start up in quiet times, and too often foment the conspiracies they are employed to discover. Before the trial, after swords and armour had been found in old houses, and arrests had been made, this Lancashire plot was turned into ridicule. At the trial the chief informer, when his brother spy had given evidence against the prisoners, swore that the alleged plot was an invention of their own. The Counsel for the Crown threw up his brief; the prisoners were acquitted; and the presiding judges were hooted as they left Manchester.

The Parliament was opened by the king on the 12th of Novem-

\* "Life of James," vol. ii. p. 522. Macpherson also prints the letter in his "Original Papers."

† "Shrewsbury Correspondence," p. 47.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

§ Evelyn.

ber. The Commons adjourned for a week. When they met for business, they applied themselves in earnest to vote the Supplies, and to discuss a bill "for the more frequent meeting and calling of Parliament." This is the famous Triennial Bill which the king had rejected by his Veto in one Session of Parliament, and which the Commons had refused to pass in another Session. The Bill was now passed by both Houses without much opposition. On the 22nd of December, William came to Westminster. Great was the anxiety to know what words would now be uttered by the officer who spoke that voice of the Crown which confirmed or disallowed a measure of the two Houses. The words uttered were the old form of Assent, "*Le roy et la royne le veulent.*" The king looked unhappy, but it was not a disquietude of state which moved him. Queen Mary was dangerously ill at Kensington.

"The small-pox raged this winter about London," writes Burnet. To comprehend at this time the significance of the word "raged," we must carry our minds back, far beyond the period when Jenner discovered vaccination—beyond even the period when Lady Mary Wortley Montague made inoculation fashionable. When Burnet adds, that "thousands" were dying of this fatal disease, we must understand him literally. When the small-pox entered a house, it was considered as terrible a visitation as the plague. William went sorrowfully from the Parliament House to Kensington. Mary had been ill two days. She had never had the small-pox; but her regular physicians disputed about the symptoms. Ratcliffe, the most skilful "in all early and quick discovery of a distemper,"—but, "proud of his fame in his profession, which fed his natural haughtiness, and made him think himself above, and refuse the attending of the highest personages when he had taken any prejudice against them,"—declined at first to attend the queen when he was sent for.\* He came at last and pronounced the fatal word "small-pox." William was in despair. "He called me," says Burnet, "into his closet, and gave free vent to a most tender passion. He burst out into tears, and cried out that there was no hope for the queen, and that from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature on earth. He said, during the whole course of their marriage he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her that nobody knew besides himself." Mary's fortitude and resignation were above all praise. The religious consolations which her faithful friend and counsellor, archbishop Til-

\* We find this character of Ratcliffe, and his refusal, in Onslow's Notes on Burnet.

lotson, would have administered to the dying queen were to be bestowed by his successor, Tenison. Tillotson had died five weeks before. When Tenison made Mary aware of her danger, but with "some address not to surprise her too much," she was perfectly calm. "She thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour." Queen Mary died on the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. All parties agreed in acknowledging the beauties of her character. Burnet, the Whig, says, "She was the most universally lamented princess, and deserved the best to be so, of any in our age, or in our history." Evelyn, the Tory, writes: "She was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renowned queen Elizabeth." She had many arduous duties to perform in the repeated absences of the king; and not the least important was the distribution of ecclesiastical preferments. With a deep sense of religion she marked her preference for those divines who were moderate in their opinions, and earnest in the proper discharge of their high functions. When there were state affairs to attend to, she never shrunk from the proper duties of the sovereign. Her tastes were simple and unostentatious; her morals of unblemished purity; her charity was universal. Her deep attachment to her husband was founded upon her admiration of his high qualities. William's grief for her loss "was greater," says Burnet, "than those who knew him best thought his temper was capable of; he went beyond all bounds in it. When she died, his spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend that he was following her." Queen Mary was sumptuously interred in Westminster Abbey, although, "on opening a cabinet, a paper was found, wherein she had desired that her body might not be opened, nor any extraordinary expense at her funeral, whenever she should die: this paper was not found in time to be observed."\* The funeral cost fifty thousand pounds. A more worthy expenditure of public money in her honour took place when William determined to erect Greenwich Hospital, in compliance with that desire which she had expressed after the battle of La Hogue, to provide an asylum for disabled seamen. Mary, in following the fortunes of her husband and accepting with him the sovereign power of these kingdoms to the exclusion of her father, discharged a higher duty even than that of filial affection. But she was always solicitous for that father's personal

\* Evelyn. "Diary," March 8.

safety The paltriness of James's character was manifested upon his daughter's decease, in a manner which St. Simon thus records : " The king of England [James] prayed the king [Louis] that the Court should not wear mourning. All those who were related to the prince of Orange, including M. de Bouillon and M. de Duras, were forbidden to wear it. They obeyed and was silent; but this sort of revenge was considered very petty."